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"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON



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ART. I.—*Kabihankan Chandi.*

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THOUGH the Bengali language has sprung from, and bears a close analogy to, the Sanskrit, it is, in several respects, better adapted than the original tongue, as a vehicle for the interchange of thought. Being of comparatively modern origin, it has not undergone any of those deteriorating changes, which have rendered the Sanskrit different from what it once was. With it the perverse ingenuity, which delights to invent difficulties where no difficulties exist, and to turn clearness itself into mystery, has not been at work. Neither has the jealousy of an ambitious priesthood endeavoured to counteract its diffusion. Spontaneous in its growth, it has branched out of the parent stock unrestrained and uncared for, possessing many of its beauties, and few of its imperfections. Of all the derivative languages of the East, it is, perhaps, the most simple in its structure, and lucid in its syntax. Its nomenclature, though not quite so full as that of the Sanskrit, is varied and precise. It is the spoken language of upwards of twenty-five millions of inhabitants, which is more than any thing that could have been said of the Sanskrit even in its most palmy days, the days of Kalidas and Bar-ruchi.

Of the merits and demerits of Sanskrit poetry, we have, on more than one occasion, spoken at large. We have endeavoured, with the help of Jones, Wilson, Schlegel, and other illustrious scholars, to give the reader some idea of those gigantic epics, the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, and to acquaint him with the beauties of some of the ancient Indian dramas. The capture of Sita by the ten-headed Ravana, from the forest of her exile; the invincible prowess and miraculous feats of the son of the Wind; the lamentations of Rama in search of his beloved; the trial of Sita by the flames; the audience-hall of Durjodhun; the bridal of Rukmini, and the incidents previous thereto; the conflict between the Kurus and Panduvas; the virtue of Yu-

Chisthir; the loyalty of Draupadi to her five lords, and the affecting story of Damayanti, the queen of Nishada, are subjects with which he is already familiar. Of the renowned king Dushmunta, and Sacantola, the nymph favored of the sylvan goddesses; of the loves of Malati and Madhava; of the famed princess, Ratnavali, and of the courtesan, Vasantesena, he has often heard. He is also aware of the sceneries, dresses, and decorations that were used on the Hindu stage, seventeen hundred years ago, and how that stage has gradually deteriorated. In the present notice, therefore, we shall have nothing to do with Sanskrit literature, or even with translations from the Sanskrit. The celebrated translations of Kasidas and Kirtivasa shall be passed over in silence. We shall confine our attention to *Bengali* poetry, and to the books placed at the top of this article.

But before we proceed with our task, we must premise that Bengali literature stands in exactly the same relation to Sanskrit, as Latin literature stands to Greek. As in Latin, many metres, the heroic, elegiac, and lyric, for example, are of Greek origin, so, in Bengali, the metres *payar* and *totak* are of Sanskrit origin. As the best Latin epic poems are faint echoes of the Iliad and Odyssey, so the best Bengali epic poems are faint echoes of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. As the best of Virgil's pastorals are imitations of Theocritus, so the best Bengali pastorals are imitations of Jaydeva. As Latin plays, the plays of Livius Andronicus and Ennius and Plautus, are bad copies of Greek dramas, so Bengali plays (which are not many) are bad imitations of Kalidas and other Sanskrit writers. Almost all the standard Latin works are fashioned after Greek models, and almost all the Bengali works are on Sanskrit models. If ever there is a Bengali philosopher, we have little doubt that he will borrow as much from the *Nyaya* and *Putanjali* schools, as Seneca borrowed from the Portico and the Academy.

By far the greatest portion of the rules of Bengali *versification* have not, however, been derived from the Sanskrit, but owe their birth to the talent and ingenuity of Bengali poets. The following metres, viz., the *ekabali*, the *mal jhamp*, the *malati*, the *chamar*, the *lalita jhamp*, the *laghu bhanga tripadi*, the *laghu tripadi*, the *dirgha bhanga tripadi*, the *dirgha tripadi*, the *laghu chatushpadi*, the *dirgha chatushpadi*, the *laghu lalita*, and the *dirgha lalita*, are of this class. Dr. Yates thus explains them:—

• “The *ekabali* consists of eleven syllables to the line, and the last syllable of each first line rhymes with the last syllable of the succeeding one.

• “The *mal jhamp* consists of fourteen syllables in each line; the

final syllable of the first line rhymes with the final of the second, and the final of the third with that of the fourth, besides which, the fourth, eighth and twelfth syllables of each distinct line rhyme.

"The *malati* consists of fifteen syllables to the line, with the last syllable of the first rhyming with the last of the second, &c.

"The *chamar* has the same number of syllables as the preceding, and the same rhymes in the lines, but which differs from it in the regularity of its long and short syllables. With some trifling exceptions, it consists entirely of trochees, *i. e.* a long and short syllable throughout.

"The *lalita jhamp* has fifteen syllables to the line, and the finals of the lines rhyming as before; but besides this, it has the rhyme extended to the fourth, eighth, and twelfth syllables in each line.

"The *laghu bhanga tripadi* has sixteen syllables in the first line; and twenty in the second, which rhyme at the end. Also in the first line, the eighth, and sixteenth syllables rhyme, and in the second, the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth syllables.

"The *laghu tripadi* has twenty syllables in each line. Besides the usual rhyme, at the end of each two lines, it has also a rhyme between the sixth and twelfth syllables in each line.

"The *dirgha bhanga tripadi* has twenty syllables in the first line, and twenty-six in the second. In this, beside the rhyme at the end of each two lines, there is also a rhyme between the ninth and twentieth syllables of the first line, and between the eighth and sixteenth of the second line.

"The *dirgha tripadi* has twenty-six syllables to each line, with the rhyme between the eighth and sixteenth of each line, and the final of every two lines.

"The *laghu chatushpadi* consists of twenty-three syllables to the line, with the rhyme between the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth syllables of each line, and the final of every two lines.

"The *dirgha chatushpadi* has thirty-one syllables in each line, with the rhyme at the eighth, sixteenth, and twenty-fourth syllables of each line, and the final of every two lines.

"The *laghu lalita* has twenty-four syllables in each line, with the rhyme at the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth syllables of each line, besides the final of every two lines.

"The *dirgha lalita* has thirty-one syllables to the line, with the rhyme at the eighth and sixteenth syllables of each line, and at the end of every two lines."

The oldest Bengali poem extant is the *Chandi* of Kabikankan. It is an epic celebration of the glory and power of *Chandi*, or *Purvat*, and occupies the same place among Bengali epics

as Milton's *Comus* occupies among English dramas. It is decidedly pastoral. It commences with prayers to Ganesa, Sursutti, Lakshmi, Chytunno, and Rama. Then follows an account of the author, of which the reader shall have the substance. Kabikankan was the son of Damunya, who lived on the lands of a wealthy zemindar, close to the city of Simlabaz. The honest and sturdy farmer knew no grief, and died at a patriarchal age. Kabikankan succeeded to the paternal acres, but his life's course was far different. Then it was that Mushaud Sheriff was placed at the head of the Government of the three provinces, and tyrannized over certain landholders and their dependent ryots. Kabikankan was obliged to flee from the place of his birth, with his wife and children. Passing over many miles, he had to cross the River Damuda. While reposing on its banks, he dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the goddess, *Chandi*, girt with all her glory, had come to him, and commanded him to sing her praise. When he awoke, he determined to carry out the command, and proceeded on his journey. Several days elapsed before he reached Arora, the city of Brahmins. The king of this place received him with every mark of favour, and made him instructor to his only son, upon a liberal allowance. While "teaching the young idea how to shoot," Kabikankan wrote the *Chandi*.

The book consists of two stories, not very ingeniously constructed. The first story related briefly is as follows. The son of Indra had, time out of mind, been banished from heaven by the gods, and was born on earth of humble parents. His name was Kalketu. As Kalketu grew up, he became a mighty hunter, and betook himself to the woods with his wife, Phulura. One morning, as he was going to his daily labours, accoutred with a bow and arrow, he saw a lizard lying on his path. Angry with the animal, the sight of which is considered unpropitious to the success of an undertaking, he tied it up by the tail to the branch of a tree, determined to make a fare of it, if he should chance to meet no other game. When he returned, he took the lizard down, and carried it to his wife to be roasted, not having been able to kill even a heron or a rabbit. Phulura then went out to fetch fuel, and Kalketu departed to bathe in the neighbouring stream. On the good dame's return, she found that a maiden "beautiful exceedingly" was standing at the door of the hut. Supposing her to be a rival, she hastened to her husband, and accosted him with angry words. Kalketu said that he knew nothing of the matter, and arrived at his dwelling place, questioned the maiden as to who she was, threatening to slay her if her answer was not prompt. When, lo! the beautiful maiden

assumed the shape of Durga, as represented every year in Bengal. The hunter and his wife fell on their knees. "Follow me," said the goddess to Kalketu, "I am come to do thee good." The command was obeyed. In a secret part of the wood, where feet of man had never before intruded, Kalketu found hordes of treasure. His divine guide melted into air, but through her favour, which, to him, was great from that time, he at length became king of Guzerat.

The second story relates to the adventures of a soudagur named Dhunputti, and of his son, Shrimant. Dhunputti had two wives, Luhuna and Khuluna, who were loving cousins before they became rivals. At the time of his departure for Sinhala (Ceylon,) from his native city, on urgent business, the young Khuluna was "as all women wish to be, who love their lords;" and he therefore extracted a solemn promise from his other wife to take every care of her during his absence. The promise, however, was only lip-deep. For no sooner was Dhunputti gone, and the girl delivered of a son (Shrimant), than Luhuna practised every art to give her pain and sorrow. Her conduct was even more severe than that of the younger wife of Elkanah toward the mother of Samuel. She pretended that she had received a letter from her husband, to the effect, that Khuluna must be disgraced and degraded from the position which she then occupied. Khuluna was commanded to put off her *sauree* and *orna*, and to wear the robes of a menial. Nay, she was ordered to do something still more degrading. A flock of goats was placed in her care, and every evening she had to count and lock them up in the fold, and to lead them, again to "fresh fields and pastures new" on the morrow morn. While engaged in her sylvan duty, one hot summer's day, on the banks of the River Ajuya, sleep had overcome her senses. Just at this time, *Hari* and *Parvati* were journeying through the air in a golden car, and pitying the poor soul's sorrows, determined to bring them to an end. When Khuluna woke, she found that one of the goats was missing. Apprehensive of the anger of the jealous Luhuna, she wept, and prayed for its recovery. *Parvati* or *Chandi* now appeared before her, and enjoined her to go back fearlessly to her home, as she would be persecuted no more. Khuluna obeyed the divine command, though doubtful of the treatment she should meet with. She was received by her rival with the utmost kindness.

We shall now accompany Dhunputti on his voyage to Sinhala. Many a barge "strong and trim" was fitted out for the expedition, and favoring winds wafted him to his goal. When

he visited the king of the place, he recounted to him a wonder which he had seen. Against the red of the distant horizon (such was the wonder), there often appeared a lotus-bush and a beautiful woman with a young elephant in her arms, striking terror into the hearts of all who saw her. On his narration being disbelieved, he said that he was ready to substantiate it to the king and his court, on pain of perpetual confinement. Again the barges were put to sea, crowded with men, women, and children, anxious to behold the sight. Nowhere, however, was it to be seen, and after many days of expectation, Dhunputti was thrown into prison. Years rolled away. A similar scene was once more acted in the court of Sinhala, but with a far more terrible and startling termination. Shrimant had come to Sinhala in search of his father, and had related the same story to the king, perilling his life to prove its truth. He failed in his undertaking, and, bound hand and foot, was immediately carried to the place of execution. Here, while the headsman was sharpening his axe, a woman, "with age grown double," made her appearance and demanded Shrimant as her only child. The guards laughed and insulted her, but she went not away. A moment after, another decrepid female came to them with the same request, and the next moment another, and another, till at last the whole yard was filled with crones, who began to dance hand in hand. While all wondered at the unexpected interruption, the whole company suddenly vanished, and *Chandi* descending from the skies with a sword of flame, commenced the work of destruction. Taking up Shrimant in her arms, she spared neither age nor sex. The very horses and elephants in the stalls were butchered, and one man only remained to carry the rueful intelligence to the king. Agitated and frightened in the extreme, the monarch hastened to the place of slaughter, and fell at the feet of the wrathful divinity, who consented to spare him on condition that Shrimant should be married to his only daughter, Shushilya, and be allowed to go back to the place of his birth with his father, who was still a prisoner. This was readily consented to, and every thing ended happily.

The following passage, literally translated from the *Chandi*, is in the original really admirable:—

Spring, accompanied by the god of Love, had now come to the earth, and the trees and creepers were loaded with flowers. On the bank of the River *Ajaya*, and under a fragrant and spreading *Asoka*, the young woman had fainted with the pangs of separation. As she cast her eyes on the new leaves and tendrils, she thought the bridal of the earth was nigh, for the robes which it wore were the robes of a bride. The bee sucking the honey from one flower hastened away to another, as a *Guru* hastens from the

• hospitable home of one *shishya* to that of another. The flowers were dropping to the ground, and with these Khuluna paid an offering to Cama. The kokila was cooing his love-song, the breeze was blowing softly, and the *shari* and *shuke* were kissing each other with their bills. Overcome with sadness at the sight, she thus addressed the latter in a tone of reproof—“*Shuke*, thou art the cause of my lord's departure; at the king's command, has he gone to Sinhala, to bring a golden cage for thee; hence all my pangs and sorrows. My condition is quite forlorn, nor food, nor clothing have I. Fly thou to him, whom I love, and acquaint him with all I suffer. If thou neglectest my injunction, I shall learn the fowler's art and entrap thee, and so give pain to *shari*, the she-bird.” Both birds then winged away their flight. A creeper twisted round the stem of a tree then met her eyes, and she ran to the place where it was. Embracing the tender plant, she accosted it as sister, and as one most fortunate. The peacock and peahen, dancing with joy, she also saw, and was forcibly reminded of her own desolate state. To the male and female bee, she said the following words with joined palms :—“ Hum no more, hum no more your song of pleasure, for my breast is startled at the sound. You know not the pangs of separation. O ! male bee, if thou hast any regard, any love for your partner, cease thy song. Alas ! thou mindest not my entreaties. Settling on that pale Dhatura, thou singest again.”

Here is a description of the unsubstantial show or miracle which Shrinant beheld on the sea. It is short, but characteristic of the author's mind and style of writing :—

• “ Look ! look ! brothers,” said Shrimant to the rowers, “ at yon beautiful lotus bush ; the flowers are of various colours—white, green, blue, red and yellow. It must be the garden of some *Debta*, for the treasures of every season adorn it. The snow-white swan is passing a lotus from its own bill to that of its mate. The many-colored kingfisher is wheeling over the water for fishes. The *chucravaca* is screaming with joy, and as the thunder rumbles at a distance, the peacock and peahen display their gorgeous plumage. And look ! most wonderful of all, is that beautiful woman (some goddess perhaps) holding a young elephant in her arms.”

In concluding our notice of the *Chandi*, we have to observe that the copy before us is embellished with several wood-cuts, which do no credit to the artists.

The works of Bharut Chunder, the *Annada Mangal* and *Bydya Sundar*, are familiar as household words, to the people of Bengal. They are read with delight and admiration by every class of native society. They while away the leisure hours of the Hindu lady of rank, as well as of the well-fed and wary *banya*, and materially lighten the labours of the *manji* at the helm. We ourselves have witnessed young Bengali women lounging about from room to room, with one or other of the books in their hands, and can well conceive how their minds are contaminated by the perusal. There is nothing more grossly indecent in sense than certain chapters in the *Bydya Sundar*, made attractive to readers by the help of rhyme, rhythm, and diction. Idolatry, the bane and curse of India, is inculcated in all imaginable shapes, by every one of the poets with whom

we have to deal. The call for a healthy, and, at the same time, popular, literature in Bengali, is really imperative, and we wish all success to those who are labouring to supply the want.

The *Annada Mangal* is a collection of hymns to different gods, and a metrical narration of the principal incidents in the life of Shiva. Of the hymns, we shall faithfully render two into English prose, and these, we believe, will give the reader a pretty correct idea of the whole batch:—

HYMN TO SHIVA.

Sankara, the lord of Gowri, to thee, to thee, I bow. Thy throne is an ox, and thy three eyes are the moon, the sun, and fire. A necklace of human heads dangles from thy neck, a skull is in thy hands, and ashes are over thy body. Ghosts and spirits accompany thee wherever thou goest. Thy locks are long and matted, thy throat is blue, and red stripes beautify thy forehead. Thou hast bangles of snakes, and clothings of snakes. Thou art wrapt in meditation, but what thou art meditating, I know not. None can say thy origin. Those who repose under the shadow of thy feet are blessed with virtue and wealth in this world, and with salvation in the next. Thou, that art the giver of wisdom and joy, remove my sorrows and crown my undertaking with success.

HYMN TO VISHNU.

Kesava, I bow to thee. Thou art the eldest born of Time. Thou hast four arms, and dost bstride that winged monster, Gurura. Thy complexion is that of the clouds, and a gem like a star illumines thy breast. A garland of wild flowers encircles thy neck. A conch, a *chakra*, a mace, and a lotus are in thy hands. Thy garments are yellow, and thy feet are sandalled and jewelled. Thy lips are redder than coral, thy face is fairer than the moon. The whole world is lighted by a reflexion of thy beauty. In Heaven, Indra and Varuna worship thee, and Nareda on his *vina* sings thy praise. There, where the six seasons are all at once present, thou revelest in the moonlight, or in a *cadamba* grove blowest thy musical shell. Grant that my master's wishes be fulfilled.

Of the metrical tale which follows, we shall merely remark that it is not unworthy of the author's great name, the best portions of it verge even on the sublime, a characteristic very rarely to be met with in Eastern writers.

The *Bydye Sundar* is the most popular and admired of all Bharut Chunder's productions, and but for the indelicacies which disfigure it at places, would, perhaps, have been justly so.

The Venus and Adonis of the bard of Avon was not a greater favorite with the pensioners and court beauties of Queen Elizabeth than is the *Bydya Sundar* with the young ladies of Bengal.

The best way to deal with the book, would, we think, be to give a few translated extracts, and an outline of the plot. But first we shall recount the origin of the story, which, according to our author, was as follows. Pratap Aditya, Rajah of Bengal, had his seat of Government in the city of Jessore. His

temper was haughty, and his passions knew no restraint. Having engaged in a feud with his cousin, Katchu Roy, for a supposed injury, he wreaked his vengeance on him by putting all his friends to the sword. Katchu Roy besought the help of the Emperor Jehangire, who, highly incensed at Pratap's tyrannical conduct, sent his General Maun Sing, with a round number of his soldiers, to bring the offender to his senses. While Maun Sing was marching through Burdwan, he beheld a number of builders and masons, working under-ground, near the palace of the Rajah of that place. They were stopping the breach, which *Sundar* had long ago effected to gain admittance into the apartments of *Bydya*. On enquiry they narrated to him the history of the lovers.

Bydya was the daughter of *Bira Singha*, and was famed, far and wide, for her beauty and accomplishments. While scarce a woman, she had mastered the difficulties of the Sanskrit language and philosophy, and had vowed a vow to give away her hand to any that excelled her in learning. Princes and potentates came to her from various parts of India, but invariably their mental acquirements fell far short of those of the young woman whom they came to woo, and they were sadly disappointed. *Bira Singha* had therefore great difficulty in finding a fitting bridegroom for his daughter.

While affairs were in this state, arrived at Burdwan a prince, named *Sundar*, after a toilsome journey of many days. His appearance was extremely prepossessing, and his mind highly cultivated. As his horse browsed at a little distance, and he himself was reflecting on the best means of bringing to a happy termination his mission of love, a party of women in *Bira Singha's* service passed to fetch water from the neighbouring stream, and were greatly struck with his beauty. None, except *Hira*, had, however, the effrontery to speak to him. *Hira*, the flower-dealer, naturally bold, questioned the youth as to his name and parentage, and invited him to partake of the comforts of her home. To this, *Sundar* gladly agreed. Being harboured with the flower-dealer, *Sundar* contrived various plans of winning the heart of the lovely *Bydya*. On one occasion he sent to her a flower effigy of Cupid. So artfully was this thing constructed, that the moment she saw it, she fell in love with the unknown author. An interview took place between the pair, in which *Bydya* was deeply smitten. Day and night she thought of none else but *Sundar*.

"Her lute strings gave an echo of his name.
She spoilt her half done 'broidery with the same."

One night, as she was conversing with her women in her sleep-

ing apartments, Sundar suddenly made his appearance by the subterranean passage already alluded to, but none then knew how. Surprised and agitated at this unexpected meeting, the young woman asked the purpose of his visit, and being answered in a *sloke*, or couplet, of which she could not understand the meaning, she was obliged to confess her inferiority in learning. Sundar then claimed her as his bride. The nuptials were celebrated by the attendant women, and night after night did he pass in the company of his wife, without the knowledge either of the king or queen. But when Bydya was with child, the secret could no longer be kept from them. Both were now under the impression that the marriage ceremonies were not duly performed, and that Bydya had lost her honor. Guards were set about the house to apprehend the intruder, and when apprehended, he was immediately carried to the place of execution. But a voice from heaven spoke aloud that Sundar was no culprit. It was proved to Bira Singha's satisfaction, that he was the rightful lord of the matchless Bydya, and the lovers were once more happy.

The reader will perceive, that there is nothing either in the substance or arrangement of the above story, which an English author of the present day would be proud of. In it there is little of *passion*, and the denouement is not at all striking. The manner in which it has been worked out and embellished, however, is indeed worthy of admiration, and affords an incontestable proof of Bharut Chunder's thorough mastery over the language in which he wrote. Each page is more musical, and contains a greater number of beautiful similes than the one that precedes it, and the reader is often lost in a labyrinth of sweets. To those unable to read and understand the work in the original, we can merely give an idea, and a very imperfect idea, of its contents. In the extracts, which we shall now make, we shall endeavour to, retain, so far as possible, the author's meaning. But to infuse the *harmony* and *spirit* of the original into the translation, is a task which we dare not undertake.

BYDYA.

Beautiful was she, that maiden of fifteen summers. Her face was fairer than the moon of autumn; at its sight the lotus, instead of closing, expanded with joy. Dark were her eyes, and more transparent than those of the fleet gazelles. Her gait was firm and majestic. More music there was in her voice than sounds drawn from the *vina* of *Sursutti*. Her locks were black and curled. Her nails were red as rubies. Her eye-brows were the bows of Cama, and from underneath them shafts of light struck the gazer's heart. Pearls could not be compared to her well-set teeth. The *amrita*, for which the *Debtas* and *Asurs* fought of old, was hid in her mouth. Her hands were slender and pliant. *Cadamba* blossoms could not vie with the softness of her bosom, neither could the golden *champac*

vie with her complexion. As she moved, the clanking of her armlets and bangles taught the bees their musical hum. In the deep shade of fragrant groves, she loved to loiter and meditate. Her presence diffused light and life, and she charmed the hearts of all that came nigh to her.

THE SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF SUNDAR IN BYDYA'S CHAMBER.

Sundar decked himself to visit his lovely bride. His dress set off his person to such advantage, that even the wife of Cama would have fallen in love with him had she seen him. His heart palpitated with a mingled feeling of hope and fear; not knowing how he would be received, he often brought himself to a stand, and then walked on again.

In the meanwhile, Bydya was sorrowing and eagerly longing to see her heart's lord. The chances of another interview, however, seemed to her to be so slight, that she had given up all hopes of it. Said she to her favorite attendant, Shulachuna—"Say, sister, how shall we bring him, for I can no longer bear his absence; where shall I ease my heart, if not to you? The moon which was erst so fair seems now to rain poison from her sphere. The water, scented with camphor, is now nauseous and distasteful. The flowers have lost their perfume. The songs of my maidens are harsh and unharmonious. The winds are no longer gentle but boisterous. The voice of the *kokil*, and the hum of the bee, yield me no delight. The ornaments that deck my body are like burning coals, and the blue cloths which I wear, sting me like serpents. The bed on which I sleep is a perfect disgust to me. The nights are long and dreary. Say how shall I survive my pangs." Thus sorrowed Bydya. At times she fell on the neck of one or other of her women, and at times on the marble pavement of the room. Of a sudden Sundar made his appearance; the effect of his coming was, as if the moon had risen upon the earth. The first feeling of Bydya, and her companions, at sight of Sundar, was that of fright; when they recovered from their surprise, Shulachuna, on being instructed by her mistress, thus spake to Sundar—"Harm us not, stranger, for we are helpless women. We know not who you are, but whether you are a *Gundarva*, *Nagu*, *Yaksha*, or human being, reveal to us thy name, and purpose of thy visit." Sundar answered—"Fear not, fair maidens, I am no spirit, but a man. I am the son of Guna Sindhu, Rajah of Canchipur. My name is Sundar. Having heard of Bydya's vow, I have come hither to try my fortune. Let her withdraw her veil, for all her attempts to conceal herself are ineffectual. Can a piece of cloth confine the lightning of heaven, or can the stars of the sky hide the lustre of the full-orbed moon? *Her presence is as the fragrance of a lotus, or as the brilliancy of a precious gem.**

MAUN SING'S ARRIVAL AT DELHI, AND THE EVENTS WHICH FOLLOWED.

Maun Sing arrived at Delhi, with his prisoners of war. His victory was proclaimed throughout the city by trumpeters, and he was forthwith summoned to the Imperial presence. Jehangire commanded him to relate his adventures. Making a low obeisance, the General thus began—"The conquest of Bengal, great King, has been effected, but not without the loss and trouble which always attend such undertakings. Pratapaditya, the rebellious Raja of Jessore, has been defeated and captured; but the glory of the victory cannot be claimed by me alone. On the eve of battle a great storm swept over the province, and the men, horses, elephants, and camels of the army under my command would all have been utterly destroyed, had not Mazundar, who now stands on my right hand, given us shelter. To him is due the credit of having pro-

* This passage almost reminds us of Longfellow's description of Evangeline:—

"When she passed, it seemed like the ceasing of exquisite music."

pitiated the goddess *Annada* by prayers and offerings, to put an end to the raging storm. To him I, and several of my companions in arms, owe our lives. The reward which my sovereign can most appropriately bestow upon him, is the governorship of Bengal. Let the word of favor drop from his lips, and Mazundar is at once exalted and recompensed." A frown passed over the brow of Jehangire. "Renegade," exclaimed he, after a pause, "you too have been imposed upon by that wicked and deceiving race, the Brahmins. The faith of our Prophet hast thou disgraced in the eyes of idolators, who should not be touched but by the sword. Hinduism is full of abominations. Its doctrines and rites are both abominable. It inculcates the shaving of one's beard. It restrains widows from marrying. It commands the worship of stocks and stones, and creeping things. The Hindu race is composed of cheats and liars. It is priest-ridden. Its *Puranas* have been penned by the evil one. Pratapaditya was a Hindu, and I have hurled him from his throne, shall I then consent to place another of the same faith in his stead? Name some other reward, Mazundar, and I will grant it thee. It would be foolish in me to entrust to you the government of the conquered province." Mazundar, being thus accosted, spake to the following effect—"I am a Brahmin, and I have heard my class reviled; the authorship of the books I venerate, and the religion I follow, has been ascribed to the evil one. Fear, therefore, has departed from me. The augustness of the presence in which I stand shall not restrain me from speaking out my mind freely. The religion of Mahomet is false and puerile; but the religion of the *Purana* comes direct from Heaven. The Mahometans pray in a vacant room, and not, as they should do, before god's image and likeness: many of their rites cannot be named. Their widows are allowed to take husbands unto them." "Hindu," said Jehangire, interrupting the sage, "no more of this—there is insolence in thy look and words; call on thy thousand gods to save thee." Mazundar was immediately surrounded by the imperial guard. But who can harm the man that is favored of heaven? *Annada* heard his prayers, and on the third day of his captivity, came to his rescue with an army mighty and invincible. Thus sing I Bharut Chunder Roy, the favourite of my master, and a true Hindu.

Without tiring the patience of our readers with any more prosy extracts like the last, we shall now proceed to a comparison of the respective merits of Kabikankan and Bharut Chunder.* Although Kabikankan is at times more pathetic and soft than any Bengali author we have met with, yet the palm of superiority must undoubtedly be awarded to his great rival. The genius of Bharut Chunder was more versatile and more prolific of poetical thoughts. He had the creative power,

"The vision and the faculty divine,"

in a more eminent degree. Kabikankan loves to depict in words, which become tender thoughts, the sorrows of a love-lorn damsel, the forests in spring, a moonlit bank, or a beautiful landscape. The Apsaras of heaven, and the nymphs of the wood, are his favourite companions. Purling streams, and flowering declivities; the song of the kokila, and the hum of the bee; sylvan

* They were contemporaneous authors of the time of the celebrated Raja Krishna Chunder Roy, the great encourager of Bengali literature, and the second Vikramaditya of India.

solitude, and the breeze laden with fragrance, are to him more than delights. There is a calm transparency, a tender beauty in his narrative, which fascinate every reader, and which are seldom, if ever, interrupted. Bharut Chunder is far more varied, and his style, although possessing less of what Cowper calls "creamy smoothness," is always felicitous and appropriate to the subject-matter. He describes, with equal truth, the court of a puissant prince, an evening cloudless and serene, a beautiful woman, the gathering tempest, the peal of the trumpet, and the neighing of war-steeds. The passages of imitative harmony, which we have met with in his works, have convinced us, and will, doubtless, convince all who read them, that Bharut Chunder was one of the gifted of heaven.

With the names of Kabikankan and Bharut Chunder must be associated the name of another poet, who lived at a comparatively modern time, and fully equalled his predecessors in the grandeur and pathos of his compositions. It is that of Durga Persaud, author of *Gangabhakti Tarangini*, a mytho-heroic poem, on the bringing of the Ganges from Swarga to earth by Bhagirath, in order to preserve the souls of sixty thousand of his ancestors, who had been reduced to ashes by the curse of Kapila, a sage. The work is well written, and although founded on a portion of the *Scanda Purana*, is quite within our range, not being a translation from it. The subject also is well chosen, for in the legend connected with the noble river, there are ample materials for poetic inspiration, and these our author has turned to very good account. The sacrificial horse, arrayed with gorgeous trappings, and checked in his course by "the ever sounding sea," the sudden transformation of Sagar's numerous sons into ashes, for charging Kapila with the theft of the same, Angshuman's intercession in their favor, the birth of Bhagirath, his prayers for the souls of his forefathers, the descent of the Ganges from heaven on the matted locks of Shiva, and from thence on the earth beneath, its impetuous course over leagues and leagues, and finally the ascension of Sagar's sons in sixty thousand radiant chariots, are all of romantic interest, and ably delineated. The episodes in the book, in general, describe the difficulties which Bhagirath met with in carrying on the stream in its onward flow. On one occasion it leapt in its wild fury among adamantine rocks, and was unable to extricate itself. Bhagirath hied him back to Indra's heaven, and besought the aid of *Eygrabut*, a huge white elephant, with tusks that could penetrate the hardest substance. The required assistance was given by the royal beast, on condition that Ganga would acknowledge him to be her lord and deliverer. But when the waves once more,

freed from obstructions, dashed themselves up to the welkin's pinnacle, he trembled at his late audacious proposal. On another occasion a sage, named Janhu, drank up the whole river in a sip for disturbing his meditations. Bhagirath fell at his feet. The sage relented. Forth sprang the foaming torrent from his thigh, and inundated the land. Elated with joy, the heroic and virtuous youth bounded before, sounding the conch-shell, which he had received from Vishnu.

And now that we come to speak about Bengali ballads and songs, a few remarks on that description of poetry, generally, will not, perhaps, be out of place. It is certain that ballads and songs are a species of composition, with which all ages, and all nations, are more or less familiar. In Greece and in Rome, metrical accounts of the achievements of gods and of heroes, were sung to the lyre by wandering bards. The Anglo-Saxons celebrated in rude poems the victory of Brunanburgh and the precipitate flight of Anlaf and his confederate sea kings. Taliessin and Modred recited, from the cliffs overhanging the Conway, prophetic visions of the future destiny of Wales. The women of the interior of Africa, who sheltered the renowned traveller, Mungo Park, poured forth their lamentations in song at his departure. The North American Indian invoked the aid of Manitou, in lays full of spirit, before he rushed into the battle with his tomahawk and scalping knife. In Spain ballads and songs were once the delight of the people. The maiden danced to them on the green. The day-labourer solaced himself with them among his toils, and the mendicant repeated them to gather alms. Amid the "brooms and braes" of Scotland may still be gathered relics of old songs, which were at one time exceedingly popular.

The ballads and songs of a people are a true index to its national character. With an idolatrous race they are tinctured with sentiments at which the mind revolts, as for example, the lyrics of the Khonds addressed to Laha Pinu, the god of battles, and Bira Pinu, the earth goddess, reveal to us that these deities were propitiated with human sacrifices; and the Rig Veda Samhita, which is a collection of Sanskrit hymns, lays bare the abominations of the pristine mythology of the Hindus. Among a race prone to war and bloodshed, their tone is martial and their music wild and thrilling. Delicacy of texture they have none. They stir the soul like the sound of a trumpet. Again, the ballads and songs of a people naturally timid are characterized by softness, and have seldom anything in them to startle or terrify. The mind of the ballad and song-maker is moulded and fashioned by the society in which he lives. He

can, therefore, have no true sympathy with that which does not accord with the tastes and habits of that society. But supposing even that he *had* a genius, which could appreciate every kind of excellence, and an ear which could discern the music of a lute, as well as that of a war-horn, his labours would scarcely be directed to efforts that would not have for their guerdon the praises of those around him.

In most countries the ballad preceded the song. The reason of this probably is, that the former was more easily composed. The excellence of a ballad consists not in *sentiment*, but in its *story*. The hurried narration of events does not task the poetical faculties to a very great degree, nor need the feelings of the author's mind be wrought up to a high state of sensibility. With abstract ideas, the ballad writer has little or nothing to do. The bloody feuds of chiefs and nobles—the adventures of some errant knight or beauteous damsel, form the staple of his verse. The legends that exist in the language in which he writes, furnish him with ample materials. His imagination is not wholly inactive, but it does not soar to unexplored regions. Greater powers are undoubtedly required to compose a song like Burns's *Mary Morison* than to compose a ballad like Chevy Chase.

The ballads of King *Karna* and *Pralhaud Charitra* are both of Sanskrit origin, and highly celebrated throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. Many a young man, and woman too, have laughed and wept over them after the twentieth perusal. *Karna* was a king famed for his good qualities; every morning the needy flocked to his palace gate, and were fed and clad in a princely style. The gods were jealous of his virtues, and Krishna descended from Bycunt to make a trial of his charity. Assuming the shape of a blind old Brahmin, he begged of him to give him food and shelter. Karna took him by the hand, and promised him all that he desired. The Brahmin then made a request at which even the cannibals, into whose hands the Arabian sailor, Sindbad, is said to have fallen, would have shuddered. The only repast which would please him, was the flesh of Karna's only child, prepared and cooked by the hands of his parents. The king was in a dilemma; his promise to supply his guest with all that he wanted recurred forcibly to his mind. Slowly, and with down-cast looks he repaired to his queen, and told her all that had happened. Rather than have the stain of perjury and uncharitableness to one of the priestly class upon them, they both determined, like Abraham of old, but with misdirected faith, to overcome their natural affection and slay *Brisacatu*. The careless boy, whose heart nor sin nor sorrow had touched, was

summoned from the field, where he was playing, and sawed to pieces by Karna and his wife. When the repast was ready, the inhuman guest wished that his host and hostess, and some other person from the neighbourhood, should also partake of it, and commanded Karna to go in search of the third party. No sooner had his feet crossed the threshold, than he beheld at a distance Brisacatu, and a few of his playmates, running toward him. With infinite joy and wonder he once more clasped his boy, carried him in his arms to the expiring queen, and fell at the feet of the disguised god.

The *Pralhaud Charitra* is a ballad on the destruction of Hirana Kashipu, the father of Pralhaud, and an *Asur* of mighty strength, by Krishna. Pralhaud had, at an early age, learnt to repeat the name of Krishna. The *Asur* considering his prowess and dignity insulted, punished him for this. But the boy was not to be dissuaded. The words, "Krishna, Krishna," were ever on his lips. Numerous were the trials and hardships which he had to endure, but his faith was strong and never swerved for a moment. He was dashed headlong from a high mountain, he was thrown into the raging sea, but rocks and waves alike spared him, and he was as sound as ever. At length Kashipu, tired out of all patience, asked him where his Krishna was. The child answered that he was everywhere, and that even within the crystal pillar on which the *Asur* then reclined, Krishna was present. With one stroke of his ponderous sword, the *Asur* broke the pillar into fragments. Instantly a monster, half man and half lion, made its appearance. Gradually dilating in size, it seized Kashipu and tore out his entrails with its claws.

Of the song-writers of Bengal, the most renowned are *Nidhu* and *Dasirathi Roy*. Their productions, although lively and clever, are by no means without fault. A *sameness* in the ideas is their principal defect. There is an endless jingle about heart-consuming woes, and women with beautiful eyes, and the love of the lotus for the day-god: the amorous feats of Krishna are the subjects of many of them. Similar to the *Hymeneos* of the ancient Greeks, the Bengalis have their bridal songs, which are sung in Zenanas on the occasion of a marriage. When the bridegroom, in most cases a boy of twelve or thirteen, decked with pearls, and with a glittering conical cap, stands in the middle of the yard or open space of the quadrangular building, accompanied by the bride, and surrounded by dark-haired damsels, the *Shankha* is sounded, and these songs are sung by professional songstresses. We wish we could give the reader translations of some of them, so that he might have an insight into the present state of native female society, but

they are nowhere to be found in writing. The following is the late Dr. Tytler's versified translation of a song very popular in the streets of Calcutta twenty years ago. It has allusion to the failure of Messrs. Palmer and Co., and to the opinions of Rammohun Roy :—

From Bengal land, the Hindoo faith must quickly now decay, man,
 Since Suttis, all, both great and small, are banished quite away, man,
 And Messrs. Palmer Company, so flourishing and gay, man,
 Have lost their stores of bright gold-mohurs, and can no longer pay, man ;
 In all our town, there's nought but sights and raree-shows to see, man,
 But how shall I, or any tell, what sort of sights they be, man ;
 A Brahmin's son, brought up with all a Brahmin's holy rites, man,
 Has left his caste, and printed books of politics indites, man ;
 He once believed the holy Veds, and all their ancient stories,
 The heretic forsakes them all, to talk of Whigs and Tories ;
 His penances, his holy water, and his long bead-roll, man,
 He stops,—and stops the masses for his pious father's soul, man.

While on this subject, we are compelled to admit the truth of a charge often urged against the Bengali poets. All their writings, and more especially their *panchallis* or songs, are interlarded with thoughts and expressions grossly indecent. The seclusion of women from society is not, as some have supposed, the only cause of this turpitude. Sanskrit authors, living at a time when in India women mixed freely with men, and the wits of the Restoration, from Dryden down to Duffey, are open to the same objection. The Plain-Dealer and the Country Wife are of a more immoral tendency than even *Bydya Sunder*. They were written to please men, who were determined to avenge themselves for the enforced morality of the protectorate. Whatever, therefore, outraged the feelings of the puritan, to them yielded delight ; whatever the one avoided with the utmost scrupulosity, the others were the most forward to join in. The male characters in Wycherly's plays are not libertines merely, but *inhuman* libertines ; the women are not merely without modesty, but are devoid of every gentle and virtuous quality. The blots in the poetical literature of Bengal are more properly ascribable to the *religion* and *moral training* of its inhabitants, than to the seclusion of women from society. Let these be as they should be, and all that is bad shall soon be consigned to oblivion, or no more be read. Let these be as they should be, and a better race of authors shall adorn its annals. Let these be as they should be, and the rights and privileges of the Hindu lady shall be no longer denied her. Let these be as they should be, and the dying shall no more be exposed by his nearest relatives to the inclemencies of an ever-varying sky. Let these be as they should be, and horrible atrocities shall cease to be perpetrated, and invidious distinctions shall be abolished, and all shall live in brotherhood and love.

* We have all along spoken of the Bengali poets in the spirit of kindly criticism. We have endeavoured, as much as we could, to palliate their faults, and have been lavish of praise on their beauties; but now that we have finished our notice of them, we must make the admission, that compared with the poets of Britain, and even with the Sanskrit poets, they sink into utter insignificance. Valmiki and Vyasa and Kalidas have no compeers among the authors reviewed; far less have Milton and Shakspeare. The poets of Britain are indeed a glorious band, and their productions are wonderfully varied. The profound simplicity of Chaucer, the luxuriance of Spenser, "immortal child in poetry's most poetic solitudes," the truth and depth of Shakspeare, the sublimity of Milton, the dreaminess of Coleridge, the gorgeous mysticism of Shelley, the rich coloring of Keats, the unaffected devoutness of Cowper, the deep feeling of the Ayrshire ploughman, the grandeur of him who sung of Thalaba, "the wild and wondrous song," the vigour and freshness of Thomson, the polish of Campbell, the gaiety and sparkle of Moore, and the philosophic thoughtfulness of Wordsworth, are unequalled in their several ways. Nor can the ballads of King *Karna* and *Pralhad Charitra* bear any comparison with the old English ballads of Chevy Chase, Sir Cauline, and Childe Waters.

Meanwhile we have strong hopes of better days for Bengali poetry and Bengali literature generally, as well as for the people of Bengal. Already have issued, under the patronage of the Council of Education, works in the Vernacular tongue, which, whatever may be their defects, have a laudable object in view; and under that of the Vernacular Literature Committee, an illustrated Penny Magazine for the diffusion of useful knowledge among all classes of native society. These and like undertakings will materially help to develop the latent capabilities of the Bengali language. They will accelerate the approach of the wished-for time, when the Bengalis, instead of being an idolatrous, priest-ridden and semi-barbarous race, shall rank high in the scale of civilization. And this time is not distant. The great and glorious consummation is at hand. Glimpses of the promised land, the land of Beulah, the land flowing with milk and honey, are clearly discernible, and our joy is similar to that of the thirsty stag in a trackless desert, so often described by Bengali poets, at the far off semblance of refreshing waters. Ours, however, is no transient delusion,—no unsubstantial show. Ere long the prospect before us shall be vividly defined, the uplands and hills shall "wear like a garment, the glory of the morning;" the clouds shall disperse and vanish from the firmament, and the sun shall shine *until it is perfect day*.

- ART. II.—1. *The Homœopathic Times, or Review of British and Foreign Medical Literature and Science.* 1850-1851. London.
2. *A Treatise on the Principles and Practice of Homœopathy*, by Francis Black, M. D.
3. *The British Journal of Homœopathy.*
4. *Elements of General Pathology*, by the late John Fletcher, M. D. Edited by J. J. Drysdale, M. D., and J. R. Russell, M. D.
5. *Hahnemann's Novum Organum.* Translated by Dr. Dudgeon.
6. *Recherches cliniques sur le traitement de la Pneumonie et du Choléra, suivant la méthode de Hahnemann, précédée d'une introduction sur l'abus de la statistique en médecine, par le Docteur J. P. Tessier, Médecin de l'Hôpital Ste. Marguerite. (Hôtel Dieu annexe.)* 8vo. 1850. Baillière.
7. *Health, Disease and Homœopathic Treatment, rationally considered.* By J. Stuart Sutherland, M. D., late of the H. E. I. C. Medical Service.
8. *An Inquiry into the Homœopathic Practice of Medicine.* By William Henderson, M. D., Professor of Medicine and General Pathology, and lately one of the Professors of Clinical Medicine, in the University of Edinburgh.
9. *Introduction to the Study of Homœopathy.* Edited by Dr. Drysdale and Dr. Rutherford Russell.

THERE are few persons in England, America, or on the continent of Europe, who will be disposed to question the assertion, that the science of Homœopathy is now a *great fact*—that it has assumed a position, and achieved a success, which call upon all minds of intelligence to investigate its principles, and determine the propriety of its claim to the discovery of a new law, which would overturn the whole of the present practice of medicine, and introduce in its place a system comparatively certain in its results, and successful, safe, and pleasant beyond all former experience. In India, however, this system is still comparatively unknown, and though we imagine few mails now arrive without bringing their quota of votaries to the new art, the popular opinion upon the subject is still so vague, that we propose to draw up a sketch, from the numerous publications at the head of this article, of its principal features and progress in various parts of the world; our pen speeded, our hearts lightened on the way, by that firm faith in this breaking forth of a new era in the noble art of medicine, which distinguishes

all those who have given their thoughts to the study, or themselves to the treatment, of Homœopathy.

In Calcutta the labours of an educated homœopathic practitioner will have placed the subject before many of our readers in the most favourable point of view, that of successful practice; but in the Mofussil, we fear, few persons have any notion of the system, but as one of charlatanism and quackery, which has imposed upon the credulous, and which will soon die the death of all imposture, and be heard of no more. Such will be surprised to hear that its founder, Samuel Hahnemann, was an educated physician of extraordinary ability, sagacity, patience, integrity, and learning; a man of genius, that gathered around him troops of friends, who regarded him with the veneration due to a Christian sage, and whose doctrines have been espoused and vindicated by some of the first intellects of the age.

But, perhaps, we cannot begin our observations better than by a brief notice of the life and character of the celebrated reformer, who carried on so brave a crusade against those dark pills and potions, whose memory still carries terror to our emancipated spirit.

Samuel Christian Frederick Hahnemann was born of humble parents at Meissen, in Saxony, on the 10th of April, 1753. Little is known of his early education at the public school of his native town, excepting that he had made such progress in the learned languages, that his master entrusted him with the tuition of the junior class in Greek.

At twenty years of age, he entered himself as a student of the university of Leipsic, his pocket scantily furnished with twenty dollars; but he possessed that which no money can buy, an indomitable will, an untiring perseverance, and a fixed resolve to do his duty; and that he was no idler, either in his literary, scientific, or medical studies, his copious, erudite, and accurate style, his success in chemistry, and his accurate descriptions of disease, sufficiently testify.

From Leipsic he went to Vienna, where he attended the hospitals, and so won the confidence of the profession, as to have a portion of the hospital entrusted to his entire care. At the university of Erlangen in 1799, he obtained the degree of M. D., and was shortly afterwards appointed district physician at Gommeren, near Magdeburg, an appointment that ensured him a certain amount of practice and some little emolument.

Here he practised for some time with more than ordinary success, obtaining for himself an honourable reputation, both for integrity and skill. But his own mind was not satisfied; keenly

' alive to the responsibilities of his situation, the practice of medicine presented to his thoughtful temper many glaring inconsistencies, and the question pressed hard upon him—How is it possible with conscientious fidelity to discharge my trust? Is there no great principle, no *law* by which I may guide my course? In vain did he seek this law, either in the theories or practice of the most eminent physicians, and at last, thoroughly disheartened, he gave up his practice, emolument, every thing, though at this time a married man and a father, and retired into penury and obscurity, away from a profession which he considered unequal to the task demanded of it.

These are his own words to the illustrious Hufeland, "It was agony to me to walk always in darkness, to prescribe, according to such or such a hypothesis concerning disease, substances which owe their place in the *materia medica* to an arbitrary decision. I could not treat conscientiously the unknown morbid conditions of my suffering brethren, by these unknown medicines, which being very active substances, may (unless applied with a rigorous exactness, which the physician cannot exercise, because their peculiar effects have not yet been examined) so easily occasion death, or produce new affections and chronic maladies, often more difficult to remove than the original disease. That I might no longer incur the risk of doing any injury, I engaged exclusively in chemistry and literary occupations."

• Hahnemann's skill in chemistry was remarkable, and some of the preparations and tests he discovered, still retain his name. But though he had given up the practice of his profession, he had by no means retired to idleness; and the following account is given by one of his disciples, of the extent of his studies and pursuit after knowledge:—"He had been a traveller in many ages, in many countries, in painful study, in watchings, in vigils; to him all medical literature was tributary, the fragmentary medical lore of the older Ind, of mysterious Egypt, of marvellous Arabia, the learning of Greece and Rome, the Babylonish dialects of modern times, the researches of alchemy, the growth of chemistry, the reveries of the poet, the recorded facts of natural history, in a word, whatever was needful to constitute the reformer of medicine, was under his sway. He had sifted all medical theories; all of medical science that deserved the name he had digested; all history that referred to his art, from the earliest record of our race to his own time, he had travelled through. He harmonised all experiments that had been made before and during his time, on the subject of defending, ameliorating, and prolong-

ing human life. He proved the depths of the vast sea, and explored the shallows that lay on the surface of what was called medicine, and, like a true interpreter, cautiously, and yet firmly, he declared the Delphian knowledge that was given him. Yet such was the noble simplicity of the man, that while he was the teacher for all time, the humblest who approached him at once discovered that he was their modest fellow-student and co-labourer." After reading the above tribute to Hahnemann and his studies, we feel inclined to echo Coleridge's exclamation of, "Hahnemann was a fine fellow!" But we must hasten on to that discovery of the true law of healing, which restored him to the temple of Esculapius, and which has since rendered his name so famous.

While translating the *Materia Medica* of Cullen, he was struck by the fact, that cinchona, when taken by a healthy person, produces symptoms analogous to those of intermittent fever; he tried the bark upon himself when in health, and found that the statement was correct. The idea now occurred to him, that the power of this drug in curing fever and ague might be in its power of producing a similar disease. He repeated his experiments, made many trials of various drugs upon himself and others; each new trial confirmed his opinion; and in 1790, he was satisfied that the long, the earnestly sought *law of healing* was in his grasp, and that the true cure for disease was to be found in the application of those remedies, which would cause a like malady in persons in health. He expressed this by the terms, "*similia similibus curentur*"—"let likes be treated by likes," or "like cures like."

Yet, though convinced himself of the discovery of a new and important truth, and one for which he had so long thirsted, nothing can mark more significantly the patient, practical character of the man, than the fact, that for *six years* he carefully and diligently pursued his researches. He discovered, in the records of ancient and modern medicine, that this principle was constantly shown in the operation of medicines designated as specifics; several eminent authorities he found had obscurely alluded to it, and at last he gave it to the world in *Hufeland's Journal*, 1796, under the title of "An attempt to find a new principle for the discovery of the healing power of medicine."

And here we will pause a moment to call the attention of our readers to the circumstance, that Hahnemann's discovery was not the mere theory of a chamber philosopher indulging in idle reveries, but a plain induction from facts and experiments, arrived at by a practical chemist and physician of great ability, after a series of trials covering many years of his life,

and one therefore, however new or startling, against which no arguments can hold weight, unless they previously overturn the scientific facts upon which it is grounded.

Hahnemann's next step was to ascertain diligently the effects of various drugs upon the healthy frame, and for this purpose he conducted a course of experiments upon himself and friends—who willingly aided him in enduring patiently the annoyance of a rigid regimen, and the severe suffering produced by the medicines; and after thus labouring in the cause of truth for fifteen years, he published, in 1805, his "*Fragmenta de viribus medicamentorum positivis*."

For the next five years he was engaged in preparing his "*Organon of the Healing Art*," which he published in 1810, being the result of twenty years' observation, containing a full explanation of the homœopathic mode of practice; and in 1811 he returned to Leipsic, where he publicly practised, according to the new law which he had promulgated, and where he met with the most brilliant and unexampled success. At this time he commenced the publication of his "*Materia Medica Pura*," six volumes of which appeared in succession. But the hostility of the profession would allow him no repose; their jealousy was aroused by his success, and this instigated the apothecaries to carry into execution an obsolete law forbidding the physician to prepare and dispense his own medicines; this forced him to abandon Leipsic and his lucrative practice, and settle at Colthen, where he was kindly received by Duke Ferdinand, who honored him with the title of Councillor of State. Here he published his work on "chronic diseases," and remained for several years, finding it to be a haven of repose after the stormy life which he had led at Leipsic, where he had been subjected to the most contemptible indignities, and most unrelenting persecution from his medical brethren, whose reception of him was thus characterised by the celebrated Richter,—"*Hahnemann, this rare double head of learning and philosophy, whose system must drag to ruin the vulgar recipe-heads, although at present it is but little known, and more scoffed at than welcomed.*"

In 1835 Hahnemann married his second wife, and with her removed to Paris, where he practised to the last, still toiling, still learning with all the freshness and vigour of youth; his affectionate spirit soothed by the love of numerous and devoted friends, his devotion to his art gratified by the extension of his system throughout Europe and the greater part of America. With heart unchilled, intellect unclouded, his spirit left this mortal life in 1844, in his 89th year. In figure Hahnemann was tall and of a noble and commanding presence; the head and fore-

head finely formed ; his manner of living was very simple, and he seems to have been guided in his life by a most reverent spirit of obedience to his Creator. He was in the habit of daily seeking the blessing of the Most High on the selection and the use of his medicines, and there is something nobly characteristic in some of the last words recorded from his death-bed. When some of his disciples recalled, in terms of praise, the great work he had achieved during his life, and the fame he had earned in so many countries, he exclaimed—"Why should I have been thus distinguished ; each of us should here attend to the duties which God has imposed upon him. Although men may distinguish a greater and a less, yet no one has any merit. God owes nothing to me, I owe all to Him."

Such was Samuel Hahnemann. His history is not that of the statesman wielding the power of empires, of the warrior leading his troops to conquest, but that of the patient large-minded, or, as Richter has it, "double-headed philosopher," one of those men given at long intervals to benefit mankind, whose genius can grasp new truths, whose patient experience can prove them to all capable of receiving them, and whose firm indomitable spirit can support them in the face of all opposition, or of personal reproach and persecution.

We will now return to the subject of Homœopathy itself, entering more particularly into its principles and practice, and endeavour to answer the question so constantly sounding in our ears,—“What is Homœopathy?” “It is emphatically a system of specifics, its distinguishing characteristic being, that every individual disease ought to be combated by therapeutic agents, having a distinct individual property, bearing directly upon the morbid action of the disease.” In this principle, embodied in the popular expression of “Like cures like,” we have the foundation-stone of the system, though it is also accompanied by three corollaries, which we believe all homœopaths consider as indispensable to a true and successful practice of the new method.

The 1st, is a necessary consequence of the original law, and demands a close and searching investigation of the properties of each individual medicine, ascertained by numerous and repeated experiments upon the healthy human frame.

2nd. That each medicine shall be administered singly.

And 3rdly, that the quantity administered shall be the very smallest compatible with the restoration of the patient.

On this last point, both as regards the particular preparation of the medicine, and the actual quantity administered to the patient, much diversity of opinion exists, some

practitioners preferring the use of "mother tinctures," others lauding their success from the exclusive employment of infinitesimals of the 30th and other high dilutions, yet all agreeing upon the above law, as regulated by their individual experience, and all employing drugs in portions, which are infinitesimal, as compared with those in use among their predecessors and allopathic* contemporaries.

We can now imagine those of our readers, who have come to the discussion of the subject with unbiassed minds, but who have hitherto heard of Homœopathy as something so inconceivably absurd as to be capable of imposing only upon the simple, exclaiming in some surprise—Is this Homœopathy? Surely there is something highly scientific in a system, which thus requires a physician to adapt his remedy so exactly to the disease of his patient, and in choosing it under all circumstances according to a certain determinate law.

Must not such a profession require a patient study of medicine, and of disease, superior to that now required of the ordinary practitioner? Must not much skill be needed to group leading symptoms, where all strongly resemble each other, to separate the accidental from the constitutional, and to catch those higher characteristic features, which render the prescription for one individual totally useless to another, though to the unpractised eye each case may show no difference? While he may ask again—Why should not the medical professor, as in all other sciences, act according to some established principle? Do not all thoughtful men desire this? Would not both science and mankind gain greatly by such a discovery? We think so, and fearlessly challenge the approbation of every wise man for the various points of homœopathic practice, beginning with that which demands that the powers and properties of each medicine be determined by the most accurate and repeated experiments. The carpenter knows his tools, the dyer his colours, and the homœopathic physician,—relieved from the reproach of D'Alembert, that, "the doctor being truly a blind man, armed with a club, as chance directs his blow, will be certain of annihilating either nature or the disease,"—knows what he is using, and can give a precise reason for the application of every drug in his possession. On this point, even his professional opponents may owe his publications some gratitude. After a second or third large dose of calomel, they may now also determine, with some precision, how much suffering in the patient may be

* A term invented to describe the usual medical system, as distinguished from the homœopathic; and derived, we suppose, from *ἄλλος*, other or opposite, as the name of the new system is derived from *ὁμοιος*, like or similar.—ED.

due to the original disease, how much to the remedy, and the balance accurately struck may not be without its benefit to both parties. Hahnemann's definition of medicines is that "they afford no nourishment, they are preternatural irritations, solely destined to modify the amount of bodily health, to injure the vitality and functions of the organs, to produce disagreeable sensations, in a word to make the healthy sick." * * *

"Not unlike in this respect to the specific miasmata of disease in small-pox, measles, the venom of serpents, &c.; each simple medicine creates its own special disease, a series of determinate symptoms, which no other medicine in the world can exactly produce."

Is not that a merciful system, which thus insists upon the trial of the caustic drugs, the burning oil, the fearful purge, the irritating stimulant, the heavy-eyed narcotic, not upon the lacerated frame and tender nerves, and morbid sensations of the already suffering patient, but upon the comparatively impartial test of the healthy body and easy mind of one, who may thus readily detect the power and effects of the foreign substances upon which he is experimenting?

For the simple administration of single medicines, we must also challenge approbation, holding heartily with Bacon that "there has been hitherto a great deficiency in the recipes of propriety respecting the particular cures of diseases; for as to the confections of sale, which are in the shops, they are for readiness, and not for propriety, for they are upon general intentions of purging, opening, comforting, altering, and not much appropriate to particular diseases." But upon this point we cannot do better than let Hahnemann speak for himself, and with tolerable certainty that his arguments may meet with a reply, but with no answer:—

"Is it wise," he asks, "to mix many substances in one recipe? Can we, by so doing, ever raise medicine to certainty? Can we tell which of the substances we have employed has effected the cure, which the aggravation? Can we know, in a similar case, what medicine to avoid, what to select?"

"Of all the problems in physics, the ascertainment of a resultant of various forces is the most difficult to solve, and yet we can measure with accuracy the individual composing forces. In vital dynamics we cannot gauge a single simple force, and yet we dare to guess at the result of an exceedingly complex combination. Would it not puzzle any one to predict the position which six billiard balls, flung, with the eyes shut, upon the table, would ultimately assume?—and yet your practitioner flings into the human system his half-dozen

ingredients, and professes to know their exact result upon the sensitive frame. He who frames the prescription, prescribes to each ingredient the part which it is to play in the human body. This will serve as basis, that as adjuvant; a third as corrigens; a fourth as excipiens! In virtue of my power, I forbid all these ingredients to wander from the post assigned them. I wish that the corrective be not deficient in covering the faults of the base or the adjuvant, but I expressly forbid it to leave the boundaries which are traced for it, or to pretend to enact itself a part contrary to that of this base. As to the adjuvant, thou shalt be the mentor of my base, thou shalt assist it in its painful task, but recollect well that thou art only bound to sustain it; go not, I advise thee, to perform any other duty, or act contrary to it. Have not the audacity to undertake some expedition upon thine own account, or to counter-mine the intentions of my base; although thou art another thing, thou must still act in concert with her, for I command thee. To all I confide the conduct of a most important affair; expel from the blood what you discover to be impure, without touching what you find to be good; alter what you find to be abnormal, modify what seems to you unhealthy. You have to diminish the irritability of the muscular fibre, to calm the excessive sensibility of the nerves, to procure sleep and repose. See you these convulsions of the arm, these spasms of the neck of the bladder, I wish that you appease them; see you that man a prey to jaundice, I command you to bleach his face and deobstruate his biliary ducts, no matter whether it is spasm or a mechanical obstacle that renders them impermeable. See thou this patient attacked with putrid fever? Dear base saltpetre, I pray thee hasten to avert the putrefaction. Excuse not thyself by saying that thou art always unfortunate in thy expeditions, for I will give thee as adjuvant sulphuric acid, which will aid thee in all that thou wilt undertake, although these fools of chemists would make us believe that you cannot be found in company without ceasing to be what you are, without being changed into nitrate and sulphate of potash, as if that could take place without the consent of him who framed the prescription. Dear base opium, I have an obstinate and painful cough, which I reserve for thee to attack. I confide to thee this task, to thee to whom the asclepiades have granted the duty of relieving spasms and pain, however difficult they may be, as the seven planets have received the order in the secular calendar to rule such or such part of our body. I have,

' however, heard that sometimes thou bindest the belly. In
 ' short that this phantasy may not seize thee now, I associate
 ' with thee such and such a laxative drug; it is for thee to
 ' watch that this latter does not destroy thy action. It has
 ' also been whispered that heat of skin and perspirations are
 ' caused by thee. If it is so, I give thee camphor as correc-
 ' tive, to control thy conduct. Some one has lately pretended
 ' that you lost your properties by marching side by side. But
 ' we cannot suffer this. Each of you ought to fill the office
 ' which has been assigned you by the constitutional materia
 ' medica. But they still tell me that you hurt the stomach;
 ' but to correct this inconvenience, I will order with thee several
 ' stomachics, and I command the patient to drink a cup of
 ' coffee, which, according to the writings of our schools, aids
 ' digestion, for I have no confidence in these innovators, who
 ' say, on the contrary, that it impairs it. As a last advice,
 ' thou wilt take care that the stomach be not weakened, for to
 ' this end art thou base. And thus it is that each ingredient of
 ' a prescription receives its part, as if it were a being endowed
 ' with consciousness and liberty. These four symptoms and
 ' more ought to be combated by as many different remedies.
 ' Imagine then, Arccsilas, how many drugs must be accumu-
 ' lated, *secundum artis leges*, in order to direct the attack at
 ' once upon all points. Tendency to vomit requires one thing,
 ' diarrhœa another, fever and nocturnal sweats a third; be-
 ' sides, the poor patient is so feeble, that he needs much a
 ' stimulant, or even several, in order that what cannot be done
 ' with one may be effected by the other. But what should
 ' happen, if all these symptoms depended upon the same cause,
 ' as is almost always the case, and if there existed a drug
 ' sufficient for all these symptoms. Ah! that would be a
 ' different thing. But it would be tedious for us to make
 ' researches of this kind; we find it more convenient to in-
 ' troduce into the formula something which corresponds with
 ' each indication, and acting thus we obey all the commands of
 ' the school. But science, but the precious life of man!

' "No man can serve two masters at once. But do you con-
 ' scientiously believe that your mixture goes to produce that
 ' which you attribute to each ingredient, as if the drugs which
 ' compose it ought to exercise no influence, no action, the
 ' one upon the other. Do you not see that two dynamic
 ' agents can never, when united, produce what they would do
 ' separate? That from them arises an intermediate effect, which
 ' previously we could not calculate upon. Learn, then, that
 ' three, or even four substances mixed together do not produce

' what you would expect were they given singly, at different.
 ' times, and that they determine an intermediate effect, whether
 ' you see it or not. In such cases the order of battle which you
 ' assign to each ingredient absolutely serves for nothing. Na-
 ' ture obeys eternal laws without asking you if she ought.
 ' She loves simplicity, and does much with a single remedy,
 ' whilst you do so little with so many. Imitate then nature.
 ' To prescribe compound prescriptions is the height of empiri-
 ' cism. The more complicated our recipes, the darker will
 ' it be in medicine. To give the *right*, not the many *mixed*,
 ' is the stroke of art."

And now we come to the third point, the great stumbling
 block in the path of his opponents, *the smallness of Hahnemann's doses*, and we do so fearlessly, demanding for this novelty the same approbation, which we have claimed for the other parts of his system. Upon what grounds? Upon the very strongest and surest that can be set forth as the foundation of any new theory—those of direct experiment. When he first commenced the practice of the homœopathic system, Hahnemann administered his medicines in doses nearly as large as those in ordinary use; but his accurate knowledge of the remedies he was using soon showed him that they occasioned aggravations, and new pains and complicated symptoms, which added to the sufferings and impeded the cure of his patients. And he gradually, and by the most patient attention and experiment, reduced the amount of his doses, until he found, that in many cases, and generally in exact proportion to the fitness of the remedy, the very smallest quantities were sufficient to effect a cure. His practice, in this respect, varied according to the age, sex, or strength of the patient. Some of his last cures were attained by merely smelling the appropriate medicine, while in other cases he would give at once a whole drop of the "mother tincture." How drugs can act upon disease in quantities so inconceivable to all previous habits of thought, it is hard to say; but that they do act in this way, is a fact ascertained by direct experiment, in the first instance, by Hahnemann, and since, by the whole body of his disciples, amounting in America alone to 1,500 educated medical practitioners. To say that that is not possible, which every day's observation demonstrates to be an assured scientific fact, is mere assertion, of no value against positive demonstrative experience; while, to refuse to employ these medicines until we know how they act, as Hahnemann justly observes, would be like a man's refusing to light his fire until he knew why his striking together the flint and steel should generate a new substance, fire, whose momentary

contact should yet suffice to melt and carry away with it small particles of the hard metal.

Many theories have been broached as to the action of small doses. They are generally supposed to influence the vital powers directly through the nerves, but into such discussions we do not presume to enter; they form the subject of pure philosophical investigation, and the truth may, or may not, reward enquiry. Our province lies only with those parts of the system which admit of ordinary tests, and which any one of fair ability and of honest, patient temper may ascertain for himself.

We must not, however, forget to remind our readers that homœopathic drugs are not administered in their raw state, but after the most careful preparation; and it was to the new powers communicated to them by shaking and trituration that Hahnemann attributed great part of their curative success, considering this to be among the greatest of his discoveries. "He found that various substances, insoluble in their crude state, became, after trituration, capable of solution either in water or spirits of wine." The dark liquor obtained from the sepia is soluble, in its primitive condition, only in water, but the homœopathic process makes it soluble in spirits of wine also. Magnesia, marble, and other calcareous substances, after undergoing this process, become perfectly soluble, though they will not thoroughly combine with either water or spirits of wine before it.

"Hahnemann announces himself as the first observer of these chemical facts, but still more emphatically, as the first who has detected that great increase of power in medicines through rubbing or shaking, to which we have already alluded. Accordingly it is upon the augmented force of the medicines, however reduced in bulk, which results from his mode of preparing them, that Hahnemann seems inclined to rest his explanation of the efficacy of infinitesimal doses.

"The clown, who lights his pipe with flint and steel, little thinks of the surprising power which his operation has developed; mere rubbing will draw out the latent caloric, for Count Rumford found that chambers might be heated by the simple motion of metal plates rubbed rapidly together. Horn, bone, ivory, and some other substances, though inodorous when left alone, emit a strong smell when subjected to friction."

For a full account of the various methods employed in preparing homœopathic medicines, we refer our readers to Dr. Black's interesting sketch of the "principles and practice of

Homœopathy." We shall merely observe that the principal end to be obtained is the perfect solution and division of the substances, and for this purpose, water, alcohol, sugar of milk, and in some cases æther, are employed. "The water must be perfectly pure and distilled, the vessels used perfectly clean, the mortars should be of porcelain, never of metal, the spatulas of bone, and well scraped every time they are used. Great care must be taken that the substances be perfectly genuine; plants should, if possible, be procured green, or if dried, never in powder, and the ordinary tinctures of drugs are never to be employed. Tinctures of all indigenous plants are to be procured by expressing the juice, and adding to this an equal quantity of pure alcohol. After standing a few days, the clear fluid is to be carefully decanted, and preserved for use in well stoppered bottles. This is what is called the "mother tincture." All mineral and animal substances, and exotic vegetable substances, are best prepared by trituration with sugar of milk. The future attenuations are prepared in such a manner, that the first contains one grain of medicine, or one drop of the mother tincture to be attenuated, mixed with one hundred grains of sugar of milk, or a hundred drops of alcohol, and then shaking or triturating for a due time; the second is procured by adding the hundredth part of the first to four hundred new parts of the vehicle, submitting it to the same process. The third in submitting to the same process, the hundredth part of the second, and so on to the thirtieth."

Another great contribution to medical science, from the genius of Hahnemann, was his work upon chronic diseases, which, according to him, owe their origin to three miasms,—psora, syphilis, and sycosis. After twelve years of diligent research, he was led to believe that psora was the source of most chronic complaints. He found that chronic diseases, treated with his best skill, "frequently re-appeared after seeming cured, that they always appeared under a form more or less modified, and with new symptoms, and each year with a perceptible increase in their intensity. From this he concluded that we have in sight only a portion of the deeply seated primitive evil, the vast extent of which is shown by new symptoms being developed from time to time, and that we ought to know all the accidents and symptoms produced by this primary unseen cause, in order to seek a homœopathic remedy." His theory was confirmed by observing that this class of disease never yielded to the most healthy diet or the most regular life. He next observed that this difficulty of treating certain affections,

apparently occurred in patients who had formerly had scabies, and who traced their illness from that period, or in those in whom, though forgotten by themselves, slight traces of the eruption could be found. He says, "These circumstances, joined to the fact established by numerous observations of medical writers, and sometimes by my own experience, that the suppression of a psoric* eruption had been immediately followed in patients otherwise healthy by similar or analogous symptoms, left in my mind no doubt as to the internal evil which I had to combat."

His next care was to discover anti-psoric remedies, and attentive observation of their curative effect confirmed him more than ever in the conviction that, to the driving-in of psoric eruptions was to be attributed the origin of most chronic maladies. "It persuaded me that not only the greater part of the innumerable skin-diseases, distinguished and denominated so minutely by Willan, but also the pseudo-organizations, from the wart upon the finger to the enlargement of bones and deviations of the vertebral column to many other softening and distortions of bones in infancy and adult age; that the frequent epistaxis, the congestions of the hæmorrhoidal veins, hæmoptysis, hæmatemesis, and hæmaturia, amenorrhœa, menorrhagia, habitual nocturnal sweats, dryness of the skin, habitual diarrhœa, obstinate constipation, chronic erratic pains, convulsions appearing during many consecutive years, in a word, the thousand chronic affections to which pathology assigns different names, are only, with few exceptions, the off-sets of a polymorphous psora, the ramifications of a single, immense, fundamental disease."

From numerous writers Hahnemann collected a large number of cases, showing how frequently disease was caused by the repulsion of psoric eruptions by external applications. "With patient industry he tracked the unseen unnoticed taint to its ancient forms, marked it in the chronic diseases of the modern, and finally concluded that its original type was to be found in the leprosy of the Old Testament, and in that of the Arabians, and in that once prevalent malady for which Lazar houses were erected in almost every town and city of Christendom."

As may be readily supposed, the discoveries and experiments of Hahnemann upon this subject, have led to improvements in medical science almost equal in value to the original law propounded by him. The homœopathic physician thinks it mad-

* Psora is a general name for skin disease.

ness to drive in or repel those external manifestations, by means of which nature has probably saved a vital organ, or at least given warning of a subtle enemy, but treats them with appropriate remedies. Under his care the tender infant is no longer poisoned for life by the driving-in of a teething eruption; he hails the unsightly sore as a friendly notice of threatened evil, and with gentle hand combats the lurking taint within. But Homœopathy does more than this, it boldly meets the hereditary disease, which, in consumption, scrofula, or other fearful maladies, desolates our hearths and strikes down our children with premature decay. Listen to the testimony of Dr. James Chapman, so well known as an allopathic practitioner in the neighbourhood of Liverpool:—"We have repeatedly seen the children of unhealthy parents born comparatively healthy, when those parents have been put on the anti-psoric treatment. We have known families, where child after child has died in the first two or three years of life, in which, after the parents had been treated homœopathically, healthier children, with the promise of long life, have been born." This is but the testimony of one convert to the new system, but all homœopaths will confirm such statements, and will tell you of cases wherein the disease, after resisting the most appropriate remedies, has yielded like magic to the exhibition of a well chosen anti-psoric.

Having given in the preceding pages a slight sketch of the general principles and high aims of Hahnemann's system, we now propose to look over in detail a few of those points in which we consider the new method of cure to be so infinitely superior to the old one. The first place must be given to its great comparative success; for to this test, of course, must the value of all improvements be eventually referred.

"If its method of cure could be shown to be only equal to that of its opponents, it would deserve a preference for its safety and pleasantness; but when we can show that it is not only safer and surer, but that mortality, even in the fiercest and most intractable diseases, has been greatly diminished by its influence, surely every sane and unprejudiced person must admit that a fair case has been made out for the establishment of homœopathic hospitals."

The editor of the *Homœopathic Times* gives the proportion of deaths to the number of cases treated in allopathic hospitals and infirmaries, as from nine to ten per cent; in homœopathic institutions as from four to five per cent., leaving a balance of five per cent. in favour of Homœopathy. The mean duration of treatment of patients in allopathic hospitals and infirmaries as from twenty-eight to twenty-nine

days; in homœopathic institutions from twenty to twenty-one days, giving an average time of eight days less with homœopathic than with allopathic treatment. He says, "These results have not been obtained by the invidious selection of particular hospitals, but from the summary of the reports which have been published. They have been furnished by the allopathic hospitals of Berlin, Vienna, Leipsic, Dresden, and many other German hospitals; the provincial infirmaries of France, as those of Montpelier, Lyons, &c., and the hospitals of Paris. In these kingdoms, the hospitals of St. Thomas and St. George in London, and the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, have furnished data. The homœopathic institutions, whose reports have been consulted, are those of Leipsic, Vienna, Munich, Breig in Silesia, and two hospitals in Hungary."

In a commission of enquiry appointed by Duke William of Brunswick, the books of both allopathic and of homœopathic practitioners were examined with the view of discovering the respective proportions between cases treated and deaths. The highest homœopathic proportion was three in the hundred, the lowest less than one; whilst the allopathic proportion ranged from eight to ten in the hundred. When it is known that the practitioners of Brunswick are obliged, under pain of heavy penalties, to keep a faithful register of cases treated and deaths occurring, and that the enquiry extended in the case of one of the homœopathists over ten years, and in the case of another over four, statistical information of this kind must be allowed to have great weight.

Dr. Black gives various statistical reports from French and German published statements, a comparative account of the treatment of a French regiment of hussars, with the results during several years, and the following is his comparative view of the results of both systems in various acute diseases:—

Name of Disease.	Allopathic Treat.			Homœopathic Treat.		
	No cases.	No deaths.	Deaths per cent.	No cases.	No deaths.	Deaths per cent.
<i>Inflammation of the substance of the Lungs</i>						
Pneumonia	362	38	10.5	176	14	8.0
<i>Inflammation in the Peritonæum—</i>						
Peritonitis	34	11	32.3	58	4	6.9
Erysipelas	93	8	8.6	122	2	1.6
<i>Inflammation of the Liver—</i>						
Hepatitis	99	14	14.0	12	0	0.
<i>Small Pox—</i>						
Variola	159	53	33.3	54	10	18.5
<i>Water in the Head.</i>						
Hydrocephalus	70	63	90.0	7	4	57.1

Dr. Oryanne, in the *Homœopathic Times*, gives elaborate calculations and observations upon pneumonia, from the published statements of Skoda and others, and of various public institutions; and after a careful analysis of respective ages, &c., he gives one death in nineteen as the result of homœopathic treatment, and one death in seven cases under Allopathy.

In the treatment of cholera, that fearful malady, which has so long set at nought the art of the physician, the statistics of Homœopathy show a great superiority of success. The number of deaths has been reckoned at sixteen per cent., while the mortality under allopathic treatment has been counted at fifty per cent.

Dr. Mabit was created, by the French King, Knight of the Legion of Honour, in 1836, for his successful homœopathic treatment of Asiatic cholera at Bourdeaux, and for his eminent success in a homœopathic hospital, which he had established in that town; he has collected, from authentic sources, the results of the allopathic and homœopathic treatment of cholera. In his table he gives the comparative trial of each town or country separately, and also the period at which the cholera raged. The following are the results:—

<i>Treated allopathically.</i>	<i>Cured.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
4,95,027	2,54,788	2,40,239

Giving 49 as the per-centage of deaths.

<i>Treated homœopathically in the same districts.</i>	<i>Cured.</i>	<i>Died.</i>
2,239	2,069	170

Giving 7½ as the per-centage of deaths.

The following results of the homœopathic treatment of cholera in N. W. Prussia, we extract from the *Prussian State Gazette*, No. 316, November 14, 1831. The report is drawn up by Dr. Sieder, a Stadt physician. Cured by homœopathic treatment, eighty-six out of 109, or about 79 per cent. Ditto by Allopathy, sixty out of 199, or 30 per cent. Ditto by nature, without the aid of physic, sixteen out of forty-nine, or nearly 33 per cent.

The cholera attacked the territory of Raab in Hungary with great violence. Dr. Bakody undertook the homœopathic treatment of cholera patients, and his official reports were placed among the public archives by the imperial health commissioner, Count Frany Ferraris. The proportion, taken from these reports, is for allopathic treatment five deaths for seven recoveries; for homœopathic treatment, two deaths for forty-nine recoveries. But our readers will cry out '*jam satis*;' we will therefore only add, that in Vienna, during the raging of the cholera, the Emperor sanctioned the homœopathic treatment of patients, on condition that two allopathic physicians should be appointed to report on the nature of the cases taken into the hospital, as well as to observe the course of treatment. The report of the commissioner shows, that whereas two-thirds of those treated homœopathically recovered, two-thirds of those treated allopathically died, and in consequence, the Emperor repealed the existing laws against Homœopathy, and endowed a public hospital, in which the progress and success of the new system, under Dr. Fleischmann, have become matters of European notoriety.

In the above extracts, we have, we think, fulfilled our promise, and shewn that in the cure of the most dreaded maladies, Homœopathy has achieved a success which has been beyond all former experience; and our readers must recollect that hospitals give reports only of the maladies of the poor, who have little time to attend to aught but alarming illnesses, and that such statements give no idea of the vast amount of suffering removed, both by the exclusion of the old-fashioned remedies, and by the speedy relief afforded by the new ones. In the same manner a week's diminution of the average number of days consumed under treatment, affords no notion of the speed with which a patient has been relieved of his most intolerable pains, often in the course of a few hours: or of the state in which he has been dismissed from a homœopathic hospital, when in the place of a weak, sickly individual, who long requires home, care and attention, you see a person, who, from the exhibition of well chosen anti-psorics, will tell you with exultation, "that he is 'not only well of his complaint, but that somehow or other, 'these new doctors, he doesn't know how, have cured him of 'aches and pains of long standing, and he never felt so well in 'his life.'" At this distance from England, we are unable to consult at will those documents, which would give us an opportunity of laying before our readers a complete exhibition of homœopathic power; but the success of Hahnemann's system has been equally great in the treatment of disease generally; and

in cases of whooping cough, bronchitis, croup, scarlet fever, threatened convulsions after a severe fall, dangerous low typhus fever, we can ourselves testify to its triumph; to say nothing of the tooth-aches, ear-aches, violent head-aches, sicknesses, colds, coughs, sore-throats, quinsies, diarrhoeas, the teething attacks of infants, eruptions and disorders of children, which, either nipped in the bud, or cut short, often, by the administration of one or two doses of the remedy, render the advent of a homœopathic physician into a family one of blessing and of astonishment to its inmates.

2nd. Its comparative certainty over the old method. Man is no machine. It is but according to the will of the Supreme Creator that he lives, and moves, and has his being. Many are the obstacles to health to be found in his own carelessness, intemperance, or indulgence of those evil passions, whose subtle influence upon the diseased frame may over-power that of the best physician, who has not under his controul the secret griefs and heavy sorrows which are more or less the portion of every son and daughter of Adam. Yet granting all these circumstances, which may attend and modify the best directed efforts of human skill, the homœopathist acts according to a certain law. For certain pains and sufferings, he has an exact, corresponding remedy, and expects their removal as a scientific result of its exhibition.

3rd. Its comparative power. The grand object of the allopathist appears to be to render the unhappy bowels "the sink, whose part's to drain all noisome filth, and keep the kitchen clean;" but the homœopathist, requiring a distinct and appropriate remedy for each disease, has searched all nature for aid; and as might have been expected from the lavish bounty of our heavenly Father, he has found it: trees, herbs, animals, and minerals, all bring their quota to his store; each year adds to its variety and exactness, and there appears to be no limit to the discovery of means for the curing or alleviating of mortal disease, but in the patience, endurance, and sagacity of the discoverers. Nor is this all; his use of anti-psoric remedies will often effect the cure of a chronic malady after hope has long fled; while to the stricken parent he is the very messenger of hope, telling him that his tender babes may yet grow up in health and strength, or that the hereditary disease, which has seized upon member after member of the cherished group, may yet, with God's blessing, be eradicated or lessened in force.

4th. Its gentleness. Many disorders, hitherto given up to the lancet as the only cure, have been found amenable to homœopathic treatment. Dr. Malan relates, in the *Homœopathic*

Times, some successful cases of cataract, and observes that when this disorder is hereditary, we might as well hope to cure a tree of internal disease by plucking off the rotten fruit, as think to eradicate cataract by the knife. Of the improved treatment and frequent cure of the insane, Dr. Oryanne gives some very interesting examples in the 2nd volume of the periodical referred to above; and in cases of "tumours, abnormal growth, ulcerations, diseased joints, cancer, &c., the sufferings may be greatly alleviated, and the cure often effected without the aid of the lancet." Then the whole merciless system of purging is destroyed at once, and with it, bleeding, either from lancet or leech, setons, blisters, and blistering ointments, whose use, it has been well observed, has made the old method certainly one of torture, if not one of cure. A water-doctor of our acquaintance, who was examining the arm of a lady, who had been treated with such appliances, exclaimed in a tone of disgust—"What *farriery* has been here!" Who that has marked the fair neck, disfigured by ruthless plunges of the lancet or by setons, or who has placed, with reluctant hands, the burning blister, or watched with sickening apprehension the bleeding leech-bite on the neck of the little infant, which nothing will stop, or the blanched cheek and sinking pulse of the wife, whose best hope lay in that life blood, of which she is being so mercilessly deprived, but must reiterate the doctor's exclamation, and hail with delight the advances of a science, which will for ever exterminate such helpless barbarities.

5th. Its comparative safety. The homœopathist does not war with nature; and when his remedy does no good, it very, very rarely does any harm. The allopathist enters into a violent contest with nature, taking little count of the constant tendency of the vital powers themselves towards efforts for health. The homœopathist, on the contrary, carefully guards the vital strength by attention to diet, and the absence of all exhausting appliances; and taking nature as his best friend and counsellor, he listens to her suggestions, aids her imperfect efforts, and gently supplies her deficiencies, scrupulously watching, lest, by his own rude handling, he should destroy her truer and more delicate operations. Then, as we have said before, the homœopathist gives no dashing purgatives, no drowsy opiates; neither do we meet with patients he has victimised with iodine, or whose faces he has blanched with bleeding, or turned blue with nitrate of silver, to say nothing of "those unfortunate persons, who, in consequence of large doses of mercury, have their teeth destroyed, their limbs racked by nocturnal pains, who suffer from diseased liver, con-

stant excruciating head-aches, and who cannot expose themselves to the slightest degree of cold without being affected by it." Another striking feature of Homœopathy, which we will here notice, is that, in proportion to the severity of the symptoms in general, is the ease of prescribing for them. Among the sickly complaints of the valetudinarian and fine lady, it may be sometimes difficult to seize upon the leading characteristic with its appropriate remedy; but in a dangerous malady, the strongly marked symptoms so clearly indicate the healing medicine, that the veriest tyro in the science may meet with the most astonishing success; and this we have witnessed repeatedly. The same can scarcely be said of the old system; the alarming symptoms may arouse the fears and quicken the cares of the medical practitioner, but cannot relieve him from the apprehension, that the morbid principle being so rampant, the violent contest he must excite to quell it, may end in the destruction of the patient.

6th. Its simplicity. The application of a single remedy, and that in quantities undiscernible by the taste or feeling of the patient, renders it easy to perceive whether the desired end has been worked or no. The experienced physician will ascertain in a few hours whether his choice has been skilfully made; (it has been said, we think, by Hahnemann, that no remedy that is truly homœopathic, will fail in showing some slight indication of change for the better in twenty-four hours,) while the sufferer, undisturbed as it were by external force, finds no difficulty in determining whether his pains have been lessened or increased since he took the medicine. If the former, the practitioner has at once gained data for further proceedings; if the latter, he judges speedily that he has erred, or that some constitutional tendency has marred his efforts. By the old method, which pours into the delicate, probably suffering stomach, large quantities of bitter, purging, nauseous medicines, no one may define how much the state of the patient may be due to the disease, or how much to the drugs he has taken. Dr. Gully, in his able work upon chronic disease, says that mercury cannot be taken internally for a derangement of the liver, without at the same time "its plunging a sword through the stomach."

7th. The comparative rationality of its dietary rules. One object of which the homœopathist never loses sight, is the husbanding of the patient's strength; for he considers all illness to imply a deficiency of vital power, or nature would require no aid. Keeping this great principle ever in view, he never starves as a system; his dietary, though subject of course,

to individual restrictions, comprises all those articles which science or long use has demonstrated to be most nourishing or easy of digestion; bread, milk, many kinds of meat, poultry, vegetables, fish and fruits, accordingly find their place in it, and nothing is forbidden as a rule but wines (those not invariably), spirits, condiments, spices, coffee, &c., which having a medicinal action of their own, would interfere directly with the action of his remedies, and also those substances which have long been held in instinctive dread by the sick, such as lobsters, salt meats, ducks, some fruits, old cheese, pastry, salads, &c., &c. In the application of his rules, the same good sense is observable; considering that illness implies a morbid irritation somewhere, he has no idea of keeping up the strength by irritating wines or bitter beers; all this he holds to be only *feeding the disease*, and increasing the cause of the loss of strength. Where there is appetite, he cautiously administers that nourishment, which is lightest and most easily digested, such as bread, milk, cocoa, &c., &c., guided still in some measure by the taste of the patient. When the appetite has failed, he never presses food, taking nature's own clear indication that the digestive powers are not in a state to assimilate it; and conceiving it to be his part to restore the appetite by appropriate treatment, while the strength will take care of itself, or rather return, on the removal of the disorder, with a speed which is astonishing to those new to the art. For ourselves, we must say that when we see a patient under ordinary practice, not only drugged to a lamentable extent, but often forced to eat food which is loathed as much as the medicine, taking broth made of animal, and therefore stimulating food during fever, or crammed with wine or beer during convalescence, and all to keep up the strength,—we consider the doctor to be only confessing his blunders; that he has indeed knocked over nature with a bludgeon, and is now trying to set her on her legs again by his own clumsy contrivances.

Our 8th and last point of comparison will be one in which the advantages of the new school show to great advantage; it is in the cordial agreement of its professors in the choice of their remedies. Skill and experience will here, as in all other affairs, best guide the judgment; but provided the physicians agree as to the character of the malady, there will be but little difference of opinion between them as to the prescription, while in the case of a new disease, their previously acquired and exact knowledge of medicine will at once suggest a likely or appropriate remedy, or at all events teach them to seek for one upon some rational grounds. Ac-

Accordingly, we find that when the Asiatic cholera first made its appearance in Europe, the homœopathists, with, we believe, one consent, immediately fixed upon camphor as the healing agent most likely to be successful; and so true were their conclusions, that to this day camphor has remained as their chief weapon in the treatment of this formidable disorder; and if applied at first, rarely fails to effect a cure, though in more advanced stages of the disease, other medicines are used with equal success, and some originally selected with the same unanimity.

In pitiful contrast, we now note the confessions of their own professors in the old school. We have read with care the reports of the medical men, who held the council in London during the last visitation of Asiatic cholera, and each medical practitioner appeared to rise in turn to propose his own nostrum, and to denounce that of the previous speaker as either futile or noxious: the only point in which all seemed to agree being in the acknowledgment of their complete failure in the discovery of any remedy, which could be relied upon for diminishing the enormous proportion of deaths. This is what is said by Dr. James Rush of Philadelphia:—"The history of the cholera, summoned up from the four quarters of the earth, presents only one tumultuous Babel of opinion, and one unavoidable farrago of practice; this even the populace learned from the daily Gazettes, and they hooted us accordingly. But it is equally true, that if the inquisitive fears of the community were to bring the real state of professional medicine to the bar of public discussion, we should find the folly and confusion scarcely less remarkable on nearly all the other topics of the art." Listen to another confession; Mr. Pinny says:—"At this moment the opinions on the subject of treatment are almost as numerous as the practitioners themselves. Witness the mass of contradiction on the treatment of even one disease, viz., consumption. Stoll attributes its frequency to the introduction of bark. Morton considers bark an effectual cure. Reid ascribes the frequency of the disease to the use of mercury, Brillonet asserts that it is curable by mercury alone. Rusc says that consumption is an inflammatory disease, and should be treated by bleeding, purging, cooling medicines, and starvation. Salvadori says it is a disease of debility, and should be treated by tonics, stimulating remedies, and a generous diet. Galen recommended vinegar as the best preventive of consumption; Dessault and others assert that consumption is often brought on by taking vinegar to prevent obesity. Beddoes recommended fox-glove as a specific; Dr. Parr found fox-glove

‘ in his practice more injurious than beneficial. Such are the ‘ contradictory statements of medical men!’ Who that has to make his way as a student, or who is rash enough to seek for health amid, truly, such a “Babel” of confusion, experiment, and individual fantasy, and can compare it with the calm principle, and as far as human skill may ensure it, certainty of the Hahnemannian method, but must feel as if he had walked out of darkness into light; as if after being tossed upon an ocean without compass or rudder, he had suddenly found himself sailing upon a calm lake with all the appliances of modern science at command, his pilot skilful and thoroughly conversant with every line of the coast to which he is bound.

Our readers will now like to know what progress the new science has made in Great Britain and in other countries; and we are sorry that our absence from the mother-country will preclude our giving aught but comparatively meagre details, and those not of a very late date.

With regard to medical practitioners, we find that in April 1850, there were fifty-two resident in London, of these twenty-six were doctors of medicine, and the remainder members of the Royal College of Surgeons, excepting a few foreigners bringing with them the credentials of foreign universities. As there is at present no English homœopathic college, we may presume the greater part of this large body of men to be converts to the new system.

At the same time there were seventeen dispensaries, and ‘we rejoice to add, that at this present moment there are two public hospitals, the London and the Hahnemann hospital, (the report of this last for the first year we have unluckily mislaid, but we feel confident that the mortality, as compared with that of the other London hospitals, was stated as one-half less); there is also an hospital in Manchester, and another in Dublin, and we imagine that the modern Athens will not be long in the rear of her neighbours on this head. In the country there were fifty-two practitioners; of these thirty-one were Doctors of Medicine, and the remainder Members of the Royal College of Surgeons; of dispensaries there were twenty-one, viz., at Bath, Birmingham, Bradford, Brighton, Canterbury, Exeter, Glastonbury, Hull, Ipswich, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Maidstone, Manchester, Newcastle, Norwich, Sheffield, Sunderland, Taunton, Torquay and Worthing; and the number has probably been doubled since the above statement was written. In Edinburgh, at the same date, there were five homœopathic Physicians, Professor Henderson being at their head, and the like number in Dublin. With respect to foreign countries, the

resources we have at hand are still more scanty ; but we find, in April, 1850, a list of twenty-three medical professors of universities on the continent, who have adopted Homœopathy, and twenty-four privy councillors of state,* and twenty-one court physicians, viz., to the King of Prussia, the King of Belgium, and the late King of Naples, the Empress Maria Louisa, the Queen of Spain, the Queen Dowager of Naples, the Princes of Hoenlich and Henry of Saxony, two Princesses of Prussia, the Archduke John of Austria, the Grand Dukes of Baden, Hesse, and Weimar, the Dukes of Lucca, Saxe Coburg, Saxe Meinengen, Brunswick, and Anhalt Cœthen, and the Duchess of Anhalt Dessau. In France, in May, 1850, the number of avowed homœopathic practitioners was 174, of whom sixty-six reside in Paris. In Madrid two. In Sweden Dr. Leidbeck, well known on the continent for his homœopathic writings. "Wherever ships go, there has gone the knowledge of this doctrine and practice. From Rio Janeiro comes proof of its extension, from Labuan and the Spice Isles, from India, New Zealand and Australia, from the steppes of Tartary, and from the Coast of Africa ; yet in no part of the world has this noble doctrine made greater progress than in the United States, where there are 1,500 educated medical practitioners, and where their adherents are estimated at a million of people." At Philadelphia there is an hospital and a chartered homœopathic medical college. In Europe there are hospitals at Leipsic, Vienna, Munich, Lucca, Giino, Gyōngyōs, Linz, Moscow, Palermo, Thoissy and Kremser. In India, at present, we know of but three, that just opened in Calcutta, and those established by Mr. Brooking at Tanjore and Pudukuta, under the respective Rajahs : but we earnestly hope that it will not be long before the call already gone forth will be responded to, and other places will add their names to the goodly array of institutions for diminishing mortality and suffering among the poor.

We will next consider the objections which are usually brought against the new system ; and these, we think, are generally of a trifling nature compared with the immense amount of evidence adduced in its favour. For ourselves, we must own, that we have never had the fortune of meeting with any single opposing argument worthy of much attention, beyond that of the exceeding minuteness of the dose, an assertion, that "it is not possible that an agent, which can neither be weighed nor detected

* The title of privy councillors is conferred by the sovereigns of several parts of Europe upon such physicians only as are distinguished for their acquisitions in general science and in medicine, and is esteemed a mark of high honour.

‘ by chemical tests, should have any curative power ;” and on this point, though we grant that it is startling to the mind at first sight, we cannot consider any thing but direct experiment to be the legitimate decider of its uselessness or efficacy. Yet to the thoughtful mind there are many circumstances of daily occurrence, which may make the matter less difficult of belief ; and we here subjoin some remarks by Professor Doppler, on infinitesimal doses, he having examined the subject, not as a homœopathist, but in a purely scientific character as a professor of physics. “ Before presuming to call any thing great or small in relation to its effects, in other words, before we can set it down as powerful or powerless, we must ascertain if the property in question is one dependent on gravity or on superficies ; otherwise, we may be found using the measure in a case which requires the rule. Now it seems to have been tacitly assumed by pharmacologists, that the activity of a drug depends entirely on its weight. If, however, it shall appear that the activity of a medicine depends only on the parts in contact with the body, we shall perceive *à priori* the possibility of doses insignificant in mass, but of extensive superficies, being active agents ;—a result which Hahnemann and his followers have arrived at, by the independent and still more satisfactory process, that of induction from facts. Before proceeding further, it will be requisite to advert to the distinction between the physical and the mathematical superficies of a body. By the former designation, we mean the sum of the superficies of all the particles composing the body, while the latter is synonymous with the surface of common parlance, and denotes that portion of the surface of the outermost particles, which is external or free. It is obvious that no process of mechanical division can either increase or diminish the physical surface of a body. Not so with the mathematical surface, which undergoes enlargement from every fresh sub-division, particles previously in contact with other particles of the same substance now becoming external. Thus a cube of an inch, reduced, we shall say, into a million of pieces, each of which will be about the size of a grain of sand, will have increased its mathematical surface from six square inches to six or seven square feet. By a further sub-division into particles a hundred times smaller, such as those particles of dust which float in the air, the external surface increases to a thousand square feet or more. If then medicinal virtue be exerted by the external surface alone, it is clear that the process of sub-division must augment it, and to render active the whole surface gained by trituration, another substance, such as sugar of milk, must be

† interposed between the several particles. Proceeding on the
 † moderate assumption, that by each trituration, the particles
 † are reduced to the hundredth part of their previous size, we
 † shall find that the surface of a medicine, originally a cube of an
 † inch, will become, at the third trituration, equal to two square
 † miles. At the fifth, to the Austrian dominions; at the sixth, to
 † the area of Asia and Africa together, and at the ninth, to the
 † united superficies of the sun, the planets, and their moons.”
 Doppler concludes thus; “We have said sufficient to show, that
 † if medicines act in virtue of their mass, the doses used in
 † Homœopathy must be quite inert; but if in proportion to their
 † surface, they may be of tremendous potency.” It must also
 be remembered, that Hahnemann’s law of cure demands a specific
 susceptibility on the part of the patient to the action of the
 remedy, a requirement which would imply a necessity for a
 smaller quantity than when applied as an opposing irritant.
 “It is a well known fact, that the organism is much more
 † susceptible to the action of homogeneous or similar, than of
 † heterogeneous or dissimilar irritants. In typhoid fever the
 † most enormous quantity of wine and spirits is often taken by
 † those altogether unaccustomed to their use, and frequently
 † without bad effects, whereas a minute quantity would act
 † most violently if given to a person labouring under inflamma-
 † tory fever, or phrenitis. A Russian peasant, under the ex-
 † citement of the vapour bath, will roll himself in snow, and ex-
 † pose himself to a shower of ice-cold water with impunity,
 † whilst a few drops on the bare neck of a chilly individual will
 † suffice to give him a shivering fit.

“The efficacy of small doses is further explicable by the
 † increased sensitiveness of a diseased organ. The organs of
 † hearing in the healthy state are little affected by the roar of
 † artillery, but when inflamed, the most cautious step on the
 † softest carpet affects them painfully. The eye in a healthy
 † state bears the glare of the sun without great inconvenience,
 † but when inflamed, the slightest ray of light causes pain.

“Let a horse be unhurt, and you may rub his hide with an
 † iron curry-comb; touch but with your finger the shoulder,
 † which has been galled by the saddle, and the poor animal
 † will shiver from the mane to the fetlock.”

We may also doubtless attribute “increased effect to the pe-
 † culiar preparation of the medicine, by which powers, which
 † are latent in its original state, are developed, and it is rendered
 † more penetrating and permanent.”

But is this action of minute agents, truly so very contrary to
 nature in her ordinary workings? We trow not; the philosopher

tells us that the whole world is formed by "a combination of atoms." "The glance of a sunbeam is capable of effecting such a powerful chemical action, as totally to alter the constituent parts of the substance exposed to it. The telegraph wire is the medium by which travels silently an influence identical with that which rends a tower; but neither of these can depress the most sensitive balance. In chemistry we find that a solution of common salt in a million parts of water is dimmed by a very weak solution of nitrate of silver; and iron separates copper from a solution containing only the fifty millionth part of a salt of copper. According to Leicks, peas lose their germinative power when immersed in a solution of tartrate of antimony containing only 21-80 parts of a grain to each pea. The hortensia bears blue flowers when supplied with water in which a piece of red hot iron has been cooled, though no iron can be detected in it by chemical re-agents." But it may be asked, are there any analogies for leading us to suppose that such minute portions would have any effect upon the living human frame? We think abundance.

What is the quantity of irritating matter injected by the tube of the mosquito? It must be very infinitesimal, yet we know that, under peculiar susceptibilities, such a quantity will cause inflammation to a very high degree, and infinite pain and annoyance. "When the rattle-snake or cobra de capella inflict their fatal bite, a drop of fluid is pressed through a very fine needle-like hole in the fang, and this drop of a transparent glairy fluid, when submitted to the investigation of the most accomplished analytical chemist, is found to be synonymous with gum-water in its chemical composition. The quantity of poisonous matter must be quite as infinitesimal as the drug of the homœopathist, and far exceeds it in potency, soon occasioning rapid sinking of the vital powers and death. Again, the saliva upon the tooth of a rabid dog impregnates the blood with a poison so exquisitely infinitesimal, that it takes weeks and months to produce its effects." We have the same subtle influences at work in the disorders caused by malaria, or the miasma of scarlet fever, measles, small-pox, &c. &c. Who ever caught and weighed these invisible powers, and yet how violent, how malignant their effects upon the human frame. "What colour and weight have those exhalations of lead which cause paralysis and colic." The same susceptibility to minute influences may be also observed in the idiosyncracies of individuals. Some persons feel unpleasant sensations on the approach of a cat, others from the touch of a crystal or loadstone. "We have seen a powerful

‘man faint upon smelling lavender,” others swoon from the smell of a rose. Scaliger was thrown into convulsions by the sight of cresses, and many people will turn sick on smelling an unpleasant odour.

• Why, then, we would ask, if the effect of such infinitesimal portions upon the human frame thus comes under our acknowledged experience, should we suppose it to be *impossible* for the homœopathist to use this susceptibility at will for the cure of disease?

We cannot conclude this portion of our subject without calling the attention of our readers to the work by Mons. Tessier, noted at the head of the article. Mons. Tessier tested the truth of Hahnemann’s principle, in his hospital, in infinitesimal doses only, selecting for this purpose cases of acute and chronic disease. (He had previously studied diligently the works of Hahnemann.) He says, “At the end of a few days, the evidence of their action was complete, nevertheless I persevered in my experiments upon this sole fact during six entire months.” He next tried it in cases of pneumonia, and after many pertinent remarks upon this formidable malady, he tells us how he gradually substituted infinitesimal doses in the place of the last bleeding, or a dose of tartar emetic. Finding no harm ensue, Hahnemann’s remedies were next tried in the place of another bleeding, and the patients recovering, they were at last used in the first instance, and with such complete success, that Mons. Tessier adopted them entirely, and none besides homœopathic medicines are now used in his hospital. Out of forty cases of pneumonia during the space of two years, only one patient died, and the whole account of his proceedings, the caution and sagacity with which his experiments were conducted, his constant visits and “mental anguish,” lest his patients should suffer injury, with his complete justification of Hahnemann’s method, all conspire to render Mons. Tessier’s work one of remarkable interest. When we consider this testimony to be that of a physician in Paris, at the head of wards containing hundreds of beds, and one who is well known in the scientific world, who has thus publicly tested Homœopathy, what more can either its friends or enemies desire in the way of scientific demonstration?

Another class of objectors are those who are assured that, if true, such a discovery would have been made long before the time of Hahnemann. For ourselves we will own that we have no sympathy with such men. They are of that genus who embittered the life of Newton, who would have jeered down Harvey and Jenner, and have strangled Luther. But the

"indefatigable Hahnemann was never without his weapon; anticipating such objections he ransacked the works of medical authors, ancient and modern, and in his own way he found many instances of the way in which eminent men have hovered near the great truth, which he first brought forward as a scientific law.

Others say that the homœopathists have produced no writings of ability—they have done more. Listen to Dr. Channing's speech before the New York Physician's Society. "By a devotion unparalleled in the history of medicine, Hahnemann and his followers, in less than fifty years, have carried their science to an extent and precision perfectly incredible to those unacquainted with its details." While among the laity, men of the best intellect have joined their ranks. Whately, the first logician of the age, is a homœopathist, so are the philosophic Bunsen, the brilliant Bulwer; the first preacher in London hails the system of Hahnemann, while the long list of subscribers and governors of the London hospitals, from the Duchess of Kent downwards, bears ample testimony to the intelligence and public repute of the professors of the homœopathic art.

Some say that Homœopathy is good for children; but this appears like an idle attempt to escape the burden of examining a system whose cures cannot be denied. Homœopathy must stand or fall by its foundation principle of "like cures like;" the quantities of medicine used are so small, and their successful operation so opposed to our pre-conceived notions or experience, that we can attribute it only to the peculiar principle upon which they are applied; grant therefore that the system succeeds with children, and you give up the whole question; the principle, whose application in minute doses has cured a child of croup or whooping cough, no reasonable mind can conceive to be inadequate to the removal of disease in the grown-up brother or sister; and in fact such is the case; no homœopathist will admit of such a distinction; and the cases recorded are as well authenticated upon the one point as the other.

Some say that it is to nature that the Homœopathist owes his cures. Then we would simply ask, Why do they not try her? Why, if nature cures so well, do they give such pills and potions? Because they know better, and that if they were to leave their patients to the ordinary progress of cholera, of inflammations, congestions, or convulsions, &c., &c., death would probably deliver them quickly from all controversy as to the fittest remedy. Another will say that the supposed cure is owing to the imagination, but upon what grounds?

We think it will be found that the homœopathic physician has to encounter positive obstacles on this head. The imagination resists belief in such apparently inadequate powers. During the commotion occasioned by the violent remedies of the old school, the patient may believe any thing that his doctor may tell him of the effect of his drugs, the pain he is suffering being sufficient in his eyes to justify any revolution. The homœopathist on the contrary receives no mechanical aid from his remedies. After a minute examination, not only of present illness, but of previous disorders and treatment, constitutional tendencies, &c., he takes his leave, and sends a tasteless mixture, which the patient takes, wondering, in the first instance, whether it can do him any good. There are here, unquestionably, fewer grounds than ordinary upon which imagination may exert herself; the malady is either relieved or goes on; successful results, in general, follow so speedily, that it would be contrary to all experience to attribute them to aught but the remedy. These objections also cannot hold good against those chronic complaints, which have resisted all other methods of cure, under which imagination might have been just as effectual, with more room for its operation. They are also futile against the cures of infants and children, of those who have not known what they have taken; and in the disorders of animals, in which the homœopathic law, as might have been expected from its universality, has been eminently successful. Some resolutely declare that Homœopathy is practised by none but quacks. We have shown, in a former part of this article, that the titles of its professors are grounded upon precisely the same authority and license as that of their opponents, and such observations therefore can only be expressive of extraordinary illiberality and injustice towards a body of men, that experience has shown to be one of unusual intelligence and attainment, who have nobly stepped out of the ranks of a false and exploded system, and thereby exposed themselves to a discourtesy of treatment, (often amounting to insult) from their medical brethren, which can scarcely be conceived by those out of the profession. And yet we would ask very fearlessly, which is the real quack,—he whose success depends absolutely upon his accurate knowledge of disease, and of the appropriate remedy applied according to a determinate law, or he who bleeds, blisters or cauterises at pleasure, pouring into the stomach at random a quantity of nauseous poisonous drugs, of whose precise and particular action upon the delicate mechanism of the human body he knows no more than his patient; but whose choice has been guided entirely by his

own humour or experience, or by the faith he places in some particular predecessor or contemporary?

Others say that in diet lies the secret of cure. The homœopathic dietary is unquestionably a good one; and from it doubtless the physician receives good assistance, but the article of diet will not explain his striking, sometimes almost miraculous, success in the treatment of such disorders as croup, and sudden inflammatory attacks, and the objection falls to the ground in the cases of children, and of those invalids in whom no change of diet can be effected.

The last and most amusing objection we have heard has been to its poisons.—“Homœopathists use such dreadful poisons, and that is why they give so little medicine.” It is indeed difficult to keep a grave countenance over these fears from persons who would not scruple to give, or perhaps take, during sickness, quantities of colocynth, tartar emetic, iodine, calomel, opium, nux vomica, or arsenic, that would serve a whole army of Homœopathists for their lives. We learned, on good authority, in 1844, that of the valuable homœopathic medicine, lachesis, so well known to many nervous sufferers, only *two drops* had ever been brought to Europe!

We would now ask, How has the medical profession acted towards Homœopathy, as the guardians of the public health, as the persons to whom we turn for relief under pain and suffering? What have they done to welcome among them a system which was propounded openly, and at first so lovingly, among his brethren, by a man of such genius, integrity and learning as Hahnemann,—a system, too, so gentle in its method of action, so easy to be tried, and one which offers that principle of certainty for which the most skilful among them had hitherto laboured in vain? We are sorry to have to write it, but with many honourable exceptions, the great body of medical men know nothing whatever of its practice or principle, though they agree in the narrowest attempts to put it down. With large hospitals and infirmaries open to all comers, with numerous publications inviting, nay entreating them to come and see for themselves the wonderful success of the new remedies, they resolutely shut their eyes and stop their ears, with the dictum that Homœopathy was a great quackery, that it is a great quackery, and that it shall be a great quackery.

Can we cease to wonder at this apathy and self-complacency, this insensibility to the noblest prerogative of the medical art, that of healing speedily, painlessly, and by the application of a principle having its foundation in a natural law, and therefore

as sure in its effects as human skill can make it?—A law and practice which attack the first principles of their art, and bid fair in a few years to beat them and their most painful matériel out of the field; the ground is being taken from under their feet, you show them this, and they answer you with a sneer about a globule; you bear this, and tell them of cases of severe fever, convulsions, croup, psora, ulcerated sore-throats, &c. &c., which have come under your own observation; they consider you with a smile, or sagely observe “that they would not mind taking a whole box full of various globules,” or as one once said to ourselves, “He had placed a globule upon his tongue and it had had no effect whatever!” If there were no illness, what effect should it have had? Is it not the very glory of Homœopathy, that provided there be no disease, or the remedy be not homœopathic, the quantity contained in a globule is too small to have any effect? Another more facetious practitioner perhaps proceeds to the witticism of asking you, if you do not give more brandy to a drunken man, or a little more water to one that is drowning; again we think showing a very culpable ignorance of the foundation law of a system, which has now been fifty years before the public, and which asserts not that “same cures same,” but that “like cures like.” But enough of this; let us hope that another day is coming. A system that ranks among its adherents so long an array of intelligence, genius, and philanthropy, needs fear no long battle: the question is only one of time, and what we need chiefly are the means to test publicly the truth or falsehood of Hahnemann’s method. The question is one in which all men have an interest, since none can hope to pass through life unhurt by some of those maladies to which man is heir, and none but those who have escaped from it can dream of the aggravations caused by the system now in ordinary use.

A homœopathic hospital incurs much less expense than those ancient foundations in which medicines are still paid for by the *ton*.* Shall we not bestow something to ascertain the truth upon a matter of so much importance? Shall we not endeavour to bring within the reach of the poor the latest improvements of medical science? Can either science or philanthropy offer to us a fairer opportunity of serving the truth, than by giving our aid to the diffusion of this system all over India?

“That the art of cure, as practised by the old school, does

* At St. Bartholomew’s hospital the bill for physic amounted in 1849 to £2,600, and included nearly 2,000lbs. of castor oil, 12 tons of linseed meal, 1,000lbs. of senna, 27 cwt. of salts. In one year 29,700 leeches were bought for the use of the establishment.”—*Dickens’s Household Words*.

‘ not meet the wants of ailing humanity, is proved by the admission of the most accomplished members of it, and by the numerous cases of acute disease allowed under that treatment to run into the chronic form, and the still more numerous cases of chronic disease remaining uncured.” What we desire is to set forth publicly a new, but simple system of medicine, which offers to “curtail the ravages of premature death, to limit the great leveller’s harvest more to the sear and yellow leaf.”

If there be any who suppose that the system may be suitable to the diseases of a temperate climate, which are in general comparatively slow in their operation, but that it would fail, if applied to the diseases of India, where Death generally does his work with such fearful rapidity, we need only refer them to the success that has attended the homœopathic treatment of Asiatic cholera in Europe. But if it be objected that this is but a collateral and presumptive evidence of the suitability of the treatment to the violent and rapid diseases of this country, we have abundance of direct experience, to which we can confidently appeal. The system has been extensively practised by amateurs, in the civil and military services, and by other gentlemen; and the success that has attended their practice, both upon Europeans and natives, has been such as to astonish themselves and all who have witnessed it. There is perhaps scarcely a large district in India, in which such an amateur has not for years been diffusing blessings around him; and there are scarcely any of our Indian readers, who may not satisfy themselves by personal observation of the success of this practice. If such has been the result, where the homœopathic remedies have been applied by men without professional education, and able to devote only the fragments of their time and attention to the subject, what may we expect when the system is adopted, as it will sooner or later be, by professional men, who will devote their whole time and energies to its study and application? Our appeal then is to the members of the medical service. Their duty, and we are sure their earnest desire, is to adopt every method, which experience shows to be fitted to alleviate the sufferings and prolong the lives of their fellow-men. Let them then examine this system and subject it to the test of experience, and fearlessly act according to the result.

NOTE.—It can scarcely be necessary to state, that it is not intended to convert the *Calcutta Review* into a homœopathic organ. We have unhesitatingly given insertion to the preceding article, without reference to our own sentiments on the subject of which it treats, because it is fairly and candidly written, by one who is thoroughly earnest in seeking to promote the welfare of his fellow-men.—ED.

ART. III.—*The Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell, D. D., L. L. D., F. As. S., F. R. S. Ed., Prebendary of Westminster, and Master of Sherburn Hospital, Durham. Comprising the History of the Rise and Progress of the System of Mutual Tuition. The first volume by Robert Southey, Esq., P. L., L. L. D., edited by Mrs. Southey. The two last by his son, the Rev. Charles Cythbert Southey, B. A., of Queen's College, Oxford, Perpetual Curate of Setmurthy, and Assistant Curate and Evening Lecturer of Cockermouth. London. 1844.*

AMONGST the *notables* that have flourished in India, it would be unreasonable to deny that a high rank is due to Dr. Bell. Whether we regard the *man*, fighting his way with hard-headed energy and indomitable perseverance from the very basement story of the social edifice, to a high position in one of the most exclusive institutions in the world, and from poverty to a splendid fortune—or whether we regard the discovery that he certainly made, of a system, by which the blessings of a good education have been put within the reach of multitudes from whom they would else have been withheld—or whether we consider the impulse that was actually given to English mind, and the great and alarming facts that were brought to light, in regard to the condition of the people, by the discussions to which that discovery gave rise—we can come to no other conclusion than that Dr. Bell was no ordinary man, but one altogether worthy—(what honor can be higher?)—of being introduced to our readers in a regular article. Moreover, the *environments* of one who held a distinguished place in our country more than half a century ago, become very interesting. It is pleasing, at once to enter into the gossip of those distant days, and to catch the spirit of the times from the straws floating on the surface of familiar correspondence, and at the same time, to be made acquainted with the views and sentiments of the actors in those important, historical scenes that were then evolving. We enter, therefore, on a dissertation on the “Life and Times of Dr. Andrew Bell,” with considerable confidence of being able to produce an article that will amuse and instruct all classes of our readers.

Mr. Bell was born in St. Andrew's, in Scotland, on the 27th March, 1753. His father was a singular man, one of a class which, probably, never existed out of Scotland, and which, probably, has no longer many representatives there. He had received a good education, was a man of extraordinary abilities, of great integrity, and of considerable public spirit; yet he spent all his

days in the humble calling of a barber. It is true, that, in those days, this profession was of somewhat greater importance than it is now; but we suspect that Dr. Southey errs in supposing, that in Scotland it ever had that peculiar dignity that he assigns to it, on the supposition that it was there, as in England, "doubled up" with the surgical art. Medical education has always been so cheap in Scotland, that we suspect there never was a time when a village that could boast the possession of a barber, did not rank a surgeon also among its denizens. Nor did we ever hear of any legends or traditions in Scotland, that would point to the existence of such a profession as that of the "barber-surgeon" to the north of the Tweed. We suspect, therefore, that the Scottish barber of the 18th century differed from his successor of the 19th, only in proportion as the *coiffure* of the one period differed from that of the other. Alexander Bell was, however, a man of varied acquirements. He was an amateur watch-maker, "regulated by observation the time-pieces" in the public library of the university, and assisted Dr. Walker, the professor of Natural Philosophy, in preparing his experiments." The following is Dr. Southey's description of his personal appearance and habits:—

His habits and appearance were singular, yet not so as to lessen the respect in which he was held for his talents, probity, and strength of character. He is described as tall and ungainly, with thick lips and a great mouth, which he commonly kept open, and wearing a large, bushy, well-powdered wig. Persons are still living, who remember him hastening through the street, with a professor's wig, ready dressed, in each hand, his arms at half-stretch to prevent their collision. After trimming one professor, he would sit down and breakfast with him, and then away to trim and breakfast with another; his appetite, like his mouth, (and his mind also,) being of remarkable and well-known capacity. He was at one time bailie of the city; and once by his personal influence, after all other means had failed, he quelled what is called a "meal-mob"—riots upon that score being then so frequent as to obtain this specific denomination.

With one more extract we dismiss this remarkable man:—

Bailie Bell was a proficient at draughts, backgammon, and chess. Such of the students, and of the professors also, as were fond of these games, used to meet at his house; and Andrew, while a mere child, acquired such singular skill in all of them, that the best players were fond of engaging with him. A more remarkable instance of the Bailie's versatile talents is, that he engaged with Mr. Wilson, afterwards professor of astronomy at Glasgow, in a scheme for casting types upon some plan of their own. They were employed upon this, his son said, day and night, night and day, in a garret; and though they did not succeed, yet after the professor's removal to Glasgow, the well-known printers, Robert and Andrew Foulis, are said to have been beholden to him for the beauty of their typography. Bailie Bell, having saved a little property, retired from business a short time before the close of his life.

Andrew was the second son. When three years old, he was inoculated for the small-pox, and took the disease so severely, that his life was despaired of. Soon after his recovery, he went to school of his own accord, and at first, without the knowledge of his parents, where, notwithstanding his tender years, he was allowed to continue to attend. By constant perseverance he became a fair scholar, though his want of verbal memory militated against his attaining much distinction in school. In 1769 he entered the United College of St. Andrew's, and was matriculated under the name of Andræus Bell. Dr. Southey marvels that he should then have Latinized his Christian name, as he is not known to have done so on any other occasion. We can solve this mystery. The matriculation is a signature to a declaration, in which the student promises to abide by the rules and regulations of the university. As the declaration is in Latin, of course the signatures are so also. More worthy of Dr. Southey's wonder would have been the fact that seems to have escaped his notice altogether, that, after being nearly thirteen years at school, he should have Latinized the Greek *Ἀνδρέας* into Andræus. At college, Mr. Bell considerably distinguished himself in the several classes, but particularly in those of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. "The professor of Natural Philosophy, Dr. Wilkie, particularly noticed him. 'Mind what I say, Andrew,' Wilkie would say, laying his hand on his head and stroking it; 'pursue your studies, and they will make your fortune. I never knew a man fail of success in the world, if he excelled in one thing. Mind what I say, Andrew; persevere in your scientific studies; mind this one thing, and you will be a great man.' This advice—to mind one thing, and persevere in it—was what Dr. Bell impressed upon others, in his course through life, and in his latter years, he adhered to it himself too literally and too long."

The mention of this Dr. Wilkie leads Dr. Southey into a long digression, in which he engages *con amore*, and in which we should like very well to follow him; but we have not three volumes at our command. "He was a great and an odd man," and moreover wrote the *Epigoniad*, which some of our readers may have seen, from the circumstance of its being included in some of the collections of British Poetry.

The non-professional course of literature and philosophy at St. Andrew's, and the other Scottish universities, occupies four years, so that Mr. Bell had gone through this curriculum at the close of the session 1772-3; and the world was all before him. Like so many thousands of his compatriots, of good education, and limited worldly means, he turned his eyes to the Colonies,

and soon received an offer of a situation in Virginia, which he accepted. It does not clearly appear what was the precise nature of this appointment, but it seems to have been in the educational department, at least he seems to have been engaged in teaching during the whole, or the greater portion, of the time of his residence in Virginia. In 1779, after he had been five years in the colony, "he was engaged as private tutor, at a salary of £200 a year, in the family of Mr. Carter Braxton, who was then a wealthy merchant of West Point, Virginia." But the division of labor principle was not then fully established in the Far West; and he seems to have been engaged in sundry dealings in tobacco on his own account, and also to have assisted Mr. Braxton, to some extent, in his commercial proceedings. In the beginning of 1781, he set out on his return to old England, leaving his savings to be remitted in the form of tobacco at favorable opportunities, and bringing with him his two pupils, the young Braxtons, who were to complete their education in England, under such arrangements as he should make for them, in conjunction with their father's commercial agents. The homeward voyage was diversified with the adventure of a wreck, the ship going ashore thirty leagues to the east of Halifax, where our hero and his companions had to enact the part of social Crusoes, from the 24th March to the 12th April, in the midst of deep snow, sleet and rain, frost, and again snow and sleet, and rain. Having at last managed, on the last-mentioned date, to reach Halifax, they remained there till the 10th of May, when they got a passage in another ship for England, and on the 6th June landed at Gravesend.

It was now 1781, and Mr. Bell, who, as we have stated, was born early in 1753, was therefore in the prime of his life; yet he hesitated not to give up several of his best years to the care of those two young men, with no certainty of any reward, and with no expectation of any thing like an adequate pecuniary recompense, and as it turned out, without his receiving any at all. Indeed, he had left the greater part of the £800 that he had saved in Virginia, in the hand of their father, and he does not seem ever to have received any portion of it. The arrangements that were proposed for the disposal of the youths having failed, he established them at St. Andrew's, where he went to reside with them, and continued till the end of 1784, to attend upon them literally night and day. The young men did full justice to his unparalleled exertions on their behalf. They were, by the testimony of all with whom they came in contact, model young men, and we doubt not, that they would have done justice to their disinterested tutor, had it been in their power:

but on their return to America, they found all things changed since they had left it, their father's affairs by no means in a prosperous condition, and, probably, they were ashamed to be continually acknowledging the debt which they had it not in their power to repay, and virtually confessing their father's misconduct in not having acted justly by their tutor and benefactor while it was in his power. After, therefore, one or two letters, full of expressions of affection and gratitude, all intercourse between them and Mr. Bell ceased.

We have no doubt, however, that these years were not lost. Scotch scholarship is not generally over-accurate; and it is very likely that Mr. Bell learned a great deal more, and learned it a great deal better, during this period of his superintending the studies of the young Americans, than he had learned while he was prosecuting his own studies at the university of his native city. It may well be questioned, whether a better course could be prescribed for young men generally, than that after they have finished their university studies, they should rough it for a few years in some such colony as Virginia was then, and then return and quietly resume their studies, as from the beginning, in the quiet college. Be this as it may, it was during this period that Mr. Bell became acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Berkeley, son of the celebrated metaphysician and bishop of Cloyne; and to this acquaintance was due the whole tenor of his future career. Dr. Berkeley was residing in St. Andrew's, for the education of his family. He seems to have conducted Divine Service in his own house, according to the episcopal form; and Mr. Bell appears to have adopted episcopal sentiments, or to have become habituated to episcopal forms, during his residence in Virginia; and thus he and his pupils, who probably by birth belonged to the Church of England, appear to have joined his little congregation. The interest that Mr. Bell excited in Dr. Berkeley's mind, is highly creditable to both,—to the one as capable of exciting it, to the other as capable of feeling it. No father could have been more energetic in his efforts to establish an only son in the world, than Dr. Berkeley was to procure suitable employment for Mr. Bell. It was through his influence that the scheme was matured, which seems to have entered Mr. Bell's mind even during his residence in Virginia, of taking orders in the English Church. After various schemes had been suggested, and had either broken down or been abandoned, this one was at last realized; and on the 12th September, 1784, Mr. Bell was admitted to deacon's orders, by the well-known Bishop Barrington, then bishop of Salisbury, afterwards of Durham, on a

nominal title, furnished by Dr. Berkeley, to the curacy of Cookham in Berkshire. He was at this time on terms for a tutorship in the family of a gentleman in the north of England; but from some unexplained cause, the negotiation broke down; and he was shortly after elected to the charge of the episcopal chapel at Leith, with a salary of fifty guineas, for one year certain, and the promise of an increase, provided the funds of the chapel should admit of it. "The congregation were pleased with their minister, and he with them. Almost immediately, and without any solicitation on his part, they raised his salary from fifty guineas to £70; and occasional presents were made him by the wealthier members." His ministry here, however, was speedily interrupted by his receiving, through the interest of Dr. Berkeley, an appointment as tutor to the second son of Lord Conyngham, on a salary of £150 while he should be employed, and an annuity of £100 for the remainder of his life. After this agreement had been definitely formed, it was broken by his Lordship: the matter was referred to professional arbitration, and £110 were awarded to Mr. Bell, as a compensation for the breach of the contract. On occasion of this visit to England, he was admitted to priest's orders by Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle. He then returned to Leith, and resumed charge of the congregation there.

And now that Mr. Bell is fairly and fully invested with the sacred office, this seems a proper place to interrupt our hurried sketch of his career, and to interpose an humble attempt at an estimate of his qualifications for this high office: and honesty compels us to say, that if the New Testament is to furnish the standard of qualification for this office, that of Mr. Bell was very low indeed. That he had sufficient scholarship is quite true; that his conduct was upright and unblameable, is cheerfully conceded; but that his sentiments of the nature of the Gospel that he had to preach were correct, either now or at any subsequent period of his history, or that he had any adequate feeling of the responsibility of his office, otherwise than as it involved the routine performance of certain stated duties, there is no evidence to make us believe; but enough to make us believe the very contrary. Were it not so common a case, it might well excite our deepest wonder, that a man so honest as Mr. Bell certainly was in other respects, should have taken on himself the ministry of a church, with the spirit of whose liturgy his own sentiments were certainly not in accordance. And yet, during the course of his long life, it does not appear that he was ever

visited with a single qualm of conscience on the subject. All this may be considered very illiberal; but we cannot help it. From the sentiments of Dr. Bell, constantly expressed throughout his long life, we are certain that he did not preach the *Gospel*, as it is set forth in the New Testament, and explained in the articles and liturgy of the English church. We shall have much to say as to the mental and moral character of Dr. Bell, before we have done with this paper; but on a subject of so much importance we thought it right that we should express our sentiments unreservedly in connexion with the very outset of his clerical career.

It was now proposed to Mr. Bell, "that he should go to India, where there was every probability that he might turn his talents and acquirements to good account as a philosophical lecturer, and in the way of tuition." "This opportunity of advancing himself, Mr. Bell thankfully took, with the advice and concurrence of all his friends." Thinking, that in this new capacity, a handle to his name would enhance his credit, he applied to the university of St. Andrew's, for the degree of L. L. D. Some rule of the university did not admit of this degree being conferred upon him; but the senatus, willing to accommodate him, invested him with the dignity of a Doctor of Medicine! In the course of the letter, in which Principal McCormick saluted him *Doctor*, which was written after he had been in India for some time, we find the following passage:—"I rejoice to learn that you are going on so rapidly in the path to wealth and fame. May you soon attain as much of the former as will enable you to enjoy many happy years in your *natale solium*!" Seven years after, on Dr. Bell's return to England, the same Principal McCormick wrote thus:—"I have to return you my own warmest thanks, and those of my nephews, for your flattering remembrance of us, after so long an absence from your *natale solium*." Now to us, deeply pondering over this unusual reading of a not unusual classic phrase, two things seemed manifest—*first*, that the fact of the one quotation being in the volume prepared for the press by Dr. Southey, and the other in one of those prepared by his son, precludes the supposition of an error in transcription or in typography; and *second*, that the Principal of a university must, of necessity, have been incapable of confounding two words so essentially distinct as *solum* and *solium*. We therefore came to the conclusion, that the Principal, in both these letters, made a very waggish allusion to the old barber's chair! A sly fox he must have been, this Principal McCormick!

Dr. Bell sailed from the Downs on the 21st February, 1787, on board the Ship *Rose*, Captain Dempster. He took with him an apparatus to illustrate the lectures that he intended to deliver. This, with his passage and out-fit, appears to have cost him £421-10; and he took with him a sum of £128-10, of which £90 were borrowed. We are particular in specifying his pecuniary resources at various periods of his life, as the vast fortune that he ultimately realized is one of the remarkable points in his history. He arrived at Madras on the 2nd June. He was destined for Calcutta, but before the *Rose* was ready to proceed on her voyage, a proposal was made to him to remain at the Sister Presidency. This was from a committee that had recently been appointed for establishing a Military Male Orphan Asylum. He saw little prospect of success in the path that had been originally marked out for him, the demand for philosophical instruction being then, as it is sixty-five years later, either non-existent or undeveloped. On the 10th of August, however, he was appointed to the chaplaincy of the 4th European regiment, stationed at Arcot. Knowing the Court of Directors' jealousy of local patronage, his object now was to procure a confirmation of this appointment by the Court. He therefore wrote to Mr. Dempster, a kind patron, to whom his father had rendered good election service, to Lady Dacre, for whose friendship he was indebted to Dr. Berkeley, and to Mr. Rudd, an episcopal clergyman in Edinburgh, requesting them to exert such influence as they could severally bring to bear on the members of the Court. Meantime, he was in rapid succession appointed by Colonel Floyd to the deputy-chaplainship of H. M.'s 19th regiment of cavalry, by Colonel Knox, to that of H. M.'s 36th regiment of infantry, and by Captain Hunter, to that of the 52nd regiment of infantry, of which he happened to be in command. The emolument of these deputy-chaplaincies was not large: but they had the advantage of being independent of the Court's confirmation; the chaplaincy of the Company's regiment was more lucrative, but the question was still undecided, whether he should be permitted to hold it.

Having now formed acquaintance with the leading members of Madras society, he was advised by some of them, and particularly by Mr. Petrie, to carry out his original intention of delivering a course of philosophical lectures. We are not told what was the number of these lectures, nor what was their precise subject: but only that he sold eighty-one tickets at twelve pagodas each, (about forty-two rupees,) so that he realized a sum equal to about £360. Cheered by this success, he gave a

second course; but the proceeds on this occasion were only about half the former. On the day on which this second course was concluded, he sailed for Calcutta, where he arrived on the 17th of October, where he received great kindness, where he gave his lectures, with a return of 1,277 pagodas (£473), remained two months, and reached Madras on the last day of the year. "In less than a month after his return, he was appointed deputy chaplain to the 74th (King's) regiment." Shortly afterwards, the senior chaplain of the Presidency having gone to England on furlough, the junior chaplain succeeded him, and Dr. Bell was appointed "junior chaplain in the room of Mr. Leslie, and to have charge of the superintendency of the undertaker's office." The Court of Directors annulled the appointment of Sir Archibald Campbell; but themselves appointed Dr. Bell a chaplain on their establishment. Thus the privileges of the Court were vindicated, and Dr. Bell retained his appointment.

In the course of 1789, he was grieved with tidings of the death of his excellent father, and we cannot refrain from inserting his answer to the letter that conveyed the intelligence:—

DR. BELL TO THE REV. DR. J. ADAMSON.

Madras, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received, July 27th, by the packet of the *Chesterfield*, the afflicting news of the death of as good a father, and as just and upright a man, as ever lived. You need not blush to call him friend, as I never shall to call him father.

I might have been better prepared, as you think I ought to have been, for this distressful report, had I construed superstitiously the alarming letter from him, with which my heart has been wrung of late. It has pleased God to follow me through life with His merciful chastisements, and to train me up in the school of adversity. I was flattering myself that my late letters would remove any distress that my poor father suffered on the score of fortune, and that I had attained the great object of my adventuring the East, being able to make some provision for the family, when news is brought to me that my ill-fated father, who had a heart that felt too much, and a disposition that led him to all goodness, and a genius and education that elevated him far above his condition in life, had fallen a sacrifice to a complication of misfortunes, entailed upon him in early life, in the inexperience of an academic education and the credulity of youth—misfortunes which you will pity, which every good man will pity, and thank God that it fell not to his own share to suffer as he did.

It is the never-failing effect of a depressed mind in this country to induce bilious complaints. I had not, even in point of health, recovered from the effect of my father's description of what he suffered on this occasion, when I was nominated junior chaplain at this Presidency, and thought to soften anew the complaints of European fortune, and hold out to my father the best consolation I could offer under his severe trials—the report of my private good success in life, and the assurance of my resolution, as soon as my fortune was settled, to make ample provision for him through life. But these hopes were scarcely formed when they are blasted for ever

by the melancholy account of his sudden death. After trying in vain to stand this shock, I have left my duty to my friend and colleague, Archdeacon Leslie, and retired to the country, where I am secluded from every European countenance. Here I am at leisure to indulge grief, and thereby to prevent its violent effusion; to survey my past life; to correct those errors that may have brought upon me such sufferings; and to lay down rules for my future conduct, from which, if I ever swerve, it must be from depravity of inclination, and not strength of temptation.

My poor sisters now claim all my attention—my affections now centre there. The only consolation I can now receive is a favourable report of them. I am much sensible of what they and I owe to you for your early attention. Your kindness to them cannot add to the opinion the world entertains of your goodness; but it will add greatly to the obligation I feel to that goodness; and it will, somehow or other, provide a benefactor to your own children. I beseech you then, for the sake of your own family, who must one day be deprived of so good a man and so excellent a father, to regard the situation of my sisters. I wish to devolve this duty, during my absence from home, upon you and Dr. George Hill. I ask it not on account of our past acquaintance—I ask it not on account of our future acquaintance—I ask it on account of the distress of my unfortunate sisters.

I trust that my father has done, what I often told him to do in St. Andrew's, and repeated to him at Leith, left the whole of his estate to my sisters, and that there will be no trouble in securing this for them. From what my father wrote to me about a will of my brother's in my favour, and a forged will in favour of others, I am apprehensive there will be much trouble in recovering what he always meant should fall to the family. The money in Mr Reid's hand, I trust, will not be lost to my sisters, to whom, as to my father, I will give the life-rent of whatever may be recovered and remain, after expenses are paid. I before sent a power of attorney to my father for this purpose; I now send one to you. I presume not to offer any instructions, nor need you refer to me at this distance. Act for them as for yourselves, and your conduct will meet with my support and approbation, and I will be answerable for the consequences.

It is unnecessary to remark, that I must insist, as a preliminary article, that every direct and contingent expense which may attend your acting for me, and correspondence with me, be charged to my account. Letters should always be sent by the Post. It is the only conveyance to be trusted to. There is no expense but in the postage to and from London, which is a mere trifle. I hope the school thrives. It is not my wish to raise my sisters above their present situation in life. This would not conduce to their happiness. What I wish only is to render them easy in their circumstances, and comfortable in their sphere of life; and I shall be glad of your opinion of what is necessary for this purpose.

I wrote to Professor George Hill, that there may be some provision for that mortality which reigns so much in my mind at present. I say nothing of Dean of Guild Kerr. I know he will not be wanting in his good offices and services, and I trust I shall be able to repay them.....

At this time he made a final effort to recover his American "outstandings," with a view to present the amount to his sisters; but his debtors "repudiated" his claims, and took no notice of his letters. The next matter in which we find him engaged, is a negotiation for a transference to Calcutta; but

this came to nothing. In anticipation of this removal, however, he had procured from England some additions to his philosophical apparatus, so that he was now "master of three air-pumps, three electrical machines, and a most complete set of experiments." With this improved apparatus, he gave a third course of lectures at Madras, in the course of which, "he performed the experiment of making ice, which was the first time it had been exhibited in India. He made also the first balloon there; it was of no great dimensions: for as the assistant did his part badly, and the thing failed, Dr. Bell (in his own words), threw it in a passion from the verandah. After which the heat of the sun rarified the enclosed air, and the balloon mounted in grand style, exciting no small commotion among the natives." In July of this year, he was appointed to do duty as chaplain to the army assembled before Pondicherry, and was present at the taking of the place.

It will be remembered, that Dr. Bell had remained at Madras, with the view of being appointed to the superintendency of the Military Male Orphan Asylum, whose formation was then in prospect. After various delays, that noble institution had been set on foot in 1789, and Dr. Bell, now in a very different position from that which he had occupied when he was first induced to pitch his tent at Madras, offered his services as superintendent gratuitously; and although the Directors pressed upon him the acceptance of a salary of £240, he steadfastly refused it, and continued during the whole period of his residence at Madras to receive no remuneration, except rent-free quarters in the Asylum at Egmore Redoubt. These services were thankfully accepted; and he entered with heart and soul upon the management of an institution which was destined to be the nursery of his future fame. His great discovery of the system of "mutual instruction" is so important, that we must extract at length Dr. Southey's account of its rise and early progress:—

When Dr. Bell took upon himself the superintendency, he found one master and two ushers employed in teaching less than twenty boys. These boys were not all arranged in classes, and of those who were, he was told that it was impossible to teach them to take places. One lesson a day was as much as could usually be exacted from them, and sometimes only one in two or three days. Indeed, the teachers themselves had every thing to learn relating to the management of a school. They were men who had never been trained in tuition, but were taken from very different occupations; he found it, he says, beyond measure difficult to bring them into his own views, and convince them how impossible it was that the school could be properly conducted, or the boys improve as they ought, without order, and inflexible, but mild discipline.

It was not less difficult to impress them with the necessity of an earnest and constant attention to the behaviour of the boys, and the importance of

inculcating upon them on all occasions a sense of their moral duties, as the only means of correcting the miserable maxims and habits in which most of them had hitherto been bred up. He found also, that whenever he had succeeded in qualifying a man for performing his business as an usher in the school, he had qualified him for situations in which a much higher salary might be obtained with far less pains.* These men, therefore, were either discontented with their situation, because they were unfit for it, or, having been made fit, became discontented with an appointment which was then below their deserts.

It was, however, mainly with their incapacity, and the obstinacy which always accompanied it, that Dr. Bell had to contend at first. He was dissatisfied with the want of discipline, and the imperfect instruction in every part of the school; but more particularly with the slow progress of the younger boys, and the unreasonable length of time consumed in teaching them their letters. They were never able to proceed without the constant aid of an usher, and, with that aid, months were wasted before the difficulties of the alphabet were got over. Dr. Bell's temper led him to do all things quickly, and his habits of mind to do them thoroughly, and leave nothing incomplete. He tells us, that from the beginning he looked upon perfect instruction as the main duty of the office with which he had charged himself; yet he was foiled for some time in all the means that he devised for attaining it. Many attempts he made to correct the evil in its earliest stage, and in all, he met with more or less opposition from the master and ushers. Every alteration which he proposed, they considered as implying some reflection on their own capacity or diligence; in proportion as he interfered, they thought themselves disparaged, and were not less displeased than surprised, that instead of holding the office of superintendent as a sinecure, his intention was to devote himself earnestly to the concerns of the Asylum, and more especially to the school department.

Things were in this state, when happening on one of his morning rides to pass by a Malabar school, he observed the children seated on the ground and writing with their fingers in sand, which had for that purpose been strewn before them. He hastened home, repeating to himself as he went *Ευρηκα*, "I have discovered it;" and gave immediate orders to the usher of the lowest classes to teach the alphabet in the same manner, with this difference only from the Malabar mode, that the sand was strewn upon a board. These orders were either disregarded, or so carelessly executed, as if they were thought not worth regarding; and after frequent admonitions, and repeated trials made without either expectation or wish of succeeding, the usher at last declared it was impossible to teach the boys in that way. If he had acted on this occasion in good will, and with merely common ability,* Dr. Bell might never have cried *Ευρηκα*, a second time. But he was not a man to be turned from his purpose by the obstinacy of others, nor to be baffled in it by incapacity; baffled however, he was now sensible that he must be, if he depended for the execution of his plans on the will and ability of those over whose minds he had no command. He bethought himself of employing a boy, on whose obedience, disposition, and cleverness he could rely, and giving him charge of the alphabet class. The lad's name was John Frisken; he was the son of a private soldier, had learned his letters in the Asylum, and was then about eight years old. Dr. Bell laid the strongest injunctions upon him to follow his instructions; saying, he should look to him for the success of the simple and easy method

* The master had a salary of twenty pagodas a month, and each of the ushers fifteen.

which was to be pursued, and hold him responsible for it. What the usher had pronounced to be impossible, this lad succeeded in effecting without any difficulty. The alphabet was now as much better taught, as till then it had been worse than any other part of the boys' studies; and Frisken, in consequence, was appointed permanent teacher of that class.

Though Dr. Bell did not immediately perceive the whole importance of this successful experiment, he proceeded in the course into which he had been, as it were, compelled. What Frisken had accomplished with the alphabet class, might, in like manner, be done with those next in order, by boys selected, as he had been, for their aptitude to learn and to teach. Accordingly, he appointed boys as assistant teachers to some of the lower classes, giving, however, to Frisken, the charge of superintending both the assistants and their classes, because of his experience, and the readiness with which he apprehended and executed whatever was required from him. This talent indeed the lad possessed in such perfection, that Dr. Bell did not hesitate to throw upon him the entire responsibility of this part of the school. The same improvement was now manifested in these classes as had taken place in teaching the alphabet. This he attributed to the diligence and fidelity with which his little friends, as he used to call them, performed his orders. To them a smile of approbation was no mean reward, and a look of displeasure sufficient punishment. Even in this stage, he felt confident, that nothing more was wanting to bring the school into such a state as he had always proposed to himself, than to carry through the whole of the plan upon which he was now proceeding. And this, accordingly, was done. The experiment which, from necessity, had been tried at first with one class, was systematically extended to all the others in progression; and what is most important with scholastic improvement, moral improvement, not less, in consequence of the system, is said to have kept pace. For the assistant teachers, being invested with authority, not because of their standing in the school, retained their influence at all times, and it was their business to interpose whenever their interference was necessary: such interference prevented all that tyranny and ill-usage from which so much of the evil connected with boarding-schools arises; and all that mischief in which some boys are engaged by a mischievous disposition, more by mere wantonness, and a still greater number by the example of their companions. The boys were thus rendered inoffensive toward others, and among themselves; and this gentle preventive discipline made them, in its sure consequences, contented and happy. A boy was appointed over each class to marshal them when they went to church or walked out, and to see that they duly performed the operations of combing and washing themselves. Ten boys were appointed daily to clean the school-rooms, and wait upon the others at their meals. Twice a-week during the hot season, and once a-week during the monsoon season, they were marched by an usher to the tank, and there they bathed by classes.

As to any purposes of instruction, the master and ushers were now virtually superseded. They attended the school so as to maintain the observance of the rules; though even this was scarcely necessary under Dr. Bell's vigilant superintendence, who now made the school the great pleasure as well as the great business of his life. Their duty was, not to teach, but to look after the various departments of the institution, to see that the daily tasks were performed, to take care of the boys in and out of school, and to mark any irregularity or neglect either in them or the teachers. The master's principal business regarded now the economy of the institution: he had charge both of the daily disbursements and monthly expenditure under the treasurer.

• The precise date of that experiment which led to the general introduction of boy-teachers, cannot be ascertained; but that these teachers had been introduced in 1791, or early in the ensuing year, is certain. In private letters, written to his friends in Europe, Dr. Bell relates the progress of his improvements step by step, and the impressions made upon his own mind by the complete success of his exertions in a favourite pursuit. These letters show also how soon he became aware of the importance of the system which he was developing and bringing to maturity.

Such was the origin of this discovery; and from this day, the one object of Dr. Bell's life was to recommend and introduce into all schools the principle of mutual instruction. To say that it was his hobby, were to say too little. It was his life, his vital breath, that in which and for which he lived. In all our observation of men and things, we have had occasion to notice that very little good is done in the world, save by men who thus give themselves up to the promotion of some one favorite scheme—men whom the world calls men of genius, or monomaniacs, or *boreds*,—but men who, under whatever name, concentrate all their energies upon one point; and who, by dint of perseverance, overbear all opposition, and, (what is more difficult to overbear than opposition,) all lukewarmness and indifference. Such, henceforth, was Dr. Bell. Amongst children and amongst adults, mutual instruction was ever his theme—and this leads us to notice one point in his character, which would scarcely be expected to be found in it, that is, his tact in attaching children to himself. Dr. Bell was certainly a stern man, yet he seems to have had a wonderful faculty of gaining the affections of children, who cannot be bribed into attachment. Many instances of this occur in the course of the Memoir; but none more pleasing than the affection manifested by the family of Mr. John, a German Missionary at Tranquebar. We cannot deny our readers the pleasure they will receive from the following letter from this gentleman:—

• THE REV. C. JOHN TO DR. BELL.

• Tranquebar, 17th March, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your very obliging favour made us yesterday very happy. I was just going to our country church, where I spent the whole day, when I received and read it, surrounded by all my children, who were anxious with me to know how dear Dr. Bell was arrived, what he wrote, and how he had been satisfied, the more as we had heard that the wretched palanquin boys had tormented your soul and body throughout the road. I can hardly express what I have suffered for you that night. Such are our pleasures upon earth! mixed very often with very displeasing accidents. How happy will we be once in heaven, where palanquin boys, and all such like them, will trouble us no more! I hope the enjoyments of friendship, and better attention in the good family of our mutual friend, Mr. Toriano, will now repay all what you have suffered here.

• My house resounds still of encomiums of our tender, beloved Dr. Bell.

Never I have felt so much, and never I have observed in my children such a great attachment towards a friend, after having lived with us for so short a time. May heaven bless us often with so happy days, and may my children meet often with so dear a children's friend, who wins the hearts so soon, spends every moment so usefully, and encourages the youth in so excellent a manner!

Mary Ann, Suckey, Jackey, the little female philosopher, Kitty, August, and every one cry almost after you, and complain why I have let you depart so soon. Alas! what shall I do? You may find out means to comfort us. If you could make us happy once more by your instructive and agreeable visits, my children will bear you upon their hands instead of black bearers, (but always within the bounds of Tranquebar,) to the milk-woman, to our gardens, and other places of our pleasures, which you not yet have seen. We must reluctantly submit to our fate; but the remembrance of your goodness, of your instructions, and philosophical experiments, will ever remain with us.

The above mentioned and all the other middle and little ones, press and ontreat me to tender their best respects to you, so warmly as I am able to express. Messrs. Konig, Pohle, Rottler, Dr. Klein, Mrs. John, beg to be remembered to you in the best manner, not to forget my most obliging compliments and good wishes to dear Mr. Toriano and family.

May you long live for the benefit of the youth and of your friends! With the tenderest feelings I embrace you; and remain, my dear sir, yours ever sincerely, &c.

P. S.—Though the grapes are not yet entirely ripe, I send a basket with 50 bundles, to cause you the pleasure of distributing at the table of Mr. Toriano, as you did here.

We should like to insert some more specimens of this correspondence, but our space will not admit of it.

Dr. Bell's superintendence of the Asylum must have been admirable, and it produced its natural effect in training up a large number of boys, of so good a character, that their services began to be eagerly sought by the heads of departments, and others who had employment to offer. One of them was employed in rather a curious service. When Tippú's sons, who had been given up as hostages, were sent home, it was resolved that there should be sent along with them a present to their father, and that this present should include a set of philosophical instruments. Dr. Bell's apparatus was accordingly purchased by the Government; and one of the lads, Smith, who had recently left the Asylum, and who had assisted Dr. Bell in his experiments, was sent to exhibit and explain the different articles to the Sultan. It was found that Tippú was much better versed in experimental science than had been expected, and that he was not at all surprised at most of the experiments. However, Smith was well treated (after Tippú's fashion) and had a good offer made him, if he would remain in the country and superintend the construction of water-works, &c., at Seringapatam. But this offer he declined.

• About this time, Dr. Bell was attacked by that most grievous of diseases, the ambition of authorship! He was induced by his own wishes, and "the pressing advice of friends," to publish a specimen of his philosophical lectures, the proceeds to be devoted to the benefit of the Asylum. But after sundry negotiations with the London "trade," the scheme was abandoned. A more pressing matter now occupied his attention. Although he greatly liked the climate of India, and the mode of life that he pursued at Madras, his health had been somewhat impaired; and so early as the beginning of 1794, he had contemplated a return to Europe. About two years, however, were spent in consultations with various friends, as to the fortune which was necessary for comfortable living in England. Of course, the opinions expressed were very conflicting. In the beginning of 1796, he applied for leave to return to Europe on furlough. This was granted; a successor was appointed to him in the Orphan Asylum; but he did not immediately take his departure, and it was not till the 20th of August, 1796, that he quitted the shores of India, carrying with him letters of high and well-deserved commendation from the Directors of the Asylum, from the teachers, also from his brother chaplains, and from the Government. Although he left India on furlough, it does not appear that he had any intention of returning. Before his departure, he had drawn up a full report of the method of education pursued in the Asylum, with its results, copies of which were sent by the Madras Government to the Bengal and Bombay Governments and the Court of Directors, and by the author to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta.

Having thus rapidly sketched Dr. Bell's Indian career, we shall now present our readers with a few specimens of the correspondence that passed between him and his Indian cotemporaries. His most regular correspondents seem to have been Col. Floyd, (the father-in-law, we believe, of the late Sir Robert Peel); Captain Dirom, and Captain Wight.

The following extract from Col. Floyd's first letter is painfully interesting, as shewing the state of religion in our army at this period:—

COLONEL FLOYD TO DR. BELL.

Chevilimodoo, November 28, 1787.

DEAR SIR,— . . . Favour me, then, with your company for a week the beginning of the month. We are, I hope, so near the right road, that we shall not deviate much during the short delay you desire; and at your arrival, you will find your flock disposed to follow whithersoever you shall lead.

I am ashamed to say I do not think I have either Bible or Prayer-book at this place, and I cannot answer for it that any body else has; so you

will please to take your measures accordingly. We have one or two little ones that we mean to present to you for baptism...

The possession of a Bible does not make a man a Christian ; but we believe few Christians, hearing that there was, probably, not a single copy of the word of God in a regiment, will fail to give thanks to God for the different state of things that obtains now, and to invoke a blessing on the Naval and Military Bible Society. The next extract we shall present, seems to indicate, that Dr. Bell's intercourse with Col. Floyd had not been without good effect ; and this is all the more pleasing, as the Colonel's resolution of amendment appears not to have been fleeting :—

COLONEL FLOYD TO DR. BELL.

Chevilimodoo, July 29, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,—Yesterday I was favoured with the dial, and with the instruments for ascertaining the hour and the level. Thank you very kindly for your useful labours, and, above all, for your obliging letter, giving very clear directions for placing the dial in its true position.

The Madras Almanac does not show the sun's declination. You will, therefore, accommodate me exceedingly if you will be so good either to procure and send me any table thereof, or let your writer copy several days out of your own tables. The pedestal whereon the dial is to stand, must first be erected. I have taken measures for its construction this day ; but, I dare say, it will scarce be ready this fortnight. I shall carefully preserve and send back again your brass instrument.

What now remains would be a favour of far more consequence than all, could it be accomplished. You have shown me how to mark the time, and it would cost you little trouble to show me how to employ it to the best advantage. Show but that which will overcome my habitual idleness, and I will raise deathless monuments to your fame. I am covered with confusion when I reflect to how little account I waste the fleeting hour. How infinitely more might be done ! Others are idle too, but that is a shabby consolation. A man, in truth, lives but so many hours as he employs. What children many are who die of old age !...

Here is a note from Lady Jones, addressed to Dr. Bell, during his visit to Calcutta. We insert it as a *nut* for our Calcutta antiquaries. Who was Dietrick ? What was the precise *locale* of his house ? Did Sir William Jones visit his shop near the Portuguese Church in person, or did he send for him to his own quarters in the Bow Bazar ?

LADY JONES TO DR. BELL.

December, 1788.

Lady Jones cannot yet discover any thing in the sixth edition of Ferguson which is not in the first. She will, however, examine it more fully when she has leisure. She now takes the liberty of sending Dr. Bell a work of Wesley's. He will immediately see it is little more than a compilation, but arranged so as to be amusing and interesting, and guides our investigation of the wonders of nature to the noblest and best use—admiration and gratitude to the great author of them. He mentions two

or three little experiments in chemistry, which, perhaps, Dr. Bell may not find unuseful, particularly the *arbor martis* and the *solution of alum*.

Dietrick is the name of the chemist who furnished Sir William Jones with some *pyrophorus*. He lives near the Portuguese church; and Sir W. Jones thinks him an intelligent, ingenious man.

Here is a piece of information, for which we trust our anti-quarian friends will not be ungrateful, the introduction of tatties into Calcutta. Had they been previously used in the Upper Provinces? Were punkahs of a later date? It would certainly appear so from the manner in which Dr. Campbell writes:—

DR. JAMES CAMPBELL TO DR. BELL.

Calcutta, May 10, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,—... We have had very hot winds and delightful cool houses. Every body uses tattys now. They are delightful contrivances. My hall, you know, formerly Gregory's, by means of tattys, has been cool as in Europe, while the other rooms were uninhabitable, twenty and twenty-five degrees difference by Fahrenheit's thermometer; the consequence of which is, that Mrs. Campbell, who never went out in the day, is healthy and rosy. Tattys are, however, dangerous, when you are obliged to leave them and go abroad, the heat acts so powerfully on the body, that you are commonly affected with a severe catarrh.

The following recipe may be of interest to many of our readers; and at all events, it shews the wide range of Dr. Bell's enquiries. In fact, the correspondence inserted in these volumes, indicates an interest on Dr. Bell's part in various matters that would now be deemed sadly unprofessional, and some which we must be allowed to consider, as at all times, unsuitable to occupy any share of the attention of a Christian man, not to say of a Christian minister. We speak of various allusions to balls and private theatricals, of which it is evident from the letters addressed to Dr. Bell, that he had given accounts to his correspondents. But here is the extract respecting the composition of plaster:—

BARON REICHEL TO DR. BELL.

Ennore, August 10, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR,—It is with pleasure that I here subjoin what I know of the composition of our plaster of Madras, in the employing of which (when thus prepared) lays all the art, in order to give it that fine polish which we observe.

1st. The quicklime made use of, is of burnt cockleshells, which were previously well washed, so as to cleanse them of all the salt and slime they might be covered with.

2nd. An equal quantity of this lime and pure sand is mixed together and formed into a heap, in the middle of which a sufficient quantity of water is thrown, so as to create a gentle degree of ebullition, and the heap is left in that state twelve or fourteen days.

3dly. The heap, after this time, is well stirred about, and is then fit for mortar, by being well beat with pestles, in stone grooves made for that purpose.

* *4thly.* This mortar, in almost a dry state, is carried to the place where the plastering is to be made. Previously to the laying on the first coat, the wall or floor is well swept and bathed with jagary-water, (in the proportion of one pound of jagary to a gallon of water,) the mortar is then made sufficiently liquid with jagary-water, to be laid half an inch thick upon the brick-work. It is smoothed and modelled agreeably to the form required, first with a common trowel and then with a wooden one, rubbing and moistening continually with jagary-water, till it becomes perfectly hard.

5thly. This coat is left to dry at least ten or twelve days.

6thly. A second mortar is prepared for a second coat in the following manner:—Two-thirds of the pure shell lime, well sifted, is mixed with one-third of pure sand, and this is ground upon a stone with as much water as will make it of the consistence of paste. It is then laid by in some large earthen vessels.

7thly. A quantity of pure shell-lime, without sand, is also ground exceedingly fine upon a stone, and again deposited in separate large earthen vessels, overflowed with clean water.

8thly. Thus having every thing prepared, the day that the fine plastering is to be made, the vessels which contain the ground lime, without sand, is well stirred, and a few eggs, sour milk, and a pound of melted butter, are thrown in and well mixed with it; the consistence of this mortar is rather liquid.

9thly. Over the first coat of plastering, the second coat is given with the ground lime and sand; and as soon as this is laid on smooth and well rubbed with the wooden trowel, the third coat with the ground pure lime is immediately applied, not thicker than one-eighth of an inch. It is also rubbed lightly with a wooden trowel until it begins to refuse that kind of friction. The iron trowel or polisher is then used; and in the handling of this, as well as in the manner of giving it the fine and even polish, lays, as I said before, all the *delicatesse* of the art.

N. B.—Should you wish to colour the plastering, the desired colour, red, yellow, or black, must be ground separately, and mixed with the composition of the third coat.

The faces of the walls or floors thus plastered, must be wiped dry for several days with a very clean cloth; and when the moisture appears pretty near evaporated, they must be rubbed for two or three days with the palm of the hand quite clean and dry.

The following series of letters, affords a somewhat singular specimen of society in India, towards the close of the last century. Dr. Southey has concealed the name of the widow lady who seems so imperfectly to have known her own mind.

MRS. ————— TO DR. BELL.

February 27, 1793.

DEAR SIR,—I have a favour to ask you—If you would accompany me so far as Conjeveram at any time it is your leisure, and there I shall beg of you to perform a solemn ceremony. It is a serious one indeed. What do you say? Yes or no, is to *marry me*. Yours obediently.

MRS. ————— TO DR. BELL.

February 27, 1793.

DEAR SIR,—Upon reflection, I have changed my mind as to what I have wrote you. I beg you will not mention any thing about it. Yours truly.

Mrs. ——— TO DR. BELL.

27th February, 1793.

DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your letter of this morning. Indeed I have such confidence in you that I am perfectly satisfied. You will think me an odd woman, perhaps, and I confess I am so. Adieu. Your most obliged.

If any should think this correspondence too light for insertion in Dr. Bell's biography, or in this our review thereof, we shall next extract

DR. BELL'S JOURNAL AT THE SIEGE OF PONDICHERRY.

Thursday, August 2, 1793.

Set out from Egmore. I found only six palanquin bearers when I arrived at Choultry, where a palanquin was posted; and, by the great failure of the head bearers, could not have proceeded but for horses—my own, Lieutenant Hughes's at Chingleput, and Mr. Welsh's at Permacoil.

4th. Visited the rock of Permacoil, taken by Tippú Sulthan in the late war. Lieutenant Brunton having capitulated.

5th. Arrived in camp to breakfast with Captain Wight, commanding 36th regiment; waited on Colonel Floyd, and accepted his invitation to be with him till the arrival of my tent equipage; and, on waiting on Colonel Braithwaite, received an invitation to be of his, the Commander of the army's, family. Dined with him.

6th. Visited the port at Arioncopaing, next the fort. Saw videttes within 200 yards over the river. Dined with Colonel Floyd.

7th. Visited the Engineer's Park, the Blancherie, and posts to the north. Dined with Colonel Nesbit.

8th. Visited the gardens, De l'Arches: saw Moravians: saw gabions and fascines, and general hospital.

10th. At night, enfilading battery begun of eighty yards long and twenty-four feet thick, about 750 yards from the north-west angle of the fort—eighty twelve-pounders and two mortars. Its progress very small the first night, but the working party undiscovered, the blue lights being thrown to the north.

12th. At night the approaches begun from the village of the Blancherie, about 1,300 yards, and a zig-zag of 750 yards completed.

13th. Parallel and battery now begun. Captain Thomas Galpine, of the 73d regiment, killed.

14th. Buried Captain Galpine.

15th. Lieutenant Macgregor and Ensign Todd, of the 73rd, killed; and at half-past eight o'clock at night, Lieutenant-Colonel Maule, chief engineer, going from the trenches to his tent in his palanquin, a cannon-ball killed three bearers behind, and carried off his head.

16th. Buried Ensign James Todd and Lieutenant D. D. Macgregor, and Lieutenant-Colonel George Maule. Rain all last night and this morning.

17th. Buried Lieutenant Henry Lane, of the 52nd regiment. Rain last night and to-day.

20th. Opened enfilading battery, which rendered the firing of the fort less frequent and less certain.

21st. Buried Ensign Home, of the 36th regiment.

22nd. Northern battery of fourteen twenty-fours opened at daybreak, and before seven o'clock silenced all the guns on that face of the fort. A flag sent in at four o'clock, from the fort, offering to capitulate.

23rd. Eight o'clock morning, capitulation signed. Private property sacred. Soldiers prisoners of war; Sepoys set at liberty. Colonel Floyd in command of Pondicherry. English flag hoisted at one o'clock.

25th. • Walked all round Pondicherry. Enterable by the sea face from the south.

26th. Spent the whole day at Cuddalore, most pleasantly, with Mrs. Sheriff.

29th. Margaret, daughter of William Woolvin, sergeant, 52d regiment, and Sarah, his wife, baptized. Camp at Pondicherry.

We have referred to the fact of one of Dr. Bell's pupils being sent in charge of the philosophical apparatus that was sent as a present to Tippú Sahib. We had marked, for extract, his account of his reception and treatment by that singular man; but the length to which we have already gone in extracting, and a consideration of the amount of matter that still lies before us, compel us to alter our intention. The same considerations induce us to withhold all the letters which, at the outset, we intended to insert, relating to public events. We should imagine that the correspondence of Col. Floyd, Major Dirom and Capt. Wight, will be of very considerable use to the historian of the eventful war in which these soldiers did good service. The frankness and despatch, with which these officers communicate to Dr. Bell details of the various operations that they severally conducted, and the various actions in which they were engaged, indicate the high estimation in which they held him. And, indeed, it may not be out of place, at the close of his Indian career, to notice what we shall have to dwell upon at greater length hereafter, the strong attachment that subsisted between Dr. Bell and his friends. It is needless to repeat, what our previous remarks will have led our readers to anticipate, that the relation that subsisted between them was not in accordance with our *ideal* of that which ought to subsist between a minister of the Gospel and the members of his flock; yet we doubt not that his influence upon them, and especially upon Col. Floyd, was, upon the whole, beneficial. As we have stated, there seems a gradual improvement in the tone of this fine soldier's correspondence; and we can scarcely doubt that his intercourse with Dr. Bell had a considerable share in leading him to seriousness, and to the cultivation of an excellent mind, which it seems to have been not mere modesty that led him to confess was lying waste, up to the commencement of that intercourse. We may as well mention, that this Colonel Floyd (afterwards General,) was created a baronet in 1816, and died in 1818, and that his daughter is Lady Peel, on whose behalf so much of the sympathy of mankind was lately called forth, on the occasion of the sad bereavement which she and the country sustained, when that great statesman, her husband, was so suddenly removed from the midst of us. General Dirom retired to Scotland, and died a few

years ago, full of years and honors. Capt. Wight also retired to Scotland, but we do not know any thing of his history, except what we learn from the volume before us. We find that in 1797, he was actively employed in quelling a very serious riot in East Lothian; that he ultimately attained the rank of Colonel, and that after his death Dr. Bell had the satisfaction of being able to procure a cadetship for his son.

Dr. Bell, as we have already said, quitted India on the 20th of August, 1796. The Directors of the asylum asked permission "to provide a convenient passage for Dr. Bell to Europe, in any ship he might wish to go by," but this he declined. Mr. Southey (for we have now passed from the father's part of the biography to the son's) here introduces a detailed statement of Dr. Bell's income, during his residence in India; from which it would appear, that he received on an average, during the nine years of his residence in India, about £1,600 annually; but this we suspect must be an under-estimate of the droppings of that now extinct botanical product, the "Gold-mohur-tree;" inasmuch as we find, that on the eve of his departure from India, he estimated his assets at £17,030; a much larger sum than that at which Mr. Southey estimates his aggregate income. Now although, latterly, the interest on his previous savings, in those days when high interest could be obtained, might be sufficient to defray his very moderate expenses, this could not be the case in the earlier part of his career. But this is not all. Probably on account of a more favorable rate of exchange than he had calculated upon, we find that he actually brought from India £18,445-16-5, and left a sum invested, which, by 1820, had amounted to £7,490; so that the whole sum that he saved in India amounted to £25,935-16-5.

At first, Dr. Bell reported himself as visiting England on sick certificate, with the intention of returning to his duties as soon as his health should be re-established; but speedily he seems to have abandoned this idea, and set himself earnestly to secure a pension from the Court of Directors, founding his claim on the eminent services he had gratuitously rendered to India, in connection with the Orphan Asylum. He also asked permission to publish the report which he had drawn up previously to leaving Madras. This permission was immediately granted, and acted upon; and soon after a pension was conferred upon him of £200 per annum; but on the condition, that "if his health should permit of his returning to his duties as chaplain, at Fort St. George, and he should obtain leave to return, 'this pension should cease.'" In point of fact, however, he

lived in robust health, for thirty years after this, and might have gone any where from Pole to Pole; but he still retained his pension.

From this time he began his efforts for the introduction of the Madras, or "mutual instruction," system of education into British schools, and these efforts he never relaxed till the end of his life. His first attempt seems to have been at New Lanark, then the property of Mr. David Dale, and afterwards celebrated as the scene of the first socialist experiment of his son-in-law, the well-known Robert Owen.

Hitherto his report, although printed, had not been published; and he seems, at first, to have hesitated whether he should publish it at all. But as afterwards, when the controversies arose, to which we shall immediately have occasion to refer, concerning his merits as the inventor of the method, his opponents maintained that, even if it were granted that he was the first to practise the system, his delay and hesitation as to the issue of his report, indicated that he was not by any means aware of the importance of his discovery, and that it was only after the method was independently discovered by Lancaster, and when, under his auspices, its importance was evinced, that he cared for asserting his claim to be regarded as its discoverer,—his biographer is very properly solicitous to shew that this was not the fact. And in this, we think, he fully succeeds. Indeed, it is by no means difficult to show, that at no time was Dr. Bell blind to his own merits, or in danger of underrating the value of his own discovery. It ought to be remembered, in connexion with this matter, that he very naturally did not expect a pamphlet on such a subject to meet with an extensive sale, and that during the interval that elapsed between the printing and the publication, he had been busy in presenting copies to men of rank and influence, whom it was desirable to interest in the cause. He was doubtful of his power to induce the public to appreciate his discovery; but not of the value of the discovery, itself.

The next matter in which Dr. Bell was engaged, was the purchase of an estate in Scotland. The following is his memorandum of the transaction:—

"Dumfries, 13th of February, 1798—Purchase of land.
 ' Bought of William Copland, Esq., of Collieston, Northfield of
 ' Clarebrand and Southend of Halferne, amounting to about 56
 ' acres, on lease at £56. The farm of Ernamerie, and part of
 ' Upper Clarebrand, amounting to 150 acres, rent £170-14.
 ' The life rent pendicle of Robert Conchar, of 22 acres, rent
 ' about £5-6. Total rent, £232 for £4,120. .

“16th. Bought Halferne, 182 acres, on lease at £146 per annum, for £2,300. Total acres 415—rent £378, for £6,420.”

Thus Dr. Bell realized the ambition of almost every Scotchman, in being the owner of a portion of his *natale solum*. The investment was regarded as a very advantageous one; the neighbourhood was good; and the price was little more than seventeen years' purchase. The engagements in which he was speedily involved, however, left him little leisure to squire it in Galloway. Indeed, he visited his estate only at distant intervals, and on these occasions, he generally stayed for very short periods.

Two days after the date of the preceding memorandum, he proceeded to London, and accidentally met “D. P. Watts, Esq., who was then one of the trustees of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, the oldest Protestant parochial school in London, to whom he presented a copy of the Madras report.” The result we must give at length in the words of Mr. Southey:—

This Mr. Watts immediately placed in the hands of Samuel Nichols, the master, and desired him to read and consider it, and to be prepared to give his opinion on it at the next meeting of the board. Shortly afterwards he wrote to Mr. Watts, informing him of the steps he had taken, which were highly creditable to his judgment. “I have perused Dr Bell's plan,” he writes, “with much attention and pleasure, and do declare to you, that I conceive it to be the most facilitating, as well as the most effectual, mode of instructing children that can be adopted. The dividing the children into classes, and placing a senior boy over them, is productive of many advantages. It instructs the younger ones with more rapidity, because to the monitor they can read and spell twice or thrice in the morning and afternoon, when to the master not more than once. The elder boy, while he is teaching his class, is also instructing himself, by riveting in his mind by repetition those lessons which he had formerly learned.

“It is an infallible method for the preservation of order, to the almost entire exclusion of corporal punishment, by the monitor being responsible for the good conduct of his class, by the effect on the minds of the class, arising from the reproach or punishment which will fall on their monitor through their misconduct, and by the general competition of classes, each being numbered or descriptively named; and it renders the task of superintending a school thus regulated at once pleasant and easy.

“I am at this time trying the effect of teaching the alphabet with the finger on sand, which, for the short time it has been in practice here, promises the most marked success.”

From this time the system appears to have been acted upon in this school; for in 1803, we find a letter from Nichols to Mr. Watts, in which he thus speaks of the use of sand as one of the auxiliary practices:—“The sand I continue to use, it being the most facilitating as well as the most saving method that ever was conceived. The following is an instance of its efficacy:—I had a boy, who is the dullest, heaviest, and the least inclined to learning I ever had, who, having for six months past wrote upon sand, and read alternately and constantly while at school, is now able, not only to spell every word, but can tell me any word, let me ask him where I will, and he appears now to have an inclination to learning, to which, when he first came, he had an utter aversion.”

No further account of this school appears until 1807, when Dr. Bell visited it twice, and was so much pleased with an addition which Mr. Nichols had made to the minor practices, that of the boys counting the time of the stops in reading, that he immediately had the practice introduced into Lambeth school.

In 1811, we again find this school mentioned in a letter from Mr. Nichols to Mr Watts, where he says, "I hereby most respectfully inform you, that the parts of Dr. Bell's plan adopted in the above school have been—classing the children, and placing them under teachers and assistants, and writing with a pen upon damp sand;" and he adds, "I became an admirer of Dr. Bell's plan the moment you honoured me with its perusal, and have considered it ever since a most delightful and encouraging method of instruction." In another letter to Mr Watts, in 1812, he also says, "It would have been a happiness to me, as well as an incalculable benefit to the school, if you, sir, had continued an active trustee This school has been literally upon the Madras system from the time you first delivered the Rev. Dr. Bell's book into my hands, in the year 1798."

The latter part of 1798 and the former part of '99, seem to be the only year in which Dr. Bell enjoyed something approaching to a holiday. The winter he spent in Dumfries, in the neighbourhood of his property, and the summer in various trips and excursions undertaken with the joint view of seeing the country, and introducing the Madras system. In August, 1799, he visited Edinburgh, and was immediately applied to by Sir William Forbes, on behalf of the vestry of the English episcopal chapel there, to officiate in the chapel during the autumn. To this request he at once acceded, and officiated in the chapel until the following March, giving his services gratuitously, and securing the affectionate respect of the congregation, by whom he was presented with a silver tea-service. At this time he was also elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. But his great object, during his residence in Edinburgh, was to get the Madras system introduced into some of the principal schools there; however he found obstacles that he had not anticipated, and did not, at this time, succeed in his attempt. At the close of this year (3rd November, 1800), he married Miss Barclay, daughter of a clergyman of the church of Scotland. The marriage was a very unhappy one, and a separation took place in 1806, after which his wife and he seem to have had no intercourse. Mr. Southey leaves the curiosity of his readers altogether unsatisfied, respecting the causes of this breach; and we shall not attempt to withdraw the veil which he so closely draws.

The period that elapsed between Dr. Bell's departure from India and the end of 1801, may be considered as another epoch in his life. At the latter date, he was appointed by Mr. Calcraft to the rectory of Swanage, Dorsetshire, where he took possession

and preached his first sermon on Christmas day. There is a good deal of interesting information given us, respecting the inhabitants of Swanage, the greater portion of whom were engaged in the quarrying of Purbeck stone. Amongst his parishioners, Dr. Bell found several men of remarkable character, self-taught, intelligent, and even scientific. Some of these he converted into teachers, and got them appointed to various offices, from time to time; and they seem to have admirably realized the expectations that he formed respecting them. Dr. Bell's first care was devoted to the Sunday schools, which had been established before his appointment to the rectory, and into which he now, with great caution and judiciousness, introduced "the system." There were no less than thirteen day-schools in his parish; and as the population was under 1,500, the schools must have been poor affairs. Dr. Bell, instead of wasting his time upon all of these, seems wisely to have selected one of them as the field of his operations; but whether he selected the best, or whether he took the one to which he got readiest access, does not appear. The school was an exceedingly disorderly one, and gave a fine opportunity for an exhibition of the power of the system, to produce regularity and progress.

Another object that occupied Dr. Bell's attention, was the introduction of vaccination amongst his parishioners. Having brought some vaccine matter from Edinburgh, he prevailed upon a family to allow their two children to be submitted to the operation. He accordingly vaccinated the boy, and Mrs. Bell the girl; and they succeeded so well, that in the course of the spring, he and Mrs. Bell vaccinated no fewer than 300 persons. As he never did things by halves, we find him carrying his zeal for vaccination into all places and all times, even into some places and times which, according to our feelings and judgment, were scarcely suitable to it. Witness the following extract:—

On this subject, he thus speaks in a letter to a friend:—"Sunday the 15th, (June 1806.) I did what was never done before in Swanage—preached twice, and the same sermon both forenoon and afternoon, on cow-pock. The consequence is, that I have now this year vaccinated 211 subjects, which, added to the three former years' list, make 604 I have vaccinated. A mother has brought a second child from Portsmouth, on purpose for my vaccination, because the elder had resisted the small-pox in every way, whom, being accidentally here, I had vaccinated with my parishioners and neighbours; for I send none away. Among other causes I am detained by the vaccination (brought on before the usual period by the natural small-pox breaking out in the neighbourhood, from returning to London so soon as I intended." And in the course of the next month, he writes:—"I have now almost finished my fourth annual vaccination for the cow-pock, amounting in all to 658 subjects, from seventy-eight years of age to twelve months; and have set old women, school-mistresses, &c., in neighbouring parishes, inoculating with vaccine matter."

In connexion with the subject of vaccination in Swanage, Mr. Southey, with a good deal of his father's spirit, introduces an account of a Dorsetshire farmer, who is said to have introduced and practised vaccination before Dr. Jenner. Dr. Bell made a statement on the subject to the Jennerian society, who sent for the old man, defrayed the expenses of his journey to and from, and his residence in, London, and had his portrait painted and hung up in their hall. Altogether it seems to be clearly established, that Benjamin Jesty was the first who discovered and practised vaccination; yet was Dr. Jenner fairly entitled to all the fame and emolument that he enjoyed as its discoverer, inasmuch as it was he who, having made the discovery without any communication with Jesty, made it available for the advantage of mankind. The only other matter on which we find Dr. Bell bringing his energies to bear, during his residence in Swanage, was the introduction of straw-plaiting as an employment for the girls of his parish.

It was while he was rector of Swanage, that the controversy arose respecting the comparative merits of Dr. Bell and Joseph Lancaster, in the invention and introduction of the method of mutual instruction. To enter into the details of this controversy, would lead us far beyond the limits which we must prescribe to ourselves in this article. We shall, therefore, only state generally, that we think it clearly established, that Dr. Bell introduced the system at Madras; that Mr. Lancaster, although he had made considerable improvements on the prevalent modes of tuition before he heard of Dr. Bell's method, derived the first idea of that method from Dr. Bell's report; that being a practical teacher and a man of lively fancy, he engrafted upon it various methods of discipline, some of which were manifest improvements, while others were of a somewhat questionable kind; that at first he willingly acknowledged the obligations under which he lay to Dr. Bell; and that he did not, at any time, deny that he had derived the method of mutual instruction from him, while he considered that the Lancasterian "system" was his own, inasmuch as it consisted, not merely of Dr. Bell's principle, but also of his own methods and details, which Dr. Bell's friends and supporters regarded as unseemly excrescences, only tending to mar the beauty and efficiency of the principle itself. The evil was, that the controversy became one between church and dissent, or rather between "high church" on the one hand, and "low church" and dissent on the other. The fact was, that the questions at issue between these bodies had no more to do with the systems of Bell and Lancaster than with the systems of Ptolemy and Copernicus. Dr.

Bell himself always maintained, that the sole peculiarity, which constituted the system for whose invention he claimed credit, was the method of mutual instruction. Now this method is clearly fitted for teaching either the church catechism or the formulary of any other church, or for imparting instruction on other subjects in schools in which no religion at all is taught. But in point of fact, Dr. Bell's schools, in Madras and in England, were conducted on church principles; while Mr. Lancaster's were founded on more latitudinarian views; and the partizans of Dr. Bell dragged in the controversy respecting the system of teaching in support of their views in regard to the subjects taught, and mixed up the controversy as to the monitorial system with the controversy as to the union of church and state. To us who, at this distance of time and place, may be supposed to be able to form an impartial judgment, this seems to be the real state of the case. Dr. Bell introduced the method of mutual instruction at Madras, and practised it with excellent effect there for several years. Mr. Lancaster, many years after, introduced various improvements into the discipline of schools. While he was endeavouring to bring his system to perfection, he met with Dr. Bell's book, and afterwards went down to Swanage, and spent some days in the Rectory. He immediately introduced Dr. Bell's method into his own school, fully and candidly acknowledging its importance, and then went on introducing more and more improvements, some of them undoubtedly such, and others of a very questionable kind. Thus Dr. Bell's friends said in substance, "The improved system consists exclusively 'in the method of mutual instruction; and Dr. Bell is the author 'of that method, therefore he is the author of the system;" while Mr. Lancaster's friends said, "True, Dr. Bell is the 'author of this method, but this is a very small, though not un- 'important, part of the system as practised in the Lancasterian 'schools, and of that system, as a whole, Joseph Lancaster is 'the author." Such appears to be the real state of the question, in so far as the real merits of the controversy are concerned; but by some means, it got mixed up with the controversy as to the connexion of schools with the church, and a great deal of unfair argumentation was used on both sides. For example, on the one side we find a great deal of personal abuse heaped on Lancaster, whom we believe to have been a man of great zeal and earnestness and simplicity of purpose, though not untinctured with vanity; while on the other side, it is only a short time ago, that we met with the following note in the writings of the late Rev. Sydney Smith. Having occa-

sion, in the course of an article on a different subject altogether, to introduce Dr. Bell's name, he explains in a note, that Dr. Bell was "a very foolish old gentleman, seized on eagerly by 'the church of England to defraud Lancaster of his discovery.'" Now this is unfair in many ways. Whatever Dr. Bell may have been, he was not at all what ninety-nine out of every hundred persons will understand by the epithet applied to him of "a foolish old gentleman;"—then it was not the church of England, but a particular section of its members that entered warmly into this controversy, as is indicated by the fact that Bishop Porteus was never at all cordial towards Dr. Bell, and was at one time, apparently, rather in favor of Lancaster; while Mr. Sydney Smith himself was at once a dignitary of the Church of England, and a zealous partizan of Lancaster;—and then, in point of fact, the supporters of Dr. Bell did not attempt to defraud Lancaster of his discovery in favor of Dr. Bell. They only claimed for him what was really his own, and said, that all the rest was either useless or worse. It is as if A. claimed to be the inventor of roast goose, and B. the inventor of apple sauce, and A.'s friends should say,— "His is, in reality, the dish; you may add to it what sauce or seasoning you like, the substantial dish is not 'affected thereby.'"—"No," say the advocates of B., "the roast 'goose is, indeed, a valuable part of the dish, when taken along 'with the sauce, but the sauce is good in itself, and good as 'capable of forming a part of other dishes as well as of this, 'while the goose would be but a dry and insipid dish without 'the sauce; while therefore it is admitted that the simple and 'poor dish, roast-goose, is the invention of A., it is contended 'that the composite and excellent dish, roast-goose-and-apple-'sauce, is that of B." Now here the controversy should stop, and it should be left to each epicure to determine whether in reality greater praise were due to him who roasted the goose, or to him who prepared the sauce; whether the goose were good without the sauce, and whether it were better with it. But unfortunately the controversy turns upon the propriety of eating roast goose at Michaelmas; A.'s supporters maintaining that on that day every table should be graced with the dish; while B.'s advocates aver that the dish, as prepared by their client, is good for all seasons, and that there is no more reason why it should be on the table on Michaelmas than on every other day, and no less reason why it should be eaten in Lent than at any other season. And then the controversy branches out into the propriety of the observance of saints' days and fasts and festivals generally; and so the controversialists lose sight

of A. and B. altogether, while yet they firmly believe, and try to persuade others also, that they are still engaged in discussing the merits of these gastronomic *artistes*!

The principal controversialists on Dr. Bell's side were Mrs. Trimmer, a good woman, the editor of an educational magazine, and the authoress of many good school-books; but so high in her church principles, that she could not allow any good to exist without its pale;—Dr. Marsh, a man of great learning and great power, who was first known as the author of a very violent attack on the Bible Society, and afterwards as Bishop of Peterborough, and translator of Michaelis's Introduction to the study of the Scriptures. Even his own party thought he had gone too far in his assault on the Bible Society; and Dr. Bell regretted that his advocacy of his claims should have come so speedily on the back of that controversy; because he knew that his advocacy would do prejudice to his cause in the estimation of the friends of that noble institution;—and Lord Radstock, a blunt and warm-hearted sailor, who shewed more zeal than discretion in his conduct of the controversy, and led even those on the same side to silently exclaim—"Save me from my friends."

Meantime the system was introduced into various schools of importance in England and Ireland. The details are interesting to the professional teacher, but can scarcely be so to the public in general. We shall, therefore, pass them over, and shall only quote Dr. Bell's account of his interview with the Duke of York at the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, and of his report of the interview to the archbishop of Canterbury:—

Dr. Bell remained at Chelsea till about the end of October, when, having succeeded in organizing the Asylum to his satisfaction, he thought it proper to return to his duties at Swanage. Hardly, however, had he arrived there, when he was recalled, for the purpose of showing the fruits of his labour in the Asylum to the Duke of York. This summons he at once obeyed; and some time after, in writing to General Floyd, gave the following account of his visit:—"When I left the Royal Military Asylum, . . . which I had attended for two months to remodel it, I was sent for by the Duke of York, to meet his Royal Highness there, and to exhibit the machine which I had put in motion there. Next morning, when I had paid my duty, and reported progress to the Archbishop, he asked me how I was pleased with my interview, and what the duke, the president of the institution, thought of my proceeding. I said, I was so little acquainted with the language of great men, smiling and bowing to his Grace, in whose presence and at whose table I had so often sat, that I did not know how to interpret any of the praises of simplicity, &c., which his Royal Highness was pleased to bestow upon it; but when he said, not only to me, but to my friends in my absence again and again, 'he only wondered that it had not been found out before,' I was sure 'we had him.'

• "I had the impudence to say I had borrowed my system of his Royal

Highness, that is, of his army—that in India, Generals Floyd, Knox, Nesbit, &c., had infused into me some of their military spirit; and that my teachers and assistant-teachers were my sergeants and corporals, and my reports their orderly-books. It has often occurred to me of late, that it was insensibly in that school I learned what I taught."

In 1807 Dr. Bell received a complimentary letter from his former pupils at Madras, which he had printed and distributed amongst his friends, while he submitted the original to the Court of Directors. The subject of his claims was incidentally introduced to the House of Commons on occasion of the discussion of a measure introduced by Mr. Whitbread, respecting the poor laws. It was tacitly assumed by Mr. Whitbread and his supporters, that Lancaster was the author of the improved system, and "no mention of Dr. Bell's name appears to have been made in the debate, except by Mr. Calcraft, (the patron of the living of Swanage) who rose and said, that the system of education so much recommended was solely and wholly attributable to his near neighbour and respected friend, the Rev. Dr. Bell, rector of Swanage." This led to an interview between Dr. Bell and Mr. Whitbread, which, however, issued in no material consequences, except a public acknowledgment, on the part of Mr. Whitbread, of the priority of Dr. Bell's use of the method of mutual instruction.

Dr. Bell and his friends now felt it desirable that he should receive some appointment, which should leave him more at liberty to prosecute the object of working the system in those schools into which it had been introduced, and effecting its introduction into other schools, than was compatible with the duties of an extensive parish. An opportunity soon occurred. Bishop Dampier, on his promotion from the see of Rochester to that of Ely, resigned the mastership of Sherburn hospital, in the diocese of Durham, which he had held in conjunction with the former office; and Bishop Barrington, who had long been one of the most zealous, and, at the same time, one of the most judicious advocates of Dr. Bell's claims, agreed to confer on him the mastership of the hospital. He appears to have originally contemplated the retention of Swanage, although it was on the ground of the weightiness of its duties that he professedly sought preferment. He, however, resigned it, the bishop making it a condition of his appointment to Sherburn Hospital that the nomination of a successor at Swanage should be given up to him; to which arrangement Mr. Calcraft agreed. He was told that the clear income of his new office would not be less than £1,188; but it appears that it generally exceeded this sum considerably, although he introduced changes in the system of management,

which materially increased the expenses, and lessened the clear income. He received £3,000 from his predecessor for "dilapidations."

Sherburn hospital is one of those relics of the piety of popish times, of very questionable utility. It seems to have been originally a leper asylum; but when the disease of leprosy was happily banished from England, it was converted into an asylum for old men, of whom thirty were maintained, in a state of what we should call vegetable enjoyment, but that we have too much respect for vegetables, to compare to them a set of discontented old fellows, who were perpetually wrangling about the quality of their beer, and the exact point to which the roasting of their beef ought to be carried.* The revenues belong to the master, on the condition of his clothing and dieting the "brethren" according to certain scales. Dr. Bell, shortly after his appointment, considerably increased the allowances of the brethren, and really did all that could be done to content them; and he did succeed to a considerable extent, in smoothing the troubled waters of their idle minds.

For several years after this period, Dr. Bell was incessantly employed in correspondence respecting the system, and in tours and visitations of schools in England and in Ireland. The next matter of special moment that attracts our notice, is the formation, in 1811, of a "National Institution" for education on the Madras system, in connexion with the established church. This society commenced in London, soon radiated into the provinces, and greatly promoted the diffusion of the system. This year he also received a second communication from his Madras pupils, accompanying a resolution passed at a meeting, to the effect that a service of sacramental plate, and a gold chain and medal, should be presented to him, and that a hundred copies of a copper-plate engraving of a miniature portrait of him should be purchased for distribution amongst the subscribers. These resolutions were carried into effect, and Dr. Bell returned a long answer to the address, which is admirably written, although we are painfully struck with that absence of evangelical sentiments which we have already noticed as pervading Dr. Bell's correspondence. At this time the Duke of York, having witnessed the success of the Madras system in the Royal Military Asylum, resolved, with the sanction of the Prince Regent, to introduce it into the regimental schools throughout the army; and requested Dr. Bell to draw up a manual of instructions for establishing and conducting these

* An interesting account of Sherburn hospital may be seen in Howitt's *Visits to Remarkable Places*. Some portions of this account we should quote did our space permit.

schools. This manual, contrary to his usual habits of literary composition, he completed in the course of five days.

The current of Dr. Bell's life ran on smoothly till the autumn of 1813, and success attended his efforts every where; but at this time, it was interrupted by certain discontents on the part of his Sherburn "brethren,"—"a little more than kin, and less than kind"—who complained to the bishop of their treatment. A long correspondence ensued between the bishop and Dr. Bell; and it seems that the bishop was satisfied that Dr. Bell's conduct in the matter was unexceptionable, and that the complaints of the brethren were either groundless, or that they applied only to the conduct of the contractor who supplied the provisions.

We must pass over the immediately subsequent events in Dr. Bell's life, including his interview with the Grand Duchess and the Emperor of Russia, and a visit which, in the autumn of 1814, he paid to Ireland, on the invitation of the bishop of Derry, for the purpose of introducing the system into the Foundling hospital at Dublin, in the course of which visit he held conferences with the directors of various other institutions, and with Mr. Peel, who was then Secretary for Ireland. We find nothing but schools and schoolmasters, correspondence and visitations, until October 1815, when he treated himself to a well-earned holiday, and proceeded to Scotland, where he had not been for several years. He remained there until the end of December, when he returned to England. His account of this trip, contained in a letter written from Carlisle, is too characteristic not to be extracted:—

I have just finished a tour of three months in my native country, to visit friends—not its curiosities, interesting scenery, or natural beauties, but its scholastic institutions. Nothing is curious, or interesting, or beautiful in my eyes, but the face of children—but the infant mind—but the spiritual creation. Though I have been in America, Asia, Africa, as well as Europe, and in a country notorious of late, (let the Bonaparteans say where,) beyond the limits of them all, I have, in my present visitation, been carried in the line of my vocation further north, than ever I was before. I have been in a city which has as many universities as all England.

In the summer of next year (1816), he carried into execution a long-cherished design of a tour on the continent. He spent some time in Paris, then proceeded rapidly to Geneva, Lausanne, Yverdon, where Pestalozzi's school engrossed his attention, Hofwyl, where Fellenberg established his celebrated industrial school, Friburg, Basle, and down the Rhine into Holland. This tour occupied from June to September; and having now contracted a love of foreign travel, he contemplated a visit to America, but was dissuaded by his friend Lord Kenyon, on the ground that there "was not, and (so his Lord-

ship feared) never would be, enough of principle in America, to work upon to do good, even by Dr. Bell's almost all-powerful system!" He therefore went about in the north of England, entirely engrossed, as usual, with schools and school-masters. In June 1817, he visited Windsor, at the request of the good old Queen Charlotte, and was much gratified at the reception he met with from Her Majesty and the Princess Elizabeth.

Again Schools! Schools! in England and Scotland, until the end of January, 1818, when he received at St. Andrew's a note from the archbishop of Canterbury, offering him a prebendary's stall in Hereford Cathedral. He was accordingly appointed by the archbishop, and admitted by the bishop of Hereford; but he soon found that the office required longer residence than he had anticipated, and that the mastership of Sherburn hospital prevented his holding several of the appointments that were attached to the stall, and from which its income was mainly derived. He was therefore anxious to effect an exchange, but in this he did not succeed until March of next year, when he had the choice of two preferments, a prebend in Westminster, and the wardenship of Manchester. The income of the latter office was higher, ranging from £1,200 to £2,000 a year, while the former was valued at from £700 to £1,100; but he preferred the former, probably because he thought it would be more advantageous to reside in London than in Manchester. He was accordingly installed prebendary of Westminster, and entered on the duties of his office. We may mention, as an instance of his constant desire to do every thing in the best manner possible, that on his appointment to metropolitan duty, "he became very desirous of correcting 'his Scotch accent'—rather a hopeless task, we should suppose, for a man in his sixty-seventh year. He accordingly employed his secretary "to note down during sermon those words 'in which it most evidently appeared; and on returning home, 'he would endeavour to acquire from him the proper pronunciation of them." This was a somewhat novel application of the *mutual instruction* principle, the clergyman instructing his auditor in the doctrines and duties of Christianity during sermon, and the auditor instructing the clergyman in elocution afterwards! His secretary was also required to sit in the most distant parts of the chair, to ascertain whether the preacher's voice was audible at a distance.

An event now occurred, which greatly disturbed Dr. Bell's peace of mind. We have already alluded to the complaints that were made by the Sherburn brethren in 1813. These were renewed from time to time; but in 1819, they assumed

a serious aspect. Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor, of Chancery-Reform celebrity, having heard of the complaints made from time to time by the "brethren," saw that the hospital would furnish him with a "grievance" that would "tell" admirably. He therefore entered into correspondence on the subject with the bishop of Durham, threatening to expose publicly the abuses that he professed to have detected in the management of the trust. The Bishop agreed to set an enquiry on foot, and appointed as commissioners the Rev. D. Durell, and the Rev. H. Philpotts, who has since attained so much notoriety as bishop of Exeter. Their report was very favorable to Dr. Bell; they only recommended a few improvements, which he was very willing to adopt. The commissioners, however, had only enquired into the treatment of the brethren, whose complaints led to their appointment; and the bishop had consulted his temporal chancellor respecting the whole management of the trust. This gentleman gave as his opinion, that Dr. Bell had not properly expended the £3,000 that he had received from his predecessor for dilapidations, and that he had appropriated to his own use the money received for timber sold from the estates belonging to the hospital. Against these charges Dr. Bell vindicated himself, by showing that he had actually laid out, or was then laying out, on the repairs of the dilapidations, a sum that would be no more than covered by the £3,000 and the price of the timber together. He admitted that this work had been carried on more slowly than it might have been, but maintained that he had all along had the full intention of devoting the whole sum in question to the benefit of the hospital. The bishop now determined on holding an official visitation of the hospital, which he carried into effect in the month of August. The result of the examination of the brethren was highly favorable to Dr. Bell, and the bishop expressed his satisfaction as to their treatment. But by the advice of his temporal chancellor, he issued an ordinance, requiring the master to apply the proceeds of the sale of timber to the erection of additional buildings, for the purpose of converting the fifteen "out-brethren" into "in-brethren." As the former cost the master only about £5 each, while the latter cost £35, this involved a considerable diminution of his income. But the worst effect of this matter was the irritation produced by the discussions in the mind both of Dr. Bell and of the aged prelate, who had, for so long a time, been his kind and faithful friend. The bishop's ordinance was of course complied with, although Lord Kenyon, Dr. Bell's constant adviser in all matters, expressed a strong opinion that it was unjust.

Dr. Bell now returned to his favorite work, and was busied in receiving and answering innumerable communications respecting schools and the selection of schoolmasters, the bestowal of prizes upon teachers, and the examinations necessary to ascertain their several merits. Thus passed the time till midsummer 1822, when he paid a visit to Galloway, where he found that his estates had been much neglected. "He now ' read books on farming, rode and walked frequently over his ' property, and questioned his tenants on every imaginable point, ' that he might be the better able to set on foot all necessary ' improvements." He did not, however, neglect the great business of his life, but "took much pains with the schools at ' Castle Douglas, Dumfries, (where he occasionally assisted in the ' episcopal chapel) and Crossmichael; and at the latter place, ' he found an able and zealous co-adjutor in the Rev. D. ' Welsh,* who cordially seconded his efforts to establish a ' Madras school, which they ultimately succeeded in doing."

Another period of about seven years passed in the usual manner, occupied with incessant correspondence on the great subject, visits of inspection, with occasional intervals of nominal rest, but really only varied labour, at Cheltenham, where he had purchased a very elegant villa. This brings us to 1829, when Sherburn hospital was visited by a parliamentary commission. Dr. Bell denied their right to make any official enquiries, as the bishop of the diocese was the sole visitor of the hospital; but willingly furnished them with all information as individuals. From their report it appears that the average expenses amounted to about £1,373, and Dr. Bell's clear income to £1,164 per annum.

Hitherto Dr. Bell had enjoyed such a measure of health and strength as falls to the lot of few of the human race; but at last he was obliged to succumb to the influence of old age. "As early as September of the present year, (1830), while he ' was staying at Sherburn house, a slight indistinctness and ' thickness in his voice was perceptible, and when he preached ' at Westminster Abbey in October, it was evidently with ' great exertion. It was not, however, till some time after his ' return to Cheltenham, that he became at all alarmed about ' himself. Finding the difficulty of articulation increase, medical aid was called in—Mr. Seagur, from whose advice he ' had formerly received much benefit, and Dr. Newell, who had

* Author of the Life of Dr. Thomas Brown, and afterwards Professor of church history in the University of Edinburgh, and one of the leaders in those movements, which issued in the disruption of the Scottish establishment, and the formation of the Free Church of Scotland, in 1843.—ED. C. R.

attended him thirty years before, when at Cholttenham, being his present attendants." The opinions of Sir Henry Halford and Sir Benjamin Brodie were also taken, and he patiently submitted to the course of treatment which they recommended; but it was of no use; his voice became gradually more and more inarticulate, and at last his vocal organs refused their functions altogether; and it was only by means of a slate and pencil, and by signs, that he was able to communicate with his attendants and friends. On this warning he proceeded to "set his house in order." He had made many wills from time to time; but had continually changed his intention respecting the disposal of his property, as new objects from time to time presented themselves. Now, however, it was necessary to act decidedly; "and on the 11th of May, without saying a word to any one else, he desired Mr. Davies to write as follows, to his bankers in London for his signature. 'It is my wish for you to transfer into the joint names of William Haig, provost of St. Andrew's, North Britain; Robert Haldane, D. D., first minister of the parish church of St. Andrew's aforesaid; George Buist, D. D., second minister of the said parish church; and Andrew Alexander, A. M., professor of Greek at the university of St. Andrew's, the sum £60,000 (sixty thousand) three per cent. consolidated Bank Annuities, being part of the stock now standing in my name; and I will thank you to send me the necessary power of attorney for that purpose; and another (I suppose will be necessary) for the transfer of £60,000 three per cent. reduced, &c.

"Let me entreat you to make all dispatch, as no time must be lost."

The powers of attorney were sent to him next day, and immediately signed. Perhaps £120,000 were never conveyed away in so laconic a manner. Previously to this, he had purchased some pieces of ground in St. Andrew's, and these he directed to be conveyed to the same trustees, for the purpose of erecting school-rooms and other buildings.

This transfer being effected, there naturally succeeded a period of intense excitement. No trust-deed was as yet executed, and if he had died in the meantime, the trustees might have devoted the funds to any conceivable purpose; they might have thrown them into the sea, or expended them on a thousand-fold Ellenburghian quantity of lollypops. Hence the necessity of hastening the execution of a trust-deed; but then on the other hand, he had not definitely made up his mind as to the precise destination of the funds. After various fluctuations of opinion and intention on

At this point, it was at last determined, that £50,000 should be appropriated to the foundation and endowment of a "Madras College" at St. Andrew's; £50,000, in equal Shares of £10,000 each, for the establishment of "Madras Schools" in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Inverness, and Leith; £10,000 as a subscription to a Royal Naval School, which was about to be established in the neighbourhood of London; and £10,000 to the provost, magistrates and town-council of St. Andrew's, for moral and religious purposes, and for useful and permanent works for the benefit and improvement of the town. A deed to this effect was drafted, and two of the trustees proceeded to Cheltenham. It was discussed and re-discussed for several days,—Dr. Bell, though unable to utter a word, taking a warm and animated part in the discussion. It was then forwarded to a London lawyer of eminence: and at last it was signed by Dr. Bell and the two trustees, they binding themselves under a penalty to procure the signatures of the other two. As to the disposal of the remainder of his property, we cannot make out a very distinct account, as he so often made and cancelled wills; but so far as we can understand the matter, he left his villa at Cheltenham to his sister, and his estate in Galloway and property in Edinburgh, (burdened with certain annuities to his sister and other relatives) to the town of Cupar in Fife, for the promotion of education on the Madras system. He also gave £2,000 for the endowment of a lectureship, in connexion with the episcopal church in Edinburgh, on educational subjects. Altogether it would appear that he made over property for the purpose of promoting the work of education, that would yield about £4,000 a year for ever.

Dr. Bell was now sadly distressed by what he deemed the remissness of the St. Andrew's trustees. He had been all his life of a hasty and impatient temper, which was, of course, not lessened by his confinement and the loss of his voice. He could not, therefore, understand why buildings should not be erected, and schools established, in a space of time, which almost any other man would have admitted to be far too short for the purpose; and the trustees were not men of very extraordinary activity. He, therefore, attempted to infuse fresh blood into the trustee-ship, and nominated a set of "extraordinary visitors." He also nominated Dr. Gillespie of St. Andrew's, under the direction of the trustees, to the office of "special visitor" on a salary of £100 a year. The trustees strenuously objected to what they represented as an unwarrantable infringement of the trust-deed; and an angry correspondence ensued, in which Dr. Bell certainly uses very bitter language, especially charging the

trustees, with having hurried the execution of the trust-deed, while his mind was naturally in a state of considerable excitement;—a charge which was certainly without foundation. He received from the most eminent Scotch lawyers opinions, that he had the power to modify and supplement the trust-deed; and, accordingly, executed another for the appointment of the visitors and special visitor; but eminent English lawyers gave the contrary opinion, and so this supplementary deed became a dead letter.

At last, on the 27th of January, 1832, Dr. Bell closed his long and laborious life, and on the 12th February, his remains were deposited in Westminster Abbey.

If our space permitted, we should now give some extracts from the correspondence addressed to Dr. Bell in England, as we did at the close of our notice of his Indian career. But the length to which this article has extended renders this impossible; and this is the less to be regretted, as it almost all relates to schools, and consequently has a good deal of sameness about it. There is one rather remarkable exception, which we should like to quote as an amusing instance of two thorough enthusiasts on different points coming into contact with each other. The Rev. T. Sykes of Guilborough was the very model of a High-church clergyman, rich and charitable, learned and zealous,—for religion moderately, for the church enthusiastically. He endeavoured, with wonderful earnestness and perseverance, to draw Dr. Bell into a controversy on ecclesiastical matters, respecting the relation of the episcopal church in Scotland to the church of England; but this Dr. Bell as pertinaciously refused, on the ground that it lay altogether beyond his province. Mr. Sykes rejoined that a subject of such importance as the faith in the “holy Catholic Church” could not be beyond the province of any minister, or any Christian; and Dr. Bell begged him, in the most polite terms possible,—*Suavissime in modo, fortissime in re*,—not to bother him any more about a matter that did not interest him in any degree. The correspondence is one of the most amusing that we ever met with, but is far too long for insertion here.

Perhaps the most enthusiastic of Dr. Bell's admirers, and the most attached of his friends, was Lord Kenyon, the son of the first Lord, a highly respectable man, and an admirably consistent Tory. Dr. Bell paid him many visits, and received from him, and wrote to him, innumerable letters, applied to him on all occasions when he required advice, and kept him informed of all his proceedings. His Lordship's seat at Gredington was the place where he seems most to have delighted to pay a visit; and his Lordship's schools, thorough Madras ones, he regarded as the best examples

of the application of the system to village schools. His other most frequent correspondents were Mr. Marriott and Mr. Watts, with the lake poets, Wordsworth, Southey, and S. T. Coleridge. From Dr. Southey, especially, he received very valuable advice on several important occasions, his appreciation of which is shown, not so much by his acting in accordance with it, (for this was a stretch of compliance beyond his power,) as by his sometimes expressing regret afterwards that he had not taken it, and by the anxiety he manifested to secure his services as his literary executor.

And now it may be expected that we should attempt an estimate of the character of Dr. Bell, and of his influence on the men of his age and of future generations. This we shall do very shortly. We have already more than once alluded to what we regard as the fatal defect of his apprehension of the grand distinguishing truths of that Gospel which he was commissioned to preach; and we cannot doubt that this defect made him both a less useful and a less happy man than he would otherwise have been. The grand distinguishing feature of his character was that which is essential to all greatness, and which we believe goes more than any other one quality to the constitution of greatness,—the power of concentrating his whole mind upon one object. No man who can do this is a little man; and if the object be good in itself, no man who can do this will fail of accomplishing much good. If we have at all succeeded in communicating to our readers any considerable portion of the impression produced on our own mind by the study of Dr. Bell's history, they are fully aware how thoroughly he consecrated every faculty of body, soul and spirit, every hour of his time, and every waking thought and sleeping dream, to the advancement of education; and how effectually he succeeded, is shewn by the wide diffusion of the Madras system all over the civilized world.

But this kind of character has its disadvantages. Dr. Bell was in earnest, and he could not afford to *papilionize* with mere idlers. The man of one aim is generally, to a greater extent than is desirable, a man of one idea;—and there is no doubt that Dr. Bell judged of men and things solely with reference to their bearing upon the Madras system. He was unquestionably dogmatic and overbearing when his own system was touched, and it could not but be always touched, since it radiated forth, in his apprehension, into all the regions of human thought and human affection. Hence it was that, notwithstanding the immense extent of his acquaintance and correspondence, his friends were not very numerous; but those who *were* his friends were attached to him in no ordinary degree.

His manners were not much fitted to attract the merely

casual observer; his appearance was rather gruff and ungainly, and he had but little sympathy with, or interest in, the matters that occupy the attention of the generality of men. Like most of his countrymen, he was of a very argumentative turn of mind, and he had neither the tact nor the temper to make him a good arguer. Thus, although our sympathies are entirely with him in his controversy with his St. Andrew's trustees, we cannot but perceive that he entirely sacrificed the advantages of the better cause and the right side of the argument, by his violence of temper and virulence of invective, while his adversaries preserved their coolness unruffled, and had, undoubtedly, the best of the argument. This was in his latter days, when it may be supposed that old age, and disease, and speechlessness, had much ruffled his temper; but the same infirmity must have attached to him in his younger years. We might refer to various little incidents that go to demonstrate this; but the following short paragraph, in a letter from his kind friend, Colonel Floyd, evidently alluding to some self-accusation on his own part, will stand in the place of more detailed illustration:—"I pray you" (writes Colonel Floyd, in 1789) "not to be cast down, however often you may be worsted in conversation. But I am of opinion it may be safer to proceed by collateral applications, rather than, confiding in your courage and strength, by direct attack in full front. This way is more magnanimous; the other more prudent; and we have all heard that discretion is the better part of valour." In connexion with the subject of his argumentativeness, we may also quote a short extract from the life of the celebrated Dr. Chalmers, now in course of publication by Dr. Hanna. It is part of a letter from Dr. Chalmers to his wife, without date, but written in 1820. "In the morning of Sunday, too, before breakfast, and when I was still in bed, there came in an aged clerical looking personage, whom I had not before seen, and who asked if he was in the apartment of Dr. Chalmers, to which I replied in the affirmative. He announced himself to be Dr. Bell, founder of the Madras system of education, and he spoke with great vehemence and volubility in behalf of his method. In the course of the day I handed him over to Mr. Collins, who you know is the stout antagonist of the new system, and they have had a good tough controversy upon the subject. He spoke himself hoarse to me about it, on my walk from the church to the bath; and on the Monday morning, at breakfast, I got him and Mr. Collins to have a further engagement thereabout: 'I believe he has left us in some degree of dudgeon.' A few pages further on, we have a report of Dr. Chalmers's conversational account of the set-on between Dr. Bell and

Mr. Collins at the Monday's breakfast. The report is evidently somewhat inaccurate, as it assigns to the Monday Dr. Bell's expression of surprise at the humility of Dr. Chalmers's apartment, which must, evidently, have been uttered on occasion of his first visit, on the Sunday. We could almost venture to say also, *nostro periculo*, that Dr. Chalmers, in repeating Dr. Bell's exclamation, did not insert the epithet which Dr. Bell is represented as prefixing to his name. This must have been the conjectural emendation, introduced by the narrator, *suo periculo*; and it is probable that Dr. Bell made use of the expression, or at least indicated by his voice and manner that the contrast between the greatness of the man and the humility of the apartment excited his surprise; all that we say is that we are confident that Dr. Chalmers, in narrating the occurrence, eschewed the repetition of the ascription of greatness to himself. Otherwise the report is undoubtedly correct. Dr. Chalmers's guests were Mr. Edward Irving, at that time his Assistant, and Messrs. Aitken and McGregor, teachers of his parochial school. One of these gentlemen is probably the narrator. "Tales of the school and out of school followed close upon each other.*" Mr. Aitken mentioned that Dr. Bell, from India, had called the previous day between sermons, desiring to see the class-room. 'I had a call from him' (said Dr. Chalmers) this morning. I was lying awake in my old woman's room,* cogitating whether I should get up or not, when I heard a heavy step in the kitchen, and the door opening and the speaker entering, a rough voice exclaimed 'Can this be the chamber of the great Dr. Chalmers?'—'And what did you say?' enquired Mr. Irving, who enjoyed exceedingly the ridiculousness of the question. With a quiet smile and inimitable archness, accompanied by frequent shuttings of the eyelids,—'I even told him' (said Dr. Chalmers) 'that it was, and I invited him to stay and breakfast with me. I knew that Mr. Collins was to be out with a proof, and was glad to think that the discussion between the merits of his school system and the Scottish, which I knew was soon to follow, would be supported by one who, I suspected, was more than a match for him.'—'Well,' said Mr. Irving, 'and how did it turn up?' 'Mr. Collins arrived as I expected, and to it they set, tooth and nail.'—'And the result?'—'Collins was too many for him.'"

As his exceeding earnestness rendered him impetuous and violent in his arguments with his equals, so we fear we must

* Dr. Chalmers had rented an apartment in the house of an old woman in his parish, in order the better to carry into effect his noble views with respect to parochial superintendence. Mrs. Chalmers and his family were at this time absent on a visit to his relatives in Fife, and he seems to have shut up his house, and to have lived altogether in his "old woman's apartment."

admit that the same cause frequently rendered him exacting and overbearing towards his inferiors. His teachers had no mercy to expect if they did not do full justice to the system. His private secretaries had no sinecure. Unconscious of fatigue himself, he had no idea that human muscles and human brains could be overtaxed. Nor did it diminish the severity of the task that he imposed upon them, that he seems to have continually represented to them the magnitude of the privilege that was conferred upon them, in being permitted to be his fellow-workmen in introducing "the system" which was destined to regenerate the human race. We know not whether to impute to a similar cause the unhappiness of his married life. As we have already said, Mr. Southey draws an impenetrable veil over this part of his history, which we have no wish to withdraw.

The mere fact that a clergyman accumulated a fortune which must have amounted to at least £150,000, has very naturally given rise to a very general impression that Dr. Bell was of very parsimonious, or even miserly habits. But from Mr. Southey's minute details in regard to his income and expenditure, this does not seem to have been the case. It will be remembered that on his return from India, he was possessed of upwards of £25,000. Considering the very advantageous terms on which he invested a portion of this capital in the purchase of land, it is evident that the interest on his Indian savings would amply suffice for his annual expenses. Then during almost the whole of the thirty-five years that he spent at home, his professional income, including his pension, his hospital, and his prebend, must, on an average, have considerably exceeded £2,000. His early training had accustomed him to simple habits, and he had no tastes of an expensive kind. But he lived in a style suitable to his station. He sent about £160 a year to Scotland for distribution amongst his relatives; and he made many donations to religious, and especially educational objects, which, in those days, must have appeared munificent, and which would not be deemed small even now, when liberality is measured by an expanded standard. He seems from the first to have resolved to promote the diffusion of "the system" by means of posthumous benefactions; and we doubt not that this resolution led him to be more solicitous than he would otherwise have been as to the obtaining of lucrative benefices; but we do not think that even this resolution caused him to be particularly chary as to his expenditure. As it was, the distractions and annoyances of his last days must surely have taught him, (and if they did not teach him, they may

well teach others,) how much better it is for men to lay out their money in the service of God, and for the benefit of their fellow-men, as they receive it from year to year, or from month to month, than to accumulate it in the hope of accomplishing great good by means of posthumous benefactions.

We cannot possibly enter into any dissertation on the merits of the system of instruction of which Dr. Bell was the author. We believe that almost any system will work well in the hands of enthusiastic and energetic men; and in other hands no system that can be devised will be of much use. Still it appears to us that the Madras system has one advantage over all others; and that is its cheapness. There is no country in the world where this is not a cardinal merit; since this, as we believe, is the point on which must hinge the question whether the whole body of the people can be educated, or whether a large and important class of the population in every country must be left without education altogether, or with such a scanty portion as is very little better than none at all.

One sentence in conclusion as to the execution of the biography. We do not remember that we ever met with any criticism on this work; but it is no new charge upon Dr. Southey, that his writings, and especially his biographical writings, are unnecessarily full and diffuse. And we doubt not that those who have brought this charge against his lives of Wesley and of Nelson, may have found the same fault with the present joint work of himself and his son. We are not, however, disposed to uphold the charge. For any one particular class of readers, the work may be too large; but for a work of this kind there are various classes of readers, some one of whom would have felt a deficiency had any considerable portion of these three volumes been left out. It was a noble characteristic of Dr. Southey's mind, that he was never satisfied with a one-sided view of any event, or any character; and this characteristic his son seems to have inherited. And then it ought to be considered, that if the biographers have inserted more of Dr. Bell's correspondence than some may deem necessary, the amount that they have rejected, (seeing that Dr. Bell had a more than Moslem horror of the destruction of any scrap of paper), must have been something immense.

"The ill that's done we haply know,
But not the ill resisted."

For ourselves, we are free to say, that we have read every word of the three volumes before us with unflagging interest:

ART. IV.—*Life in Bombay and the Neighbouring Out-stations.*
—London. Bentley. 1852.

THIS is a very handsome volume ; “got up” with a prodigality rare in these degenerate days. There is a profusion of paper and a parade of type ; which in these days of cheap publication, when the grand object is to crowd the largest possible amount of the latter on to the smallest possible superficies of the former, is something really refreshing. It is pleasant reading—at least for the eyes. But we do not limit our praise to its external adornments. It is altogether a very agreeable book—well printed,—well illustrated, and—well written.

It would be easy to tell the reader what the book is not ; but as we believe that it is very much what the writer intended it to be, we feel no disposition to blame him for not making it something else. It is a descriptive account of Anglo-Indian society in Bombay and some of the neighbouring stations, as Poona, Mahabuleshwar, &c., &c., with graphic sketches of some of those places. There is nothing very novel in its pages, and nothing very profound. But it is written in an easy, animated style ; there is no vulgar pretence about it ; the anecdotes with which it is interspersed, if rather apocryphal, are amusing and well-told ; the reflexions are sensible and acute ; and the descriptive passages lively and picturesque.

But though sufficiently lively and amusing, the book is harmless and inoffensive. The motto on the title-page will, probably, prepare the reader for something more highly seasoned than he will find in the subsequent chapters. When an author parades on the first page of his book the novel inscription—

“ If there’s a hole in a’ your coats
I rede you tent it :
A chiel’s amang you takin’ notes,
And faith he’ll prent it ;”—

one naturally feels prepared to find something rather spicy and personal in it. But the author of *Life in Bombay* assures us in his preface, that “ though conscious of the very imperfect manner in which he has in other respects executed the task he has assigned himself, it is a great satisfaction to him to feel that he has steered clear alike of politics and personalities, and has not introduced a single anecdote which can offend or wound the feelings of a single individual.” This is, doubtless, extremely amiable. But amiable people are not always the most piquants. A little naughtiness is sometimes more entertaining.

There are unfortunately too many readers to whom this disclaimer will be any thing but a recommendation. Some even of the lady-readers of *Life in Bombay* would not like it the less for eliciting from them occasional ejaculations of "Oh—fie! Mr. G." We will not answer for it, however, that such exclamations may not be heard, in spite of the author's confident assurances, that there is nothing personal in his book, and nothing offensive in his anecdotes. If the anecdotes are true, they are, certainly, personal anecdotes. If the persons initialised in them are mere myths—if they are intended to typify whole classes of society—some of the stories may be considered rather offensive, as they are of a character to convey an unfavorable opinion of society at large. But this latter hypothesis, indeed, is hardly to be considered for a moment. The author of *Life in Bombay* has declared his personal cognizance of the incidents which he has narrated. He heard, or saw, or was, in some way, mixed up with what he records;—and we are not quite sure that if we thought ourselves the individuals pointed at in one or two of our author's anecdotes, we should not be inclined to regard them as undeniably personal, and, perhaps, a little offensive.

However, the general character which is here given of life in Bombay, is sufficiently favorable to reconcile the residents at that presidency to the exceptional anecdotes with which the author has interspersed his work. The following picture, for example, of the general aspects of society in the Western settlement, is not likely to give offence:—

The society of Bombay may be cursorily described, as consisting of two grand divisions, usually distinguished in local parlance, as "those who belong to the service, and those who do not." Under the former head are classed all members of the civil, military, and naval departments. The latter comprises the gentlemen of the legal profession, private medical practitioners, and last, though not least, our large and wealthy merchant community.

But before entering into any details of the various ramifications of Bombay society, we must beg permission to offer a few observations relative to the most striking points of distinction between "men and manners," here and in England.

Foremost in the list, we would particularise the absence of all approach to broad vulgarity in the circles of an Indian salon; and startling as this fact may appear, it is clearly deducible from, firstly, the circumstance that we have neither "parvenus" nor "nouveaux riches" among us to shock one with their upstart airs; and, secondly, that with very few exceptions, no one comes to this country without either having laid the foundation, or completed the accomplishment, of a gentleman's education. The youngest ensign, who frequently enters upon his career at the early age of sixteen or seventeen, comes straight from his school, or college; and though we must admit that this early plunge into the independence and temptations of a military life, is too often detrimental to the scarcely-developed intellectual

faculties, yet to a moderately well-constituted mind, the abundant leisure now at his disposal, opens a wide field for exertion and improvement. With all the pride of opening manhood, he feels that he is no longer considered as a boy, but entitled henceforth to association at the mess-table, on terms of equality, with men whose services and talents command universal admiration and respect.

It is notorious that from this class of half, or rather self-educated youths, have sprung some of the most efficient officers in the Company's service; and one instance is more especially before us in the case of a gentleman, now the able commandant of a corps of irregular horse, who came to this country about five or six-and-twenty years ago, a raw, unfledged boy of fifteen, with no other advantages than those of the mere rudiments of education, good principles, and indomitable spirit. His subsequent career has been that of a dashing soldier, an upright magistrate, and a good man. Applying every leisure moment to the acquirement of those practical mechanical arts, which have proved invaluable blessings in the distant and half-civilized districts of India, he is at once the father of his corps, and a most useful servant to Government.

The foregoing observations do not apply to the civilian, who rarely arrives in the country before he has attained to the age of twenty-one; and after a course of severe study, and passing through the ordeal of a collegiate examination, it is to be presumed that he makes his *début* in India, a scholar in attainment, and a gentleman in address.

We repeat, therefore, that absolute vulgarity, or gross ignorance, is rarely if ever encountered in our circles; and though different degrees of refinement doubtless exist here, as elsewhere, the man of cultivated mind will, perhaps, meet with less to shock his fastidious tastes, than in the necessarily mixed society of England, where the aristocracy of birth, and the aristocracy of wealth, alike struggle for pre-eminence. With neither of these have we anything to do; our aristocracy is that of ago, and precedence is strictly regulated according to the degree of seniority attained in 'the service,' beginning with the civilians, as the judges and law administrators of the land.—*Pp.* 29—32.

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the personalities of Bombay society, to be able to identify, with any great certainty, the model officer here introduced. We hope that the passage does not refer to the one, who recently exemplified his goodness and uprightness by maligning the whole Bengal army. When we come to sketch a model officer for ourselves, we shall not introduce into our sketch the words, "he maligneth the army of the presidency to which he doth not belong, and calleth them all rogues and vagabonds." But we have no right to assume the identity of these two officers, simply on the ground that their standing in the service must be about the same (about 25 years), and that both are commandants of corps of irregular cavalry.

Au reste, the passage is sufficiently true of Indian society in general. There is not amongst us much obtrusive vulgarity. There are vulgar-minded men among us—and women too—but their displays are not very offensive. There is, sometimes, among the men a little official *hauteur*, which is not

magnanimous ; and our ladies over-dress a little, are sometimes a trifle noisy, and do things, as the author, indeed, himself has shown, not always in the best possible taste. But take us for all in all, we may “pass muster.” Elsewhere the writer says :—

“ Although we do not pretend to say that the general tone of conversational society in India could stand any competition with the ‘ full flow of talk,’ which the literary circles of London exhibit, yet we have no hesitation in unscrupulously stating that it is incomparably superior to what is usually met with in the provincial coteries of England. This assertion is referable to the before-mentioned facts, that every one is in a measure an educated man before he sets his foot upon the shores of Bombay.” “ We do not answer,” he continues, “ for the other Presidencies. We know nothing of them ; and it is highly probable that Calcutta alone may offer a wider field for the incursions of penniless speculators, who, in the engrossing pursuit of riches, have neither time nor inclination to remedy the deficiencies caused by early neglect ; and when at length the acquisition of wealth may entitle them to enter the precincts of society, their uncultivated minds can shed no lustre on the scenes they frequent but do not adorn. We are merely supposing the possibility of the case, as deducible from the actual insignificance of Bombay when compared with Calcutta, and the consequent slighter inducement which it offers as a settling point to the needy or ignorant adventurer.”

On the part of Calcutta we are not quite prepared to “ own the soft impeachment.” Needy and ignorant adventurers seldom find their way amongst us. As to the “ full flow of talk,” which the literary circles at home are said to exhibit, we believe that it is very much a delusion. In England, the society in which the best *talk* (we like the good old word, and it is Johnsonian) is to be heard, is mixed society—society in which men of all professions and no profession are gathered together. Of purely literary society we have no very exalted notion. Mr. Thackeray, who knows something about it, says, that “ there is no race of people who talk about books, or, perhaps, read books, so little as literary men,” and arrives at the opinion that generally they are rather a dull tribe. Our belief is that literary men, when they congregate together, either do not talk literature at all, or talk it in such a manner as to edify the hearer to the least possible extent. Sometimes, indeed, they talk about their literary brethren ; and with an overflowing of gall and bitterness anything but refreshing. The

conversation of literary men in mixed society is sometimes both instructive and amusing; but literary society, of which, indeed, there is very little in England, is altogether a different affair. It is either entirely coterie-ish; and the conversation of literary coteries is intensely personal and egotistical on the one hand, and supremely ill-natured on the other; or it is of that antagonistic and irreconcilable character, which generates mistrust, reserve, and silence. At the tables of some of the leading London publishers, it is possible that you may see gathered together half-a-dozen, or, perhaps, half a-score of professed critics—the editors of, and principal contributors to, the leading literary journals of the metropolis; but about such a party there is an uncomfortable kind of restraint. Every man is, or is supposed to be, taking the measure of his neighbour, and so he either talks for display,—which is the worst possible kind of talk—or else, as the easiest and safest course, he holds his tongue altogether. No society is really good which has “a stamp exclusive and professional” upon it. The charm of good society in England consists in the diverseness, and yet the reconcileableness of the social elements.

But it is time that we should pass on to other matters. Our author, though commending the general hospitality of Anglo-Indians, grumbles at the disinclination which he encountered, on the part of ladies with whom he was but slightly acquainted, to invite him to remain to tiffin after a morning visit:—

The breakfast hour, in most families, is seldom later than ten o'clock; after which, the gentlemen betake themselves to their offices or occupations, and the doors are thrown open for the reception of visitors, who continue to pour in, with little intermission, until the clock striking two, warns the strangers to depart, and summons the family to tiffin. It is considered an act of glaring impropriety in a lady, to invite any gentleman to stay and partake of this meal, who is not either a relative, or an intimate friend of the family; and we must confess it impressed us rather unfavourably touching the hospitality of the good people of Bombay, when, upon the memorable occasion of our first visiting tour, and after undergoing the fatigue of paying numerous calls, at far distances, during the hottest hours of the day, not only did we find ourselves everywhere, minus the eagerly anticipated offer of refreshment; but at the last house, we actually listened, with parching throats, to the jingling of glasses and plates, which betokened the preparation of the tiffin table in an adjoining room, without these sounds producing any other effect upon the lady of the house than giving us, by suddenly dropping the conversation, a pretty significant hint to decamp: and accordingly, in a state of utter exhaustion, we made our parting bows.

This is one of the weaknesses of our social system, but its counterbalancing virtues are manifold; and foremost amongst them, we would place that universal cordiality of manner which greets the stranger upon his first arrival in India, and almost induces him to believe that the stigma of national coldness and reserve which is attached to the English, can extend

no further than the foggy precinct of their native isle. It may be that our icy natures are thawed beneath the genial influence of a milder clime, or (alas! for the poetry of the idea!) it may be, that as every creature's position is here at once marked, the characteristic suspicion of our countrymen is never excited by fruitless endeavours to ascertain who such a person is, and what he has?—*Pp.* 34—35.

There are some excellent reasons why the ladies should not invite their morning visitors to tiffin. Having, already, given up the forenoon to the reception of their acquaintance, it would be hard upon them, indeed, if they were compelled to give up their afternoons too—and such is generally the inevitable result of asking one's friends to tiffin. In England, visits are not paid till after luncheon, so the tax is necessarily avoided. We think it would be very hard upon householders if they were expected to pay it here.

The following remarks on dinner etiquette contain nothing absolutely new, but they are expressed in a lively manner:—

In a place where the rules of etiquette are so strictly enforced as in Bombay, it may easily be surmised that a tolerable amount of tact is an essential requisite in an aide-de-camp, to carry him with “*éclat*” through the delicate intricacies of his position. His duties are both manifold and important on the occasion of a large party; involving not only the selection of names for invitation, but the arrangement of all those finer minutiae of details, upon which the success of a fête so materially depends. For instance, in this country, where ladies are so greatly in the minority, it is considered of higher importance than elsewhere, that their companions for the dinner table should be previously appointed, in order to avoid confusion, and repress presumption in those, whose youth or standing do not entitle them to the privilege of escorting a lady.

A list is therefore prepared beforehand by the aide-de-camp, which is rigorously acted upon, and adjusted with the nicest regard to the distinctions of rank, or rather seniority. Thus it frequently happens, that the most charming women are allotted to some prosy old civilian, or mumbling old colonel, whose sole merit consists in his length of service; which would seem to their lively partners, as qualifications entitling them much more consistently to admission into an alms-house, than to a seat by their side.

Oh! vivid is the recollection of our first public dinner at Government House, when, having slogged our way by slow but skilful approaches towards a lady, whose lively sallies and animated conversation had, only the night before, rendered a dinner party enchanting, we were in the very act of eagerly petitioning for the happiness of escorting her, when up rushed an A.D.C., accompanied by a toothless old colonel, with “Mrs. R—, permit me the honour of presenting Colonel — to you.”

With an expression of comic dismay, she threw a parting glance over her shoulder, as she accepted the arm of her venerable escort; and, “paired not matched,” the couple descended to the dining-room. Every other attempt to obtain a congenial companion was similarly frustrated; and we were at length forced to the mortifying conclusion, that being antique neither in age nor service, we were consequently “nobody;” so falling back as resignedly as might be, into the ranks of the “awkward squad” who brought up the rear, we yawned through three mortal hours of dinner, in

the enlivening society of a couple of juvenile middies fresh on shore, and blushing like peonies if a single word were addressed to them — *Pp.* 52—54.

The less there is of this kind of restraint in private society, the better. It is nothing more than an elaborate device to make dinner parties disagreeable. There are reasons for it beyond a doubt; but every body's experience teaches him, that the most agreeable parties are those at which people are suffered to take care of themselves.

From dinner-parties, the transition to balls is an easy one. Here is an anecdote illustrative of the heroism of an aide-de-camp, which on every account is worth quoting :—

“ A pleasing instance once came under our immediate notice, at a ball given on the occasion of some public rejoicing, when, consequently, admission was afforded to many, who would not otherwise be entitled to an *entrée* at Government House. Among this class, a rather extraordinary-looking woman made her appearance, whose apparent age and unwieldy figure, would certainly never induce a suspicion that they could belong to a votary of Terpsichore; and the good lady remained sitting as the band struck up the first quadrille. Every couple had taken their place, when one of the aides-de-camp standing near us, was suddenly accosted by a brother aide-de-camp, with—

“ ‘ D——, my dear fellow, what on earth is to be done? That fat old woman says she wants to dance, and there's not a man in the room I would venture to ask to shew off with her.’

“ ‘ I will dance with her myself,’ was the immediate reply; and in less than two minutes, the dashing-looking young officer had made his bow, presented his arm, and led his bulky, but elated partner, within the circle of the dance; paying her throughout such respectful attention, as effectually to keep within due bounds the merriment of his tittering *vis-à-vis*. Absurd as this incident may appear, it *yet* marks the innate refinement of the real gentleman; and it gave us as much pleasure then to witness, as it now gives us to record.”—*Pp.* 55—56.

And it gives us pleasure to peruse such an incident. The gallant officer who achieved this feat, deserved a companionship of the Bath. We would, at least, have promoted him to a brevet-majority on the spot, if we had had the dispensation of military honors.

Not forgetful of the principle, that the best society is mixed society, having introduced our readers to literary men and soldiers, we now launch them among the lawyers :—

A tropical country does not admit of that field for the display of forensic eloquence, which the crowded law courts of England present. There the graces of elocution may well be cultivated, with the certainty of exciting the plaudits of an admiring audience; but no such reward, no such beacon of encouragement, awaits the aspiring barrister in India. Excepting on rare occasions of deep or general interest, few would expose themselves to the oppressive heat of a court-house thronged by natives, to listen to the details of any case; and it can scarcely be a matter of blame or surprise, that the actual business should be hurried onward, and brought to a conclusion as rapidly as the administration of justice will allow.

The most wealthy clients are usually found amongst the Parsees, who, as a general rule, cannot certainly be designated as a talkative race; though possessed of as much acuteness and intelligence as the European. As an exemplification of their ideas of unnecessary oratorical display, we annex a rather amusing instance, which came under our observation not very long ago.

A well-known and influential Parsee was endeavouring to impress upon a young barrister the most effectual means of distinguishing himself, and gaining both clients and popularity.

"We do not," said he, "care for too much plenty words, but we like this thing you know," throwing his arms about with the funniest imitation of declamatory action.

But where the glorious gift of eloquence exists, though for a time it may be dimmed, it cannot be extinguished; though obscured, it cannot be quenched; and when repressed in public, naturally finds for itself a vent within the limits of social life. Did we not desire to avoid all invidious distinctions and personalities, we might easily particularise how often the refined wit of a H—, the irresistible humour of a C—, and the provokingly incontrovertible arguments of a D— have contributed to render the dinner-table a 'Feast of Reason and a flow of Soul.'—*Pp.* 59—60.

This is worth knowing—although it might be thought that, especially where the judge is judge and jury, the "plenty this kind of thing" is not of much substantial value.

From the lawyers we pass on to the clergymen. There is a well-earned tribute to the zeal of some of our Anglo-Indian ministers:—

Great, indeed, is the privilege, though deep the responsibility, of the Indian pastor! In using his utmost efforts to cultivate the good seed implanted within our hearts, and in striving to arouse us alike from apathetic indifference to our religious state, or too great an indulgence in the pleasures of this life, which are given us "to use, but not to abuse;" his career as a faithful minister of Christ's flock, must be one continued round of anxious labour and love.

Thanks be to God! we have such men among us—men equally well fitted to awaken from the pulpit our slumbering energies, by teaching us, in the words of one of our most zealous chaplains, that "God works in us, and with us, but never without us," and to cheer the closing hours of the dying sinner, by showing him where to cast his burden; and by imparting the Saviour's assurances of pardon and peace to the true penitent, so dispelling the terrors of death that even amidst the struggles of decaying mortality, "The face grows beautiful, as the soul nears God."—*P.* 63.

And from the men of God, we may pass on, not inappropriately, to those of whom it has been said that "of such is the Kingdom of Heaven":—

It has often struck us, with reference to these little creatures, that although everywhere engaging, they are here peculiarly objects of passionate love, whether from the consciousness that they must so soon disappear, or that they are actually more attractive from the circumstances which are inevitable in an Indian household. Unshackled by the discipline of an English nursery, and the tyranny of a head nurse, both of which tend to engender a spirit of reserve and even cunning, they roam at will through

every part of the house, prattling with all the artlessness of fearless childhood, and effectually twining themselves round the affections of every member of the family, and visitor to the house; whilst to the native servants they are objects of positive idolatry. Great care and watchfulness are requisite on the part of a mother, to prevent the evil effects which might result from the overwhelming indulgence which the ayahs especially are too apt to bestow upon their little charges.—*Pp.* 82—83

There are evils, doubtless, in this companionship of native servants, but there are advantages, too, the loss of which people feel very sensibly, on their return to England. Many an English mother has longed for her old native bearers, whose sole duty, from morning to night, it has been to watch the movements of their little charge, and whose tender and assiduous zeal is not to be matched by the care of the best of English nurses. Our native servants are a thousand times more patient than the nursery domestics of Great Britain, and patience is one of the first—if not *the* first essential qualification of a good nurse. Our children are a source of amusement to our native servants, who attend the little ones, for hours and hours together, with a look of unvarying cheerfulness—always gentle, and tender, and playful; for they are little more than children themselves. Talk as we may, of good English servants—and we are far from undervaluing their worth—few English nurses so love, or are so beloved by, their little charges, as the native bearers who attend them in this country.

But these little ones must go home in time, to return to us after the lapse of many years, as writers and cadets, or as “young ladies on their promotion.” We, by no means, undervalue the advantages of respectable matrimonial connexions; and do not altogether believe those parents, who profess themselves to be indifferent whether their daughters marry or not. But India is not the marriage-mart that it once was; and it is no longer the one object of parents, and guardians *pro tem.*, to marry off their interesting charges to the wealthiest suitors, with the utmost possible despatch. Wherefore, we feel a strong inclination to reject, as something (to say the least of it,) rather apocryphal, the following amusing story:—

. We recollect once witnessing a scene, which certainly could not occur at the presidency, under the present existing forms of etiquette, and which, though strictly speaking, not altogether “*à propos*” of the subject under discussion, we yet venture to introduce, from a grateful recollection of the hearty amusement it afforded us. Well then, once upon a time (to commence in approved story-telling style), it so fell out, that we were on a visit in a most agreeable family, residing temporarily at Mahabuleswar, and comprising, besides the host and hostess, a young lady recently arrived from England, consequently in all the flutter of her *début* in the Indian world. Now although, as we before remarked, every one’s

position, and even family circumstances, are usually well understood in this country, yet it does sometimes happen that a sanitary station like Mahabuleshwar is honored by the presence of officers from the sister presidencies of Bengal and Madras; or occasionally some perplexity may arise by a visitor making his appearance, whose card proclaims him the possessor not only of a rather common-place name, but of the very common-place title of Captain. Just such a case occurred upon the occasion to which we allude.

A card was presented to the lady of the house, bearing the address, "Captain Smith, — Regiment;" and a stranger made his bow, with exterior so pleasing, and manners so fascinating, that the chord of sympathy was touched between the parties; and they were speedily on the happiest footing, engaged in that genial flow of conversation which naturally results from the contact of good breeding, refinement, and intelligence.

After an unusually long visit, Captain Smith reluctantly rose to depart; and then it was, that inspired, as we suppose, by the air of Mahabuleshwar, the host (Mr. G——) actually committed the daring solecism, of inviting a stranger to join the family circle that evening at dinner, before even his visit had been returned! We need scarcely say that the reply was a gratified assent.

The door had scarcely closed, when Mrs. G—— exclaimed to her husband —

"Well, my love! without any exception, that is the most delightful man I ever met in India! Did you observe his glances of admiration towards our dear girl?"

Then followed a grave discussion upon the question of his identity with one Captain Smith, who was reported to be a rich bachelor, *ergo* undeniably eligible: or another, notoriously a married man with an incalculable amount of children: or a couple of Madras Captain Smiths, of whom nothing at all was known: or half a dozen Captain Smiths, bachelors to be sure, but not worthy of mention, possessing nothing but their laced jackets to settle upon a wife.

The arrival of other visitors interrupted the conversation; and various engagements succeeding, the important point remained undecided at the hour of dinner, when the eagerly expected guest again appeared.

Matters went on most swimmingly. The ball of conversation was kept up with unflagging spirit; now bounding and rebounding in the hands of the lively hostess; anon, propelled with deliberative aim by the grave, but well informed host; occasionally receiving a gentle impetus as it glanced past the modest debutante; but always revolving with double rapidity and brilliancy, when caught up and circulated by the animated guest.

This was all unaffected enjoyment; but a chance observation suddenly called our hostess to order, by reminding her of the morning's perplexity, and with exquisite tact she threw out a feeler by enquiring:

"How had Captain Smith passed the last cold season?"

"Oh!" he replied, "in the most delightful sporting excursion, in company with four or five pleasant fellows, as idle as myself."

"It's all right," soliloquised Mrs. G——, "he is a bachelor."

A few more skillfully put questions elicited the information, that money was no object to this favoured individual.—"Then he is the Captain Smith, and no mistake," she continued in momentarily increasing elation. But as the night wore on, and his evident admiration of the young lady became more and more conspicuous, the spirits of the fair hostess rose to absolute

exuberance, and seizing her delighted visitor's hand, she shook it cordially, exclaiming :

"Captain Smith, we already look upon you quite in the light of an old friend ; and insist that you will make our house your home, during your stay at the hills."

"Oh!" replied the grateful man, as he made his parting bow, " what would I not have given for such friends on my last visit to this place, when I could procure no other shelter than a miserable unfurnished bungalow for my poor sick wife, and three young children."

As the door closed, Mrs. G—— fell upon her sofa, faintly repeating " sick wife, and three young children !" but speedily recovering herself, she sprang up with indignant energy, thus emphatically addressed her husband, whilst natural fun struggled powerfully to gain the mastery over mortification and disappointment.

" I will trouble you, Mr. G——, when next you invite a total stranger to your house, to ascertain beforehand whether he is, or is not, a married man, and never again impose a doubtful person upon me."—*Pp.* 107—112.

We do not say that this is an old "Joe Miller"—but we have a shrewd suspicion that it is an old "Theodore Hook." The readers of *Gilbert Gurney* will remember the charming story of Mr. Wells and his daughters (one of whom became, if we mistake not, Mrs. Gurney), and the dreadful blow which the reverend husband-hunter sustained, when he discovered, that a certain captain, who had come into the neighbourhood to recruit, and whose attentions to one of the Miss Wellses, had raised a belief in the minds of papa and mamma, that he was about to propose to the young lady, was in reality a husband and a father. Certainly the two stories are very much alike. But as the author of *Life in Bombay* "recollects witnessing" the above scene, we are bound to believe either that the same thing happened twice, or that his is the original and Hook's the copy.

Here is something more, illustrative of this same subject of husband-hunting :—

The bachelor civilians are always the grand aim of manœuvring mammas ; for, however young in the service they may be, their income is always vastly above that of the military man, to say nothing of the noble provision made by the fund for their widows and children. We remember being greatly amused, soon after our arrival in the country, at overhearing a lady say, in reference to her daughter's approaching marriage with a young civilian : " Certainly, I could have wished my son-in-law to be a little more steady ; but then it is three hundred a year for my girl, dead or alive !"

The ball-rooms in India always present a very gay appearance, from the vast majority of red-coats and handsome uniforms amongst the gentlemen. Here, the very reverse of England, a black coat is the rarity, and is held in high estimation as the distinctive mark of a civilian in full dress ; consequently, few mammas object to the introduction of a stranger in plain clothes to their daughters, whilst they would look rather discouragingly at any young red-coat who presumed to make his bow.

We once witnessed, with considerable glee, the discomfiture of a lady of this class, on the occasion of a public ball, when, for a wonder, there was a superabundance of the fair sex present, and for a few minutes her daughter remained unasked for the approaching dance. She was beginning to look uneasy and fidgety, when one of the stewards quickly made his way to them, accompanied by a gentleman dressed in plain clothes, who was speedily introduced, and graciously received by both mamma and daughter. The dance went merrily on, and "La Madre" watched with delight the apparently animated conversation going on between the young couple, when it suddenly occurred to her to ask of her neighbour :

"Who is that gentleman-like looking person dancing with Fanny?"

"Oh! don't you know him?" said the friend; "he is Mr. ———, the artist, just arrived from Bombay, who takes such excellent likenesses."

The good lady started with dismay. A stranger from England since her childhood, she was totally unconscious that the exercise of the fine arts, as a profession, is not there considered incompatible with the position of a gentleman, or that the possession of talent is an universally acknowledged passport to the highest circles of society. With a face inflamed with anger, she hastily bounced from her seat, and seizing upon the unfortunate steward, who had introduced the ineligible partner, she exclaimed :

"Why, Captain ———, how could you think of bringing such a person to dance with my daughter?"

"What can you mean, Madam?" said the poor frightened-looking man; "I mentioned his name, and thought you seemed pleased with the introduction."

"You make me lose all patience," retorted the indignant lady. "Of course, from his dress, I supposed him to be a civilian;" and watching for the termination of the dance, she approached her daughter, and with a stiff bow of cool defiance to the petrified partner, she marched her off to the other side of the room.—*I p.* 171—174.

Certainly, the first part of this contains a colloquialism, stereotyped in all the presidencies of India. The joke, indeed, of the "three hundred a year, dead or alive"—a ghastly joke, by the way—is so old and so current, that we doubt, whether any lady in India would venture to make use of the words, except in jocular reference to the old story—in fact, as a *quotation*. If the author of *Life in Bombay* had heard the words used, as we have, there would hardly have been in them *vis* enough to amuse. As to the second story, we cannot help thinking that we have heard something, too, very much like *that* before.

Our next extract is something of better quality. The truths contained in the following bear repetition better than an old story:—

The lavish expenditure bestowed upon the table equipage and mess kit in general, has lately been the subject of much and deserved animadversion. However, too many voices cannot be raised in deprecation of this fast spreading evil, equally unnecessary for the present, as it is ruinous for the future. In most of the Company's regiments, the senior officers are married men, and consequently only frequenters of the mess-table upon

rare and stated occasions; others again are permanently absent upon staff appointments; and thus it often occurs, that the only "habitués," for whom this magnificent display is prepared, and so large an expenditure is incurred, consists of a few junior lieutenants and young ensigns, whose enjoyment of a good dinner might possibly survive the shock of even seeing it served in less costly array.

In corroboration of these remarks, we will mention a circumstance which came under our own observation not very long ago. We were invited by a juvenile ensign to inspect the unpacking of a very splendid dessert service just received from England, by the mess of the —th regiment; the glass centrepiece of which, alone, cost seventy guineas; and upon enquiring what number of officers daily attended the mess to enjoy the sight of so much grandeur, we were answered: "Oh, most of our fellows are married men, or away upon staff appointments; there are only about five or six of us youngsters who dine here every day. But," said the youth, with an 'esprit-de-corps' look flashing from his dark eyes, "I suppose you think we might put up with something less expensive?" We must candidly admit, such a thought did occur to us; but with reference to the fiery glance which we felt was upon us as we modestly cast down our eyes; and fortunately calling to mind that "discretion is the best part of valour,"—that "truth is not to be spoken at all times,"—and various such Sancho-Panza-like aphorisms, we meekly received the inferred rebuke, and took refuge in silence.

It is all very well to laugh; but the evil is a crying one, and too serious in its nature to be overcome by mere ridicule. But we earnestly hope the day is not far distant, when the subject will be taken steadily in hand by the commanding officers of regiments, and a stop put to this excessive and unnecessary display, which is the leading cause of many a career of irretrievable involvement and consequent unhappiness. Some instances have occurred within our own knowledge, in which the junior officers of regiments, thus shackled by heavy mess expenditure, have actually not received one rupee of their pay for several months! The small surplus remaining from the inevitable items of Mess Bill, Military Fund, Library, and Band, being totally absorbed in the extra charges for "guest nights," balls, and "contributions for new mess kit."

It is evident that a regiment, taken collectively, must suffer from this system. In a well-principled mind the horror of debt is inherent, and when even the strictest self-denial is found insufficient to avert it, can it be a matter of surprise, that the most honourably disposed amongst the young men should eagerly seek for any post which would remove them from the never-ending demands, and harassing difficulties of a regimental life. And thus it happens, that many a noble heart, whose example might diffuse a salutary influence on all around him, becomes alienated for ever from his corps, who are consequently deprived of the benefit, which his talents and excellencies bestow elsewhere.—*Pp.* 175—178.

We may doubt whether there are many infantry regiments in the service, whose mess establishments are of the expensive character here indicated; but still the expenses of a mess, where there are very few members to contribute towards them, do fall very heavily upon young officers, who often get a very Flemish account of their *tullaub*, when pay-day comes round. An occasional examination of the mess-bills (including

all regimental funds) of a regiment, would not be beneath a Division General, or even a Commander-in-Chief; and commanding officers of regiments ought to be held responsible for any excess in the mess expenditure of the officers serving under them. The mess system is too good a one on the whole, for us to wish to see it abolished; but it has its abuses as well as its uses, and we would fain see the former reformed.

Here is something of another kind:—

A lady of our acquaintance, in pathetically lamenting the great waste of time incurred by receiving morning visitors, gravely assured us that she had come to the determination of never relinquishing her crochet needle, but, to continue working undisturbed by all the entrées and exits of a reception day, as though her livelihood depended upon the velocity with which she plied her needle. Now this would be by no means an agreeable system to establish universally in society. It is all very well for the ladies thus to employ themselves, whilst spending a morning at each other's houses; but for the poor gentlemen, uninitiated in the mysteries of crochet, and deplorably ignorant upon the subject of knitting and netting, it would become a positive hardship, if, during the short half hour of their visit, they were to find the attention of their fair hostess distractingly divided between the reception of her guests, and the number of long stitches to be squeezed into the large space, or the amount of chains to be crammed into the small space. Thanks to "Punch," we begin to be rather scientific in the technicalities of the art, and boldly defy all criticism upon the correctness of these expressions.—*Pp.* 199—200.

For our own parts we are rather inclined to commend the lady, who did not wish entirely to sacrifice her mornings to the "strenuous idleness" of receiving visitors. We have a notion, too, that ladies' fingers and tongues can work pretty well together.

Our next extract contains another of the author's reminiscences:—

One luxury is found in the great cave of Elephanta, which Bombay with all its advantages, does not possess; that is, a spring of delicious water, which gushes through the black rock in one of the compartments of the cavern, where the sun's rays have never penetrated, and falls sparkling and bubbling into a stone-basin beneath. It is so cool, so pure and refreshing, that it is positively well worth an expedition to Elephanta only to drink of this fountain, especially after being long doomed to the brackish waters of Bombay. In fact, before the happy introduction of ice, few people were so rash as to venture upon a draught of unadulterated Adam's ale; consequently the consumption of wine, beer, &c., was in a much greater proportion than in the present day, when we possess the inestimable advantage of obtaining in a glass of iced water all the refreshment of a stimulant, without any injurious results. Hence the custom—now almost universal in Bombay—of handing round a tray covered with glasses of this simple beverage alone, previous to the breaking up of the family party for the night; and often, with great amusement, have we watched the dismayed faces of out-station visitors, or newly arrived guests from

England, as this intoxicating draught is presented to them; whilst in vain they cast an exploring eye over the tray, in the hope of detecting a stray bottle of sherry lurking in one of the crowded corners.

On one occasion in particular, we remember dining at a small party in company with an English gentleman just arrived from China, and of course still unemancipated from the board-ship habits of taking brandy and water at nights. Rather taken by surprise at the colourless appearance of the fluid, which a servant was offering him, he seemed for one instant a little puzzled, but in the next a bright idea appeared to flash across his brain, and looking benignantly into the attendant's face, he touched one of the glasses, and said, inquiringly:

"Milk-punch?"

"Na, Sahib," replied the man.

The countenance of the thirsty interrogator visibly fell, but as speedily brightened as a new thought suggested itself, and with a feverish eagerness he exclaimed:

"Noyau?"

"Na, Sahib," was the imperturbable reply.

"Then, what the deuce is it?" roared the half-frantic man.

"Sahib, peena ka pancee hy." (It is drinking water, Sir).

"Oh!" groaned the victim of a hopeful delusion, sinking back exhausted into his chair; but with an expression of irresistible fun, he soon sprang up, and accosting the lady who was next to him, politely entreated her to partake of some refreshment, after the heat and exertion of the evening, waving his hand with an air of comic importance towards the long array of tumblers, and as if in anticipation of her refusal, he added: "Pray, don't be alarmed, Madam; it is not by any means strong; the refreshment consists of 'cold water!'" and in a similar strain he did the honours of the tray round the room.

But the most amusing part of the story is, that, after an absence of twelve months from Bombay, we were dining on our return with the same family; precisely as the clock struck ten, the host exclaimed:

"Butler, bring the refreshment," and to our intense delight, the summons was peremptorily obeyed by the appearance of the majestic Mussulman bearing with solemn deportment his tray of cold water!—*Pp.* 215—218.

We cannot say much more for the good taste of the "victim of a hopeful delusion." He certainly had not learnt good manners in China.

The next story that we find in the volume does not illustrate any greater amount of good breeding:—

We remember some time back being present at a farewell entertainment, given to an officer on the eve of his departure for Europe. Now whether the spirits of the guests were affected by the heat of the weather, or that the coming separation "cast its shadows before," we cannot pretend to decide; but certain it is, that the party could scarcely, with truth, be designated as "lively;" in fact, we might almost venture to pronounce it "deadly lively:" as during the hour of dinner no one seemed inclined to open their lips; a solemn silence would pervade the whole assembly for five successive minutes interrupted only by the lulling hum of the punkah, as it swayed to and fro over our heads.

The unusual taciturnity of the host at length attracted our attention, and on looking towards him, we plainly perceived from his abstracted air, that

some mighty thought was at work within the temple of his brain: even whilst we gazed, the spark of intellect kindled in his eye, spread rapidly into a glow of light over his countenance, and finally exploded in a burst of emphatic eloquence. as he rose to propose the health of his "honoured guest." Now, had this speech been of anything like reasonable duration, doubtless, the unfortunate "dénouement" we are about to relate would not have occurred. We all bore up manfully through the laudatory introduction; experienced a degree of mournful resignation as the orator dilated upon the loss we must so soon sustain; but one and all abandoned ourselves to utter despair, as he proclaimed his intention of giving "the deeply interesting details of this respected individual's career in India."

It was notorious to every one in the room, that nothing could well be more common-place than this "respected individual's career in India;" and moreover, an uneasy consciousness stealing over our minds that his society had been generally considered rather an infliction than otherwise, and that it was just possible his departure might not be regarded exactly in the light of an affliction, the reader may imagine the consternation of the company when, after an impressive pause, followed by a preliminary hem, our host thus proceeded:

"Gentlemen, I have ascertained from undoubted authority, that my esteemed friend landed in this country on the 24th of March 18—, and early distinguished himself by his urbanity of manner, and mildness of disposition: qualities, gentlemen, which must ever endear a man to those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance. (Here a faint snore was audible.) It does not appear that any circumstances arose during the succeeding ten years, calculated to give him an opportunity of taking a conspicuous part: doubtless had such occurred, he would have been foremost in the path of glory; but, gentlemen, a day was approaching—" at this interesting moment, the voice of the orator was fairly overpowered by such a chorus of loud snores, that, with a look of consternation, he suddenly pulled up, and gazed aghast at the sight before him.

Out of twenty guests, twelve were in a sound sleep, and the remaining eight fast lapsing into a state of unconsciousness.

To this day, we have always sturdily protested that 'twas the punkah "did it."—*Pp.* 227—230.

Bad manners, decidedly, to say the least of it—but the following is still worse:—

Upon one occasion, we remember arriving, under similar circumstances, at a friend's house, and detecting speedily, by the uncomfortable looks of the host and hostess, that something was wrong. The rooms did not appear to be as brilliantly lighted as usual; and it struck us that the lady's dress—though we do not pretend to be a *connoisseur* in such matters—was of a more simple description than is customary at a dinner-party, for which a week's invitation had been issued. There was, apparently, much confusion going on in the adjoining room; sounds like shifting of furniture and rattling of crockery were distinctly heard; and when, after a long solemn sitting, dinner was at length announced, we discovered with dismay, that beyond our own party, no other guests seemed likely to make their appearance, while the host's temper was too visibly discomposed to enable him long to conceal the fact, that calculating with certainty on the state of the weather being such as not even a dog would unnecessarily face, he had given orders two hours previously for the arrangement of a dinner *en famille*, with the snug anticipation of a quiet evening, and the enjoyment of

a new *Quarterly*.* This was pleasant! but determined to make the best of a bad business, we set to work indefatigably to render ourselves as agreeable as possible; praised every dish upon the table; pronounced the wines superb, and patted the heads of a couple of odious, ill-managed children, protesting they were the living images of their papa; and even smiled with a kind of ghastly hilarity, when one of the imps inserted his dirty fingers into our soup-plate, declaring he was 'playful as a kitten.' But it was all in vain; the host still looked surly and the hostess frightened, so there was nothing for it but to decamp the moment dinner was over, breathing a solemn vow never again to venture forth on a wet night to fulfil an engagement, unless, indeed, we were pretty well acquainted with the tempers of our entertainers.

Our Bombay readers are the best judges of the probabilities of this story. We need not say, that the incident could not have occurred in Calcutta. Rain, or no rain, dinner parties go on here; and if a gentleman invites friends to dinner, he is civil to them when they come.* Perhaps they manage matters differently in Bombay—we are sorry for it, if they do.

With these extracts we conclude our notice of what is really a very agreeable, as it is a very handsome volume. Our extracts have been principally of an anecdotal character, and have related to different aspects of 'Anglo-Indian Society.' But there is much good descriptive writing in the book—many graphic sketches of Indian scenery, and some snatches of history, which are not without their value. On the whole, we are thankful to the anonymous (but not unknown,) author of *Life in Bombay*, for the pleasure his volume has given us in perusal, and the opportunity it has afforded us of transferring to our pages matters of a somewhat more lively character than those of necessity form the general staple of the articles in the *Calcutta Review*.

* Perhaps it was the *Calcutta* that had just come in; in that case, of course there was some excuse for his desiring to have a quiet evening; and we all know how unconsciously "the wish is father to the thought."

ART. V.—1. *East India: Superintendence of Native Religious Institutions; and Discontinuance of Pecuniary Payments to the support of the Idol Temple of Jagannáth: Parliamentary Return: August 9, 1845. Pp. 109.*

2. *Idolatry (India): Parliamentary Return: August 1, 1849. Pp. 555.*

3. *Idolatry (India): Parliamentary Return: May 7, 1851. Pp. 48.*

THE temple of Jagannáth has obtained notoriety throughout the extent of Christendom. Years ago it became known in Europe, that upon the sea-coast of Orissa, among the sand-hills of Púri, stood a pagoda with a lofty tower, which millions of Hindus regarded with the profoundest reverence; and that this sacred temple, with its halls for worship, and portal guarded by colossal griffins, had been erected centuries before, by one of the great rulers of Orissa, at a cost of more than half a million of pounds sterling. Men heard with astonishment, that the object of worship in this stately temple, was a hideous idol, seven feet in height, without legs, with huge flat eyes, a peaked nose, and stumps of arms projecting from his ears, adorned with the emblems of the great Vishnu, and dignified with the high-sounding title of "Lord of the whole world." They heard, that about three thousand brahmins were supported in connection with the temple, of whom more than six hundred were enrolled as the idol's immediate attendants; while a majority of the others were employed in travelling through all parts of Hindustan, to celebrate the fame of their deity, and invite pilgrims to his shrine. They heard that, in extolling the wonders of this Indian Mecca, the wandering priests would declare, that the whole country, within a distance of ten miles, is so holy, that all who die upon its sacred soil, are carried straight to the heaven of Vishnu; that the whole ground is strewn with gold and jewels; that there is no shadow to the temple; that the sound of the roaring sea, so loud at the temple-gate, cannot enter within the enclosure; that, of nine rice-vessels placed one above another in the temple kitchens, only the uppermost will have its contents cooked, while the others remain raw; that the idol himself consumes a thousand pounds of food every day, and that all can see him propel his gigantic car. But pity took the place of astonishment in Christian minds, when it became well understood, that in consequence of these lying tales, and the extraordinary merit supposed to be acquired by a visit to the "Sacred Land," vast numbers of

pilgrims, varying from 70,000 to 300,000, were annually drawn from all parts of India to this celebrated spot; and that of these, nearly a third part (of whom two-thirds, or two out of every nine of the whole body of pilgrims, were widows), journeyed through Bengal alone at a most dangerous season of the year, for one particular festival. Imagination pictured, what the eyes of Englishmen had often beheld, these streams of pilgrims pouring into Púri, visiting with devout earnestness its sacred tanks, and dipping their feet in the rolling surf, which their eyes now beheld for the first time; subjected to the grasping exactions of the "vile pandas" or priests; journeying homewards, laden with heavy baskets of "holy food;" travelling in heat and rain and storm, weary and foot-sore; sleeping, like sheep, upon the bare road or on the soaked grass; supplied but scantily with food, and suffering deeply from fatigue and disease. Attention was roused in the most indifferent, by tales of pilgrims crushed as a voluntary sacrifice beneath the wheels of the idol's ponderous car; while the more thoughtful dwelt with horror upon the fearful amount of disease, which was drawing from this celebrated pilgrimage an annual sacrifice of more than ten thousand lives. Indignation was superadded to pity, when Christians awoke to the fact, that the destructive system of idolatry, in the pagoda of Jagannáth, was maintained in efficiency by the English Government in India; that they had constituted themselves the special guardians of the idol; that they had laid a tax upon the pilgrims, from the proceeds of which they repaired the temple, paid the salaries of the idol's servants, and furnished the supplies for celebrating his great festivals; that their protection had made the pilgrimage safe, their patronage increased the idol's influence; that in consequence of their favor the pilgrims had greatly increased in number, and the annual profit become large.

All this was true. But the pagoda of Jagannáth was not the only temple in India, whose services and resources were maintained by the gifts of the Government. This was only one of numerous temples, which had, by degrees, been taken under its fostering care, and which exhibited that Government to the Christian world, not merely as the royal protector, but as the intimate friend and patron of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions. There was, however, great advantage in having the attention of the public fixed especially upon a single instance of the evil, and in rendering them familiar with all its details. The principle which proved the support of idolatry wrong in that instance, was applicable to all others. The evils which

sprang from that support in the case of Jagannáth, found their parallel and new illustrations in that of other temples; and the separation required between the Government and idolatry in the town of Púri, was the same as was needed in other parts of Hindustan. It was only natural, therefore, that the case of Jagannáth should prove, throughout its history, a fair representative of the whole question. When the Government connection with idolatry at Púri was in its worst condition, it was worst elsewhere: when it diminished there, it diminished in other places; and the unsatisfactory position, which the connection has recently assumed at Jagannáth, is but an illustration of that which it now occupies over the whole continent of India.

We propose to lay before our readers a brief statement of the rise of this Government patronage of the native religions, the extent to which it was carried; the effects which it has produced; the measures employed for dissolving it, and the position in which the question now stands.

During its early history, the Government of India appears scarcely to have patronized the Hindu and Mahommedan religions at all. Their patronage has grown with their empire, especially in the Madras and Bombay presidencies. We see little of it, therefore, before the present century. The power of the Government was at first based purely upon military force; but it was felt desirable to secure by love what had been obtained by fear. Dread of conspiracy continually haunted our rulers; and it was considered that the least slight to the native religions would at once rouse the fanaticism of the people, and set the country in a blaze. Various means were therefore adopted to conciliate the people, and amongst them, a readiness was shown to honor their temples, to endow their worship, and do what the natives thought necessary to promote its prosperity. It must be remembered also, that the chief officers of Government, when the connection began, belonged to a peculiar class. Those who, between 1790 and 1820, possessed the greatest experience, and held the highest offices in India, were, on the whole, an irreligious body of men; who approved of Hinduism much more than Christianity, and favored the Korán more than the Bible. That class of men was in power, who numbered in their ranks the bigoted Prendergasts, Twinings and Warings, the Hindu Stewarts and Youngs, that have since been reckoned such a reproach to the Christian name: some who hated Missions from their dread of sedition; and others, because their hearts "seduced by fair idolatresses, had fallen to idols foul."

It was by just such a man, that the Government was first led

to take Hindu shrines into their favour in the presidency of Madras. Many of our readers have probably seen or heard of the great pagodas in the town of CONJEVERAM. This town, the "golden city" as its name implies, lies about forty miles to the south-west of Madras; it contains broad streets, which cross each other at right angles; has several tanks, the sides of which are faced with stone; and bears unusual marks of neatness and prosperity. In Great Conjeveram is the pagoda dedicated to Mahadeva. Amongst other massive buildings, made of stone and engraved with all kinds of figures, it contains an immense tower, sixty feet broad, and two hundred feet high. From this tower, which is built over the gateway, and is ascended by nine flights of stairs, an extensive view is obtained across a wide-spread plain, skirted by a line of distant hills, covered in parts with villages and rice-fields, and ornamented in others by shady woods and a sheet of water. Within the sacred enclosure is a large tank, faced with stone, in the centre of which is the great hall or *mondop*, supported by numerous pillars. At Little Conjeveram is the second pagoda, the temple of Vishnu, or, as he is there termed, Devarájswámi, 'lord of the gods.' Though not so high, nor so massive as its rival, it is built in a superior style, and is much more carefully finished. To the worshippers of Vishnu, it is of course an object of far greater attraction than the former pagoda, and has obtained a greater name in Southern India. The hall within its enclosure, which is used as a resting place for travellers, is of immense extent; the roof is said to rest upon a thousand pillars, which are curiously carved with figures of Hindu deities in various groups. Near the pagoda are laid out large gardens, adorned with beautiful trees. At a particular festival in the year, the presiding deity in this temple, we believe, goes to visit his powerful rival in Great Conjeveram; and a hundred thousand worshippers are usually assembled to take a part in the ceremonies of that august event. Sometimes the idol walks in solemn procession; sometimes he is floated round one of the sacred tanks, amidst the discharge of fireworks, or accompanied by music and songs: sometimes he mounts his immense car, and is drawn by some two thousand votaries to the pagoda of his rival. In 1795, these two pagodas attracted the notice of Mr. Lionel Place, the collector of the Company's jaghire at Madras. He found, on examination, that their funds had been misappropriated; that the magnificence of their festivals and processions had decayed; that the rich ornaments, which decked the idol, had been lost; and that the pagoda of Little Conjeveram was threatened with total destruction, by the roots of a tree

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which had "insinuated" themselves into its walls. Sighing over the decay of idolatry, and, apparently thinking, that a temple and church were synonymous terms, Mr. Place laid a report before the Board of Revenue, and earnestly entreated the Government to take the temples under its own charge: since "in a moral and political sense, whether to dispose the natives of this country to the practice of virtue, or to promote good order by conciliating their affections, such a regard to the matter," he deemed to be "incumbent" upon them. His letter so thoroughly illustrates the notions of his day, that we quote it almost entire. It is but little known, and at one time the Court of Directors put this high estimate on it, that they refused to allow its publication: a reason for which our readers will, doubtless, be doubly anxious to peruse it:—

The pagoda marah explains itself to be for the support of religious ceremonies and public worship. In Tripassore, it amounted to 48-64ths; in Caranguly, to 53-64ths; and in Conjeveram, to 46-64ths: the principal pagoda of Conjeveram receives a general marah throughout the jaghire, except in three pergunnahs; and that of Tripassore in three of them; all the lesser pagodas enjoy manniam where they are situated, and many also shotrums.

The management of the church funds has, heretofore, been thought independent of the controul of Government; for this strange reason, that it receives no advantage from them; but, inasmuch as it has an essential interest in promoting the happiness of its subjects, and as the natives of this country know none superior to the good conduct and regularity of their religious ceremonies, which are liable to neglect without the interposition of an efficient authority, such controul and interference becomes indispensable. In a moral and political sense, whether to dispose them to the practice of virtue, or to promote good order and subordination, by conciliating their affections, a regard to this matter, I think, incumbent. So forcible was the effect of even a short attention which I was able to give to it, that at the late Conjeveram feast, which, from a want of it, had always been interrupted by feuds and competitors, the greatest harmony subsisted; opposite pretensions were accommodated and compromised; and no part of the festival, to which crowds from all parts of India assembled, suffered the smallest obstruction. Testifying so fully as the circumstance does, the good effects of indulgence to the religious prejudices of the natives, I do not hesitate giving, as my opinion, that the managers of the church funds should be chosen from among the most respectable and substantial natives that are to be found, and who, I imagine, are the most ready to accept the trust; that several of the present, although appointed by the Board, and because being men of no property, they embezzle the funds under their care, should be set aside; that the accounts of expenditure should be, at all times, open to the inspection of the circar; and that the Board should take into their serious consideration the repairs that are absolutely requisite to the principal pagodas of the country, particularly those of universal resort at Conjeveram. In every country, although funds may be assigned for keeping in repair and preventing the decay of places of public worship, they will occasionally require and receive the effectual aid of the existing Government; yet none of those now in allusion, have participated of its bounty since the English have had a footing in India. That they

are in a ruinous condition may, therefore, be inferred from hence ; but the fact cannot be more clearly demonstrated : and how loudly relief is called for, when I mention that the sacred temple, where the idol is deposited, at Little Conjeveram, is threatened with total destruction by the roots of a tree which are insinuating themselves through the walls, and cannot be eradicated, but by incurring an expence, for a necessary ceremony, of, perhaps, 500 pagodas, which the funds are not able to bear. Several of the other buildings are also in an equally ruinous condition, and some utterly destroyed. •

I cannot take a more proper occasion than this, to represent a subject which, I should hope, only required it in order to obtain the relief which I am about to solicit. The Little Conjeveram pagoda formerly received, and continued to receive, after the accession of the present Nabob, and even after the grant of the jaghire, a very considerable marah and some shot-runs in many parts of his country ; but since the war of 1780, these have been entirely taken away from it. Whether or not, this circumstance may be known to the Nabob, I am not informed ; but as I can hardly think that he would withhold, on a proper representation, what has immortalized preceding princes,—that he would be the first to destroy the benevolent end for which it was instituted—and that he is not sensible of the self-satisfaction which so laudably arises from promoting the general happiness of the people whom he governs ; so I would wish to engage the good offices of the Board and of Government, to intercede for a restoration of the advantages which these pagodas anciently enjoyed. The magnificence of the festivals, and processions of this celebrated pagoda, is miserably fallen off for want of them, and the rich ornaments which decked the idol, but were lost during the war, have, on account of the poverty of the church, never been replaced.

The gifts of pilgrims and others, at the anniversary festivals at Trivalore and Peddapollam, have, heretofore, been collected and appropriated to the uses of Government : they are, however, trifling, together not amounting to much more than 600 pagodas per annum ; and it would be a liberal sacrifice to allow them to be added to the church funds, or disbursed in such a manner, for the benefits of the church, as the circar may direct ; with whom, I would, nevertheless, recommend that the collection should remain.

I have already said much upon the subject of repairing the pagodas, and, perhaps, no stronger inducement could be held out for the attainment of the end proposed, (the re-building of towns.) When completed, the tanks will, for many years, be monuments of British dominion in India ; and it would be a pity that the same spirit of liberality should not be extended to other objects, uniting to accomplish the same public benefit.—*Friend of India*, 1839.

We need not comment upon this lamentable letter, nor on the principles which it advocates. The Government listened to Mr. Place's recommendation ; and the chief pagoda, in 1796, was, with some others in the same district, taken under the collector's charge.

Not content, however, with securing this high patronage, Mr. Place endeavoured, by personal exertions, to render its services efficient. He laid out the garden still attached to the temple ; he himself presented offerings at the shrine ; and to this day, the brahmins there (who call themselves " church-

wardens,"¹) exhibit his offerings to their visitors. The principle once established, that the Government might, and even ought to interest itself in the prosperity of Hindu temples, the application of it to other cases, as their territory extended, was easy and natural. Step by step, therefore, they proceeded, without misgivings, without qualms of conscience, committing themselves more and more to the support and maintenance of idolatry, compromising their consistency, and bringing disgrace upon their name. We shall not enumerate the particulars of this course; but shall merely refer to a few illustrations of its working, and the extent to which it was carried.

In the Presidency of BENGAL, the temple of Boidyonáth or *Deoghur*, in Bírghúm, was the first to which the attention of Government was drawn. This temple is one of the largest in Bengal; at one time three hundred and fifty priests were supported in ease and plenty from its gains; in ten districts its endowment included the rent of ninety-five villages; and its total revenues were estimated at forty thousand rupees a year. When the English took the country, they found that two-thirds of the income belonged to the Government, and accordingly received their share, as the Mahomedan rulers had done before them. But in 1791, the priests wishing to secure the whole for themselves, pleaded that their temple was very poor, and requested the Government to give up their share to them. No doubt fraud was employed in the transaction, but their request was acceded to. Still the Governor-General retained a veto on the appointment of the *ojah* or chief priest: this veto was, however, rarely exercised; and when, on one occasion, a quarrel arose about the appointment of a priest named Sorbanondo, Lord William Bentinck withdrew altogether from the strife. In 1837, this priest died, and two claimants appeared for the office. An enquiry into the matter was instituted by the collector, Mr. Stainforth; he found that an extraordinary amount of speculation and villainy had been committed by the late priest and his family; that they had taken offerings worth a lakh of rupees, had alienated twenty-two villages from the temple endowments, had assaulted pilgrims, broken down the houses of their opponents, and engaged constantly in affrays. After ascertaining these facts, the Governor-General adhered to the resolution of his predecessor; refused to exercise his power in the appointment of the priest, and thus left the temple and its votaries to manage their own affairs.

The first place, at which the Government connection with idolatry was rendered complete and profitable, was *Gayá*.

This spot is considered, by every Hindu, sacred in the highest degree, and pilgrims visit it in immense numbers. Here they offer funeral cakes to the manes of their ancestors, and perform a variety of ceremonies calculated to secure their complete happiness in the heaven of Vishnu. It is fabled, that here an immense giant, from whom the place is named, was attacked by Vishnu, but could not be conquered. He consented, however, to go down to hell, at Vishnu's request, provided he pressed him there with his foot. The god did so, and the mark of his foot (called the Vishnu-pad) remains upon the rock to this day. Near this mark, the object of their devout adoration, the Hindus place their cakes and other offerings: and when doing so, repeat the name of some dead friend or relative, who passes, in consequence, direct to heaven. Considerable gifts are sometimes presented. On one occasion, the Raja of Nagpore filled the small silver enclosure round the foot-mark with rupees, thus making a gift to the temple of about £30,000. There are said to be in Gayá, 1,300 families of priests, having 6,500 houses, where the pilgrims lodge. These priests, called *Gayáwáls*, conduct the pilgrims to all the holy places about the town; they are said to be very oppressive, and to take from the pilgrim not only what he has, but to demand promissory notes for payments at future periods, after his return home. As they have travelling pilgrim-hunters, who journey to the boundaries of Northern India, and become acquainted with all the chief villages and towns which it contains, they readily obtain the money, and induce thousands of other pilgrims to visit the shrine. It is not known, at what period, or under what circumstances, the Government first laid a tax upon the Gayá pilgrims. It must, however, have been fixed very soon after their possession of the country, for we find it in operation in 1790. Mr. Harrington, in his *Analysis of the Bengal Regulations*, speaks of it thus:—

In a statement from the collector at Gayá, dated July, 1790, the rates of duty paid by pilgrims for permission to perform their religious ceremonies, chiefly in honour of deceased ancestors, at the river Phulgo or adjacent places, were stated to vary from six annas to twelve rupees, eleven annas, three pie. The duty of Government is independent of donations to the *gayáwáls*, or priests. Ever since the city of Gayá became famous for its sanctity, it has been the custom of its brahmins to *travel through all countries where the Hindu religion prevails, in search of pilgrims*, whose donations are considered the property of the *gayáwál*, through whose means they are brought. These contributions have ever been a source of considerable wealth, and are the property of those, *who, but for them, would, probably, never have visited Gayá*. When a pilgrim arrives, his *gayáwál*, or religious father, conducts him to the daroga, or superintending

officer of the *sayer* collections (viz., pilgrim-tax, &c.) and explains to him the ceremonies which the pilgrim is desirous of performing; after which an order, specifying the names of the pilgrim and *gayáwál*, as also the ceremonies, is made out *under the official seal and signature of the collector, authorizing the performance of the ceremonies.* At the time of delivering this order, the duty (to Government) is paid, which varies according to the number and nature of the rites performed.

From the very outset, the Government made a large profit out of this pilgrim-tax. From 1790 to 1805, the pilgrims were on an average 18,000 annually; immediately after they rose to 28,000: and are now said to be at least 100,000 a year. The security of the roads, under the English rule, the introduction of the English police system, the regulation of the payments, with other causes, tended to produce this increase. The net receipts of course rose with it. They increased from about £16,000 to £23,000, and eventually to £30,000 a year. At one time, Mr. Law reduced the rates, as a tradesman lowers the price of his goods to increase the number of his customers. As a consequence "he had the *satisfaction* of seeing that his efforts 'were not unsuccessful; while *great and progressive increase* in 'the amount of the *sayer* collections, *under the circumstance of* 'diminished rates, evinces the sound and *attractive* policy of the 'measure he adopted." The only charges upon the gross receipts were the small expense of collection; a commission to the Collector of one per cent.; to the Raja of ten per cent.; and an annual donation (after 1815) of £1,200 to a native hospital in Calcutta. The tax, therefore, yielded from the first almost pure gain, and that to a large amount.

The pilgrim-tax at *Púri* was first established by the Mahomedan rulers of the country, whose antipathy to Jagannáth, and dislike of his worship, were peculiarly strong. The Mah-rattas, who were Hindus in religion, adopted the same system, and for nearly fifty years, realized from the tax a profit, varying from two to five lakhs of rupees a year; the expenses of the temple, taken from that income, amounted annually to about twenty thousand rupees. In 1803, the province of Orissa was taken possession of by British troops, whose conquest of the country was 'a very easy achievement.' Aware of the estimation in which the temple of Jagannáth was held, Lord Wellesley, then Governor-General, commanded Colonel Campbell "to employ every possible precaution to preserve 'the respect due to the pagoda, and to the religious pre-judices of the brahmins and pilgrims; to afford the pilgrims 'the most ample protection, and to treat them with every mark 'of consideration and kindness." Anxious to deal tenderly with the religious institutions of the country, he added: "it will not be

‘advisable, at the present moment, to interrupt the system which prevails for the collection of the duties levied on pilgrims At the same time, you will be careful not to contract with the brahmins any engagements which may limit the power of the British Government to make such arrangements with respect to the pagoda as may hereafter be deemed advisable.’ The troops shortly after entered Púri; the greatest order prevailed, and the brahmins were perfectly satisfied. A few days later, Mr. Melville, the Civil Commissioner of the province, wrote to the Governor-General, explaining the system which had prevailed in the management of the temple during the rule of the Mahrattas, and enquired what were the orders of Government in relation to them. Lord Wellesley replied in general terms, that if the tax had ceased, he did not wish it to be renewed; if it had not ceased, it was to continue under the control of the civil local authority: he declined, however, to “form a final arrangement for the regulation of the temple,” until he had been “furnished with a detailed statement” of the system that had formerly prevailed. Before that statement could be furnished, the brahmins of the temple came forward in a body, and begged that the “customary advance” might be given for the approaching festival; that the ‘usual donation’ might be continued; and that the former tax might be renewed in order to reimburse the Government. They apprehended that if these donations were denied, “in addition to the great distress it will occasion, the pagoda will be deserted.” The reply of the Governor-General, (May 4, 1804,) contained in the “Parliamentary Return” of 1845, so clearly states his views upon the whole question, that we quote the paragraph entire:—

In His Excellency’s instructions to you for the establishment of the authority of the British Government in the province, he directed that all the collections levied on the pilgrims proceeding to Jagannáth should be abolished. Great oppressions had been exercised by the Mahratta Government in levying these collections, and as it was impracticable to inquire into them, or to reform them, during the progress of the British army in the conquest of the province; his Excellency in Council, judged it to be preferable to order a general abolition of these duties in the first instance, instead of attempting to regulate them under the principles of their original establishment, leaving it for future consideration whether these duties should be wholly or partially established under a better regulated system of collection. From the information of the first commissioner on this subject, His Excellency in Council is satisfied that it will be, in every point of view, advisable to establish moderate rates of duty or collection on the pilgrims proceeding to perform their devotions at Jagannáth. Independently of the sanction afforded to this measure by the practice of the late Hindu Government in Cuttack, the heavy expense attendant on the repair of the pagoda, and on the maintenance of the establishment attached to it, render it

necessary, from considerations connected with the public resources, that funds should be provided for defraying this expense. His Excellency also understands, that it will be consonant to the wishes of the brahmins attached to the pagoda, as well as of the *Hindus in general, that a revenue should be raised by Government from the pagoda.* The establishment of this revenue will be considered, both by the brahmins and the persons desirous of performing the pilgrimage, to afford them a permanent security that the expenses of the pagoda will be regularly defrayed by Government, and that its attention will always be directed to the protection of the pilgrims resorting to it, although that protection would be afforded by the Government under any circumstances. There can be no objection to the British Government's availing itself of these opinions for the purpose of relieving itself from a heavy annual expense, and of providing funds to answer the contingent charges of the religious institutions of the Hindu faith maintained by the British Government. His Excellency in Council therefore desires you will proceed without delay to establish duties, to be levied from the pilgrims proceeding to Jagannath, taking advice of the principal officiating brahmins attached to the pagoda, as to the rates which may be collected from the several descriptions of pilgrims without subjecting them to distress or inconvenience. Previously, however, to the collection or arrangement of any duty on pilgrims proceeding to Jagannath, you will report the rates of duty, and the rules under which you may propose to levy them, for the consideration of the Governor-General in Council, under whose further instructions you will be empowered to regulate this important question."

Thus was established the celebrated PILGRIM-TAX; and thus was begun a system, which has done more to make the East India Company unpopular among religious men in Europe, than any other proceedings of their Government. It has given them a surplus of about £200,000; but this large sum has been far outweighed by the vexation and trouble to which it gave rise; by the obloquy which fell upon their name, and by the insult they have offered by their patronage of idolatry to the God of Providence, who had placed them in their throne of power. It has been urged by some, that Lord Wellesley pledged himself to endow the temple for ever, without specifying as a condition that the expenditure of Government should be repaid by a tax. This question has, however, been finally set at rest. In the "Return" for 1845, it appears, that excepting two individuals, all the highest officers of the Bengal Government, including the Supreme Council and the Board of Revenue, decided after an ample discussion of both sides of the case, that no unconditional pledge was given; that the annual donation and the pilgrim-tax were parts of the same system, being mutually dependent upon one another; and that when the Government gave up the one, it could, at the same time, give up the other. The letter of Lord Wellesley above quoted, taken in connection with the petition of the temple brahmins, can, we think, admit of no other construction.

A system of Regulations was soon after framed, and became

law in 1806. Entrances into the sacred city of Púri were established, and barriers built up. A superintendent of the temple was appointed, and various managers, called *purchas*, were associated with him in his duties. The priests of the temple were registered. All the various officers and servants of the idol were duly organized; lists of them were made out; and their salaries settled. It may be interesting to know what duty these officers were required to perform. Among them were the *khát sáj mecápá* who makes Jagannáth's bed; the *ákhánd mecáp*, who lights his lamps; and the *talab purchas*, who guard him while he sleeps. There were the *pasupálak*, who wakes him; the *chánggra mecáp*, who keeps his clothes; the *mukh prakhyalok*, who washes his face and presents his tooth-pick; the *pandas*, who give him food and prepare his betel-nut, and the *khantiyá*, who tells him the time of day. There were the *daitya* to paint his eyes; the *nagadhya* to wash his clothes; the *chattarua* to carry his umbrella, and the *tarasi* to carry his fan. There were the priests to worship him, waving his lamps and holding his looking-glass; the poor degraded dancing girls; the cooks that prepare "holy food," and the musicians that play for his delight. All were appointed, maintained, and paid under the direct authority of the East India Company: apparently without one qualm of conscience, or one thought of what the Government was *really doing*! The pilgrims, by the same regulations, were divided into classes, and the fees and privileges of each class defined. Even the low castes, who are not permitted to enter the temple, but can only visit the holy places in the neighbourhood, were also duly pointed out by Government authority. Certificates and passes were all provided, in the most business-like manner; and exceptions to the tax distinctly defined. Here is a copy of the pilgrim's pass:—

A B, inhabitant of——— in the district of———, is entitled to perform the customary ceremonies, under charge of —— during —— days, that is to say, from the —— day of the month of —— until the —— day of the month of ——; and for that period you will afford to the holder hereof free access to the temple of Jagannáth. At the expiration of the period granted, you will return the license into the office of the collector, of tax.

It was soon found that the *pandas*, or priests, who officially conducted the pilgrims about Púri, required a special fee for themselves, apart from the usual tax: and with the consent of the Governor-General, a scale of fees was fixed and published for general information. This plan having been abused, the Government resolved that the pilgrims should pay the *pandas'* fee to the collector; and that the total amount

thus gathered should be divided among the purharies and pandas, in such proportion as they were entitled to, from the number of pilgrims which each had induced to undertake the pilgrimage. This was a direct premium upon the pilgrimage, and it soon increased the number both of agents and of victims. Colonel Phipps says of it: "One of 'the principal natives related, that a purhari, in 1821, *detached a hundred agents* to entice pilgrims, and had the ensuing year 'received the premium for *four thousand pilgrims*. He was at 'that time busily employed in *instructing a hundred additional agents* 'in all the mysteries of this singular trade, with the intention 'of sending them into the Upper-provinces of Bengal." The custom of the pandas was to go and stay a while in a place, and provide themselves with lists of all the rich men and of their incomes; that on a visit to Púri, they might be made to pay properly. It is said that they possess registers of rich men all over India, prepared in this way.

As at Gayá, from the time when the Púri pilgrim-tax fell under the charge of the Government, the number of pilgrims began steadily to increase. It varied much in different years, according as the time of the great festivals fell more or less into unfavourable seasons of the year; but the average can be seen to have steadily enlarged. The opening of the new road in 1813, and the additional security given to travellers under the English Government, greatly contributed to it. In some years it was 70,000: in others 1,30,000. In 1825, an extraordinary year, the number is said to have been 2,25,000 at the car festival alone; and the nett receipts of the tax were £27,000. At present the number of pilgrims varies between 80,000 and 2,50,000. The Government revenue from this tax was never very great, the expenses being comparatively large. The total gain from 1812 to 1828 seems to have been nearly £100,000; or about £6,000 a year. We need not detail the items of expense, on which part of the proceeds of the tax was consumed: the total cost seems to have been about Rs. 50,000 annually, in addition to the red, yellow, green, and purple broad-cloths sent from the Company's ware-houses in Calcutta. We will only add, that the Collector's care was extended to the brute creation, as well as to the Hindu priests; and that on one occasion the following humiliating letter was forwarded by him to the Supreme Government:—

I have the honor to acquaint you, that Ram Buksh and Ram Hutgur, pilgrims, presented a serviceable elephant to Jagannáth, and two hundred rupees for its expenses, which last about six months. *The god's establishment*

is six elephants! At or before the end of six months, it will be necessary for Government, either to order the elephant to be disposed of, or appoint some fund for its support, *should it be deemed advisable to keep it for Jagan-náth's use!*"—*Parliamentary Papers*, 1813.

A *third* pilgrim-tax was established by the Government at *Allahabad*. This place, called by the Hindus *Prayág*, is deemed peculiarly holy, being situated at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna rivers. Here the Hindus assemble in great numbers to bathe, under the guidance of the brahmins of the place, called *prayágwáls*, who instruct them in the requisite ceremonies. They also have their heads and bodies shaved, believing, that for every hair which falls into the stream, they are promised a million years' residence in heaven. At one time four hundred barbers were supported by this shaving-system. About the year 1810, the Government began to levy a tax on the crowds of pilgrims that gathered at this place. The tax was one rupee for a man on foot; two rupees for a pilgrim in a carriage, and twenty rupees for one with an elephant. All other fees were prohibited. The barbers were registered, and bound, under a penalty of fifty rupees, or *three months' imprisonment*, not to shave any one, who was without the collector's pass. Gates and barriers were erected at various parts of the town: and even a military force stood prepared, on the collector's application, to prevent pilgrims entering the place without paying the fee. Unlike the willing brahmins of *Púri*, the *prayágwáls* of *Allahabad* were very much dissatisfied with the tax; and in various ways endeavoured to thwart the plans and purposes of the Government. Their opposition, however, was futile: the tax remained till 1840. The nett receipts for sixteen years, from 1812 to 1827, amounted to £160,000, or about £10,000 a year.

It is a singular fact, characteristic of the Government's connection with idolatry in the Bengal Presidency, that the above pilgrim-taxes were almost the only religious sources from which the Government obtained a money profit. It will be useful, therefore, to settle the question of profit at once. The exceptions are the Pagoda of *Tripetty*, and a small pilgrim-tax at *Dharwar*, of which we shall speak when we refer to the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The exact sums received year by year, cannot be stated exactly in every case; as even the "Parliamentary Returns" have failed to draw the secret from the archives of the India House: but the receipts of several years have been published, and from them the average of unknown years can be calculated. After careful examination of different accounts, which, on the whole, well

agree, we have drawn out the following table, and believe it to be a fair approximation to the real truth :—

GOVERNMENT PROFIT FROM IDOLATRY.

		Sa. Rs.	
1.— <i>Jagannáth.</i>			
From 1810 to 1830 inclusive		12,83,180	
" 1831 " 1839 " at an aver- }		5,49,909	
age of Sa. Rs. 61,101... }			
		<hr/>	£
		18,33,030	= 203,671
2.— <i>Gayá</i>			
From 1803 to 1830 inclusive		53,49,570	
" 1790 " 1802 " at an aver- }		24,83,728	
age of Sa. Rs. 1,91,056 }			
" 1831 " 1839 ditto 2,10,000		18,90,000	
		<hr/>	
		97,23,307	= 1,080,367
3.— <i>Allahabad.</i>			
		£	
From 1812 to 1828 inclusive		159,429	
" 1810 " 1811 " at an aver- }		18,000	
age of £9,000..... }			
" 1829 " 1839 ditto ditto...		99,000	
		<hr/>	
			= 276,429
4.— <i>Tripetty Pagoda.</i>			
		£	
From 1812 to 1828 inclusive		205,600	
" 1800 " 1811 " at an aver- }		120,000	
age of £10,000			
" 1829 to 1842 " of £ 8,000		112,000	
		<hr/>	
			= 437,600
5.— <i>Dharwar and Púna.</i>			
Pilgrim-tax and offerings for 30 years, at £990.....		29,700	
		<hr/>	
Total...		£ 2,027,767	

In other parts of the Bengal presidency, the Government has troubled itself very little with the direct patronage of Hindu temples. One or two facts, however, may be noticed here, especially as they do not appear in any of the "Parliamentary Returns." About the time when the Púri pilgrim-tax was first established, the temple of Sitarám, at *Cuttack*, was also taken under Government patronage, and received an annual donation. In 1837, the Government hesitated to pay the sum any longer, and enquired into the ground upon which it was claimed. The Collector acknowledged that there was no record of how or why it was first granted, but recommended that, as its discontinuance would appear like a breach of faith, it should still be paid. A brahmin told the Rev. W. Bampton, in 1823, that there were eighty priests, including himself, in the city of *Cuttack*, who each received five rupees a month from the Government.

Another instance, but perfectly singular in its character, was furnished at *Hidjeli*, near the mouth of the Ganges, one of the great depôts of the Company's salt manufacture. A missionary travelling through the district, in 1843, came to a market, where there were eight or nine salt golahs or store-houses, with a Hindu temple. The pujári or priest was very civil, and shewed him in one of the golahs an image of Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of fortune, which he was about to worship, in order to secure the Company's trade in salt against loss. He said, that both his orders and his pay came from the Agent, and that the custom of offering worship in the empty store-rooms had existed for years. Enquiry having been made by the authorities, it was found that among the regular payments of the salt agency, were included monthly payments to a number of brahmins, whose names were duly registered; and that among the advances for the manufacture of salt, were advances to those brahmins for Hindu worship. It was found also, that at the opium agency in *Behar*, the same custom had prevailed; that among the advances to the cultivators at the beginning of the opium season, payments to brahmins were regularly included; and that when the first opium boats of each season were despatched to Calcutta, a special donation was made to brahmins to secure their safe arrival. These items had been paid for many years as mere matters of course. It gives us great pleasure to add, that very recently they have been entirely put a stop to.

So far the cases described refer to the support of idolatrous shrines, by regular payments for their current expenditure. A few cases of a different nature have occurred. It has sometimes been a custom for the *Governor-General*, and other high officers of State, when arriving in the neighbourhood of celebrated shrines, to *visit them*, and offer them presents. Thus Lord Auckland, in 1839, visited Brindában, and other places in that sacred neighbourhood, so well known as the scenes where the chief events in the history of the idol Krishna are laid. At Brindában he is said to have given Rs. 200 to one idol, and Rs. 700 to others: at Muttra to have given Rs. 1,500; at Radhakund, Rs. 500; at Govordhon, Rs. 500. Other Governor-Generals, and their highest officers, have followed this example when visiting Amritsir, Jwálamukhi, and other similar places. It has been said in defence of such donations, that they are only a fee to the temple officers, who obligingly conduct the authorities over the shrine: and stand on the same footing as the world-renowned fees at Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. We admit that they may be made

with the best intentions, and in accordance with English custom. But the question to be examined is, what do natives think of them? We must look at the gifts from *their* point of view, and not from our own. In the case of Lord Auckland, this was made very clear. The *Chandrika* newspaper boasted of his visits: described His Lordship as accompanied by a large train of officers, and elephants and troops; as standing at a proper distance to inspect the idol through a telescope, and as having given "thousands of rupees for the service of the idol." The editor also praised His Lordship for his holiness; hinted that he had gone to the temples because of the war in China; and declared that such a ruler must conquer every thing. Surely no Governor-General can wish for such an interpretation of what he considers to be an act of English courtesy.

Another illustration of an indirect maintenance of the Hindu and Mahommedan religions is furnished by the *Oriental Colleges* established by the Government. The Madrisa College in Calcutta was established by Warren Hastings. He had in view the preservation of Mahommedan literature in the Persian and Arabic languages; the instruction of young men who were willing to study that literature; and especially the production of a body of men who should be qualified expounders of the Mahommedan laws. As the administration of justice was, in his time, in the hands almost entirely of Musalman officers; and as the Company's Criminal Regulations had not yet superseded the ancient modes of administering justice and the principles of Mahommedan law, one object of the establishment of the College was truly practical. The Benares Sanskrit College was the first that was established for the promotion of Hindu learning, and was intended to conciliate the Hindus, by providing means for prosecuting the study of their ancient shastras. In 1811, the members of the Supreme Council recorded it as their opinion: "That there ' could be little doubt that the prevalence of the crimes of ' perjury and forgery were in a great measure ascribable, ' both in Hindus and Musalmans, to the want of due instruction in the moral and religious tenets of their respective ' faiths;" they therefore resolved to support two new colleges, at Tirhút and Nuddea. These colleges were confined exclusively to the promotion of Oriental studies for many years: their value in the practical improvement of the minds and language of the natives at large diminishing with their age. English studies were, for a time, introduced into the Calcutta Sanskrit College; but were again expelled, to the great joy of all

the pandits and stipendiary students. The medical classes of that college and the Madrissa gave place to the Medical College. Lord William Bentinck next abolished the stipends of the students: but his successor, fearing the utter destruction of both institutions, partially revived the stipend system by founding numerous scholarships to be held by deserving students. The measures of Lord W. Bentinck produced great excitement among the Calcutta Musalmans, and they presented a petition to Government, signed by 8,312 persons, praying that their college might not be destroyed; but that the Government, to preserve its own fame, and to *ensure its own stability*, would maintain it still. As philological institutions, tending to preserve a knowledge of the ancient languages of India, and the literature existing in these languages, none can object to their preservation. As to their utility in improving the vernaculars, in raising up a better class of teachers for village schools, or books for the use of such schools, many who know their past history will doubt. But as far as they become means of teaching the errors and follies of the Korán, the Vedas and the Puráns; as far as they tend, by the conveyance of their musty learning, to pervert men's reason and moral powers, and to turn them into living mummies, they can only be viewed as positively perpetuating an injury to society. So much for the lower Provinces of the Presidency of Fort William.

In the North Western Province, or Presidency of AGRA, the Government was singularly free from interference with native religious institutions. In a few cases, however, such interference was more or less exercised down to the year 1845.

In the city of Delhi, a few mosques were placed under the collector's charge, and his attention was occupied with much detail in the management of servants and arrangements for lights. He also had to gather the revenue of certain shops, and superintend its expenditure. In Chunar, the Government had a share in appointing the head múllah of a mosque; and at Mirzapore bore the "troublesome responsibility" of guaranteeing the payment of some pensions connected with the Thug temple of Bindáchal. Near Agra, the collector retained, under his charge, the beautiful tomb of Sheikh Sulcim Chistí, the friend of the Emperor Akbar. He interfered, however, in no way with the religious ceremonies carried on there; the engineer officers attending solely to the repairs of the shrine, one of the finest specimens of architecture in Upper India. In Kumaon, the rawuls of the temples of Badrináth, Kedarnáth and Gopeshwar, received a kind of investment to their office, on political grounds. The temple of Srinágur, with its numerous dancing women,

and that at Badrináth, with its marble idol dressed in gold cloth, received gifts of money: and at a few shrines a small sum of money was collected, which was devoted to a dispensary for the poor. From a letter of H. M. Elliot, Esq., Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue in 1841, it appears that the sum of money paid by the Government to institutions connected with the Hindu and Mahomedan religions, amounted to £11,047 annually. Of this, £10,321 were given in continuation of grants bestowed by former Governments. The money was thus distributed:—

Payments in the North West Provinces.

DIVISION.	British Grant.	Former Grant.	Total.	Mahomedans.	Hindus.
Delhi.....	5,476 15 0	4,215 1 0	9,692 0 0	8,596 9 0	1,095 7 0
Mirut ...	300 0 0	11,020 2 8	11,320 2 8	30,333 9 4	10,286 9 4
Kumaon ..	...	11,816 7 7	11,816 7 7	...	11,816 7 7
Rohileund	994 6 5	11,985 9 5	12,979 15 10	7,702 4 6	5,277 11 4
Agra .....	...	17,991 11 7	17,991 11 7	1,727 15 4	16,263 12 3
Allahabad	175 0 0	8,582 6 9	8,757 6 9	1,685 5 1	7,072 1 8
Benares...	249 3 0	3,209 4 0	3,458 7 0	2,028 2 0	530 5 0
Sangor ...	63 0 0	4,396 4 0	4,459 4 0	863 8 0	3,598 12 0
Total, Rs.	7,252 8 5	103,216 15 0	110,475 7 5	53,834 5 3	56,641 2 2

In the Presidency of BOMBAY, the connection was much more complete than in that of Fort William; and was carried much more into details. Various documents, published in Bombay, amply illustrate the degrading part, which the Government of that place had, by degrees, assumed in relation to the Hindu and other religions of their native subjects; and are fully confirmed by the statements made in a "resolution" of the Governor in Council in 1841, which is contained in the "Parliamentary Return" for 1845. The chief points in this connection are thus described in a memorial addressed to the Governor, Sir Robert Grant, by numerous Christian gentlemen of Bombay, at the commencement, we believe, of 1837:—

The countenance and support extended to idolatry, and the violation of the principles of toleration to which we refer, consist principally in the following particulars:—

1.—In the employment of brahmins, and others, for the purpose of making heathen invocations for rain and fair weather.

2.—In the inscription of "Shree" on public documents, and the dedication of the Government records to *Gonesh* and other false gods.

3.—In the entertainment in the courts of justice of questions of a purely idolatrous nature, when no civil right depends on them.

4.—In the degradation of certain castes, by excluding them from particular offices and benefits not connected with religion.

5.—In the servants of Government, civil and military, attending in their official capacity, at Hindu and Mahomedan festivals, with a view to partici-

part in their rites and ceremonies, or in the joining of troops and the use of regimental bands in the processions of Heathen and Mahomedan festivals, or in their attendance in any other capacity than that of a police, for the preservation of the peace.

6.—In the firing of salutes by the troops, or by the vessels of the Indian Navy, in intimation and honour of Heathen festivals, Mahomedan idols, &c.

We, therefore, most respectfully solicit that inquiry may be made, by your Excellency in Council, into the topics to which we have adverted; and we would further suggest that the following particulars ought also to be included in the inquiry, as it may often be found that, where justice or charity was intended, an unnecessary and criminal support of native superstition has been, or is liable to be, afforded.

1.—The support given to Hindu temples, mosques, and tombs, either by granting endowments, pensions, and immunities, or, by the collection and distribution, by the officers of Government, of the revenues already appropriated to them.

2.—The granting allowances and gifts to brahmins, and other persons, because of their connection with the Heathen and Mahomedan priesthood.

3.—The present mode of administering oaths in the native courts of justice; and whether it be such as is proper for a Christian Government to allow and sanction.

4.—The endowment and support of colleges and schools for inculcating Heathen and Mahomedan ceremonies, and practices

The following extract from an able paper on the subject, published in 1840, in the *Oriental Christian Spectator* at Bombay, describes the reasons for which sums of money paid by the Government to the support of temples, and other religious establishments, have been given, and the objects on which they have been spent:—

A great part of this sum is composed of *grants*, which our predecessors viewed as *entirely discretionary*, and which varied with their own caprice; of *taxes* for the support of the devasthanas in the *Dekhan*, which are raised under the denomination of *gram kharch*, or village expenses, by our own authority, and which the natives themselves would thankfully see us remit; and of *endowments* for obsolete purposes, and for temples which have no proprietors! Our Government, in fact, has sometimes already taken this view of the case, by *curtailing* the amount granted to temples, as to that of Parvati at Puna and Pashan in its neighbourhood; and by the same argument that as it has done this, it may go farther. In many instances we collect the revenue of temples; while their proprietors should be left to do the needful for themselves. The contributions directly made to the shrines in the collectorates of *Gujarat* are extensive. In the case of *Dakor*, we not only collect the endowed income of the temple of *Ranchod*, but actually employ a native to see to its regular disbursement, in the *feeding, clothing, scrubbing, illuminating, perfuming, and amusing the idol!* The contract of the *Phurza Ghât ferry* over the Nirmada at Baroch, contains the following clause; “Judicial and Revenue Commissioners, and their servants, peons, and articles passing and re-passing under their charge, are exempted [from the usual rates], as are mendicants, fakirs, gosains, brahmins, and bhats.” This order conveys the unhappy minister of superstition gratuitously across the river, while it leaves the preacher of the Gospel, bent on an errand

of mercy throughout the country, to pay the established hire. At *Nirmal*, near Bassein, in the Northern Concan, our Government, with a zeal which does not fall short of that of Baji Rao, the Ex-Pashwa, annually expends the sum of Rs. 300 in the very meritorious work of feasting brahmins during the jattrā. The Company pays for the "sounding of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music," at some other festivals celebrated throughout this collectorate.

In the *Southern Concan*, the connection of the Government with idolatry is so intimate and extensive, that we have neither space nor time at present to describe or characterize it. We confine our notices to the Anjanwell and Severndrug Talukas. In the former Taluka there is a temple named Shri Bhagava Kāma, and in the latter, another named Shri Hareshavar, in connection with which several clerks are employed by Government. They collect the revenues derived from the *inams* held by the temples, and from the offerings which are presented. They regulate all disbursements, such as the payment of the servants of the idol, and the expenses incurred on feast-days; and that under the control of the Mamlatdar, or Company's district native collector, and a committee of trustees appointed by the European collector. They make regular periodical returns relative to their proceedings to the collector's office; and their accounts find the same place in the general duffer, or record, as those connected with the regular business of Government. The Mamlatdar, or his substitute, makes a regular visitation of the temples, as the "master of ceremonies." The clerks appointed by Government have charge of the idol's property, and hire dancing-girls, and engage readers of the Purānas, when they are in requisition!! The temples, of which we now write, are, from time to time, repaired by order of the European collector; and there are instances on record of the orders having been issued for the European assistant collector to proceed to the temples to see that the repairs were executed! It is a well-known fact, and one observed both by Natives and Europeans, that the present prosperity of the idols' estates, the neat conservation of the shrines, the regularity of the attendance upon them, and the zealous performance of the heathen rites, are principally to be attributed to the services of the Government!

At *Surat* there is annually celebrated a great festival called the *cocoanut* festival. For many years the Government took a conspicuous part in this festival, while some endeavoured to show that all the ceremonies were harmless, and merely in honour of the season of the year. The Rev. W. Fyvie thus describes the manner in which they were conducted in 1837:—

The festival was introduced in the usual manner by a salute of guns from the castle, which was returned by a salute from the Honorable Company's vessel in the river. The flags were hoisted about the same time, and continued flying till sunset. The ceremonies in the court-house were the same as last year. Some Hindus said the prayers in Sanskrit for the occasion. Then the Nawab threw the cocoanut into the River Tapti. A plentiful supply of cocoanuts, ornamented with yellow and water-coloured leaf, in twelve baskets, had been provided for the occasion, which were now handed round among the company. After the identical cocoanut had been thrown, the castle guns and those on board the Honorable Company's ship in the river began firing. The prayers used in presenting cocoanuts are in substance: "O Tappi Goddess, daughter of the sun, wife of the sea, pardon all our sins. As thy waves follow each other, so let happiness follow us. Send us a flood of money, and preserve us in the

possession of wealth and children." It appears very evident to me, that while the ceremony is performed in a Government office; while cocoanuts are provided and ornamented for the occasion, and guns fired by authority, the natives will justly consider Government as taking part in the Tapi puja.

The city of *Púna* was the capital of the Mahratta empire; it was only natural, therefore, that the Peishwa, who was a Hindu, should patronize old temples, erect new ones, grant endowments of money and land for their support, and in other ways, contribute by his example and influence to the stability of the Hindu religion. It could only be expected that the city and district should be filled with temples, and the brahmins be found in the enjoyment of large incomes. When the British Government conquered the country, this circumstance attracted their attention; and with a view to conciliate the religious classes, they promised not only protection to their rights and property, but a continuance of their endowments and gifts. These donations were made without change till a recent period. The following report will show how numerous they were, and how great was the interference exercised with the temples in this collectorate in former days. The substance of the report is printed in the "Return" for 1845.

I beg leave to state, that Government exercises an entire control in the management of the temple of Parbutti near *Púna*, and other subordinate temples, the allowances for which are included in the sum of Rs. 18,617, annually allowed by Government. The whole management of the concerns of the temple are under a Government Carcoon, acting under the principal collector's orders, who renders to Government monthly accounts of the expenditure. The only village in this Zillah, the revenues of which are collected by Government, and paid from the treasury for the purposes of the temple or "musjid," is Mouza Nowli.

There are several temples and idols, and other religious ceremonies in this Zillah, in which the Government, in some way, interfere as follows. In the Anusthán * of Bihma Sunker Mahadeo, at *Mouza Bowargira*, *Purgunna Khair*, the sum granted as Anusthán is Rs. 865, which is expended under the control of Moro Dixit Munhorr, who held the office of manager during the Peishwa's time, and it was continued to him by the British Government. There is, besides, an allowance of Rs. 101 on account of Pujah Navid, † to the same temple, which is paid monthly by the Mamlutdar of the district to the "Pujaris" or officiating priests, who expend it according to custom. The idol of Shrí Wittoba at the Mouza Alundi, *Purgunnah Khair*, was annually covered with clothes of the value of Rs 111 by the Mamlutdar, till prohibited by Government order. The "Cháu Gurrah" ‡ at the temple of Kundoba, at *Mouza Jajúree*, Byroba at

* Performance of certain ceremonies in propitiation of a god.

† Offering of something valuable to the idol.

‡ An assemblage of four little kettle-drums beaten by two men, two by each.

Sassur, and *Moreswar* at *Mouza Muregaum*, are paid monthly their salaries by the Government revenue officers.

In the *Bhimturry district* the "Cháu Ghurras" at the temple of *Gunputti* at *Theur*, and at the temple of *Feringhi Devi*, at *Kurkoomb*, are also paid by Government Rs. 1,690. In the *Havailce district*, the temple of *Mahadeo*, in the *Mouza Pushan*, receives an annual allowance of Rs. 4,456-8. The "Anusthan" is under the management of *Vedeshwur Shastri Tokakur*, and has been some time in his family, having been given to *Ball Shastri*, the uncle of the present manager, and continued to *Vedeshwur Shastri* by the British Government. He renders accounts to the Government, and is subject to the control of the Government officers. The sum of Rs. 1,056 is granted on account of *Sivaratri*, and is expended under the management of *Sewram Bhut Chitrow*.

In the same talúka, the Deo of *Chinchur*, *Dhurnidhur Deo*, when he stops at *Púna* on his way to the temple at *Eoregoan*, is presented by the *Duterdar* in the collector's office, with a pair of shawls, and rupees equivalent to five Gold Mohurs annually, amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 166-8. In the time of the *Peishwa*, his Highness himself presented shawls and mohurs to the Deo, according to his pleasure; but on the accession of the British Government, the amount of donation was fixed at the sum above recorded.

In the *Barsi district*, the temple of *Bugwant* (*Vishnú*) receives the sum of Rs. 1,364, which is expended under the management of the Government officers.

In the *City of Púna*, the *Cháu Ghurra* of *Shri Ramchundra* in the *Túlsi Bhag*, receives monthly Rs. 69-10 annas, and annually Rs. 800 from the Government treasury; and there is an allowance on account of *Ramnowmi* of Rs. 454 per annum, part of which is expended in clothing the idol, and part in putting ready money before the idol, by the Government officers; or if the idol require no clothes, the money is spent in making ornaments, or any thing else which may be necessary!!

In the *Cusba Púna*, the sum allowed for *Ouchas*, at the temple of *Gunputi*, is Rs. 280-8, which is spent under the control of *Sowrambhut Chitrow*, who had the appointment in the *Peishwa's* time, and to whom it was continued by the British Government.

One special endowment, called *dakshina*, was bestowed by the *Peishwa* on learned brahmins. It amounted annually to Rs. 35,000. The British Government, in imitation of his superstitious bounty, continued the donation. In 1836, the plan for distributing it was modified, and a resolution expressed by Government to continue it only to the present incumbents. In relation to this *dakshina*, and another form of Government connection with brahminism, the maintenance of a Sanskrit College, the *Spectator* says :—

In the *Púna* collectorate, our connexion with idolatry is more intimate than in any other district of the country. The *Púna Sanskrit College*, though greatly improved of late, and restricted to the teaching of the ancient literature of the Hindus, is still an organ for upholding the superiority of the Brahmins, as no youths of any other class are permitted to enter within its walls; and to make it extensively the instrument of good, to prevent it from being the means of propagating the errors and absurdities

ties with which the Hindu literature, in its best estate, abounds, it should be united with the Government English school in that city. In such a connexion, it might contribute to the cultivation and improvement of the Maratha language, which is closely connected with the Sanskrita; and thus enable the students of English effectually to communicate the stores of knowledge which they acquire, to their benighted countrymen. The annual *dakshinā*, the distribution of about Rs. 25,000 to brahmins, we believe, is now so regulated as to encourage the study of the branches taught in the Sanskrit College; but as long as it is confined to the priestly class, it must be considered objectionable. The Government share in the Dhabī collections at *Jijuri*, has been properly abandoned; but the *Government gifts to that infamous shrine*, (of which an account is given in another part of this number) *have been in no degree diminished*. The Government connexion with other temples is such as no Christian can contemplate without the deepest sorrow. Under the head of *gram kharch*, or village expenses, it makes *an annual remission from the revenue for the support of some thousands!* Of many others it retains the management.

We might add other items, illustrative of our subject, from the "Parliamentary Returns," but these will suffice to show, with how little scruple the Government of India, at the commencement of the present century, allied itself with idolatry. At two places, *Belgaum* and *Dhurwar*, it received a small revenue. That at *Belgaum* was derived from pilgrims visiting the annual fair at the temple of *Yellama*, where some of the most abominable scenes witnessed in the whole of India, were accustomed to take place. That at *Dharwar* was derived, we believe, from a tax on the cocoa-nuts presented to the temple.

We will conclude our notice of the Bombay Presidency with the following table, taken from the "Returns" for 1849. We have omitted one column, specifying the allowances in *grain*, without, however, altering the general total. From this return, it appears, that the sum total alienated in Bombay from the revenue, for the Hindu and Mussalman religions, amounted to near £70,000: that grants were made to them in almost every district of the presidency; and that, in almost all the districts, the sum thus alienated, was equal to the grant to *Púri*, to which so much objection was made; while, in several cases, they exceeded four or five times its amount. *Jagannáth* now receives Rs. 23,000; but the Hindu temples and brahmins of the *Púna* collectorate, received Rs. 1,08,000, or nearly £11,000. It also appears, that of the whole amount, the Hindu institutions received Rs. 2,83,000 in money, and Rs. 3,14,000 as the revenue of land: or nearly Rs. 6,00,000: while the Mahommedans received Rs. 83,000 from both sources; the Parsees, Rs. 1,013, and the Jews *six rupees!*

*Government Allowances to NATIVE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS in
the Presidency of Bombay.*

Collectorates.	MONEY.		LAND.		TOTAL.	
	Recipi- ents.	Amount.	Recipi- ents.	Amount.	Recipi- ents.	Amounts.
Ahmedabad ..	1,735	*Rs. 19,962	452	Rs. 22,625	2,200	Rs. 42,828
Ahmednuggur...	287	35,268	1,480	24,508	1,773	59,899
Belgaum ...	5,935	18,901	4,221	1,34,139	11,641	1,57,690
Broach ...	778	5,991	1,050	27,160	1,828	53,151
Colaba ...	325	3,933	157	9,388	634	14,460
Customs ...	37	300	...	...	37	300
Dharwar ...	2,103	16,933	3,671	72,184	5,774	89,118
Kaira ...	1,184	12,593	579	9,629	1,763	22,223
Khandeish }	3,248	20,573	289	7,274	3,538	27,850
{	328	3,970	32	1,075	360	5,045
Puna ...	2,873	1,11,185	896	9,697	3,769	1,20,883
Rutnagiri ...	1,040	14,938	94	10,443	2,013	33,784
Sholapore ...	5,171	19,682	873	9,257	6,044	28,940
Surat ...	829	9,272	1,072	20,801	1,901	30,073
Tanna ..	716	12,767	1,105	16,257	2,228	32,342
	26,589	3,05,875	15,971	3,74,445	...	...
				Total...	45,503	6,98,593

In the Presidency of MADRAS the Government connection with the native religions was much greater than in the other Presidencies; and the sum of money given by the ruling powers to their support exceeded that of all the others put together. The more general features of the connection at Madras resembled greatly those at Bombay, and are well stated in the following Memorial addressed in 1836 to Sir F. Adam, the Governor in Council, from a large number of the clergy, and of civil and military officers. One of the latest acts of Bishop Corrie was to forward this memorial to the Governor, with a strong expression of his personal approval. The principal "grievances" it enumerated were:—

First.—That it is now required of Christian servants of the Government, both civil and military, to attend Heathen and Mahomedan religious festivals with a view of showing them respect.

Second.—That in some instances they are called upon to present offerings, and to do homage, to idols.

Third.—That the impure and degrading services of the pagoda are now carried on under the supervision and control of the principal Europeans and therefore Christian officers of the Government; and the management and regulation of the revenues and endowments, both at the pagodas and mosques,

* We have omitted the annas and pie in this, and the other money columns, in order to reduce the breadth of the table.—Ed. C. R.

are so vested in them under the provisions of Regulation VII. of 1817, that no important idolatrous ceremony can be performed, no attendant of the various idols, not even the prostitutes of the temple, be entertained or discharged, nor the least expense incurred, without the official concurrence and orders of the Christian functionary.

Fourth—That British officers, with troops of the Government, are also employed in firing salutes, and in otherwise rendering honor to Mahommedan and idolatrous ceremonies, even on the Sabbath day; and Christians are thus not unfrequently compelled, by the authority of Government, to desecrate their own most sacred institutions, and to take part in degrading superstitions.

Protestant soldiers, members of the Church of England, have also been required, contrary to the principle declared in his Majesty's regulations, that every soldier shall be at "liberty to worship God according to the forms prescribed by his religion," to be present and participate in the worship of the Church of Rome.

By the requisition of the foregoing and similar duties we cannot but sensibly feel, that not only are Christian servants of the State constrained to perform services incompatible with their most sacred obligations, and their just rights and privileges as Christians infringed; but that our holy religion is also dishonoured in the eyes of the people, and public and official sanction and support given to idolatry and superstitions destructive to the soul, and to apostasy from the only living and true God.

Other instances of the evil must be added to these, before the matter will be understood in all its bearings. Thus; as in Bengal and Bombay, oaths were regularly administered in the names of Hindu idols and on the Korán; documents were consecrated by inscribing at their head the names of Ganesh and other deities; idolatrous cases, in which no civil rights were concerned, were continually adjudged by the collectors under a special regulation; and all efforts to disturb the existing evils were frowned upon and discouraged. The spirit, which had dictated Mr. Place's letter, had animated many officers subsequent to his time; and in all possible ways, in trifling as well as in important concerns, the Government prominently showed itself to be the intimate friend of the native religions. A few illustrations of a state of things, which once existed at Madras on a large scale, may be interesting to the reader, although we have said so much in relation to the other Presidencies.

A *Native Almanac* used to be published annually in Madras at the expense of the Government, and was circulated by the chief secretary among the Government establishments. It opened with the following invocation:—

Salutation to Sri GANESHA.

I invoke the aid of this god, who is honoured by Brahmá,
Krishna and Maha-eswaram and all other gods, in the hope that
I shall succeed in my present task.

Those who, in the beginning of the year, accompanied by their relatives and friends, offer sacrifices to the nine planets, and make such offerings to astrologers as they possibly can, and pay a strict observance to what is laid down in this Almanac, the said planets will contribute to afford them every good throughout the year, &c.

Again; it is well known that the Hindus, throughout the

country, worship the implements of their trade, and that on the Saraswati Puja writers especially worship their pens and ink. Will it be believed, that at Madras the Government *permitted this worship* to be offered in their own public courts and offices, *to their own account-books, stationery, records and furniture?* The following is a programme of the ceremony:—

“All the dufftars (bundles) containing accounts and the like to be placed in the cutcherry or office in a row; and in the evening, about four o'clock, the religious brahmins of the town, together with the cutcherry servants, will assemble to worship them in honour of the goddess Minerva; in the interim music will be sounded, and the dance of the church (pagoda) will then be commenced. After this is done, cocoa-nuts, plantains and betel will be distributed among the religious brahmins and cutcherry people, and a few gifts in specie [provided of course by the Government] will also be given to the former people.

The following letter exhibits one of the numerous applications from the Court-servants for the *customary allowances* out of the public treasury for *Hindu worship*. It presents the Government both in a ridiculous and humiliating position; their money paid for idolatry, and the idol honoured in their own offices of business!

HONOURED SIR,—I humbly and submissively beg leave to acquaint your honour, that on the 29th of this month, Wednesday, being Venanygawk Chouty or *Belly-God feast*, it is custom to allow us rupees ten every year from Circar [the Government], in order to perform certain pujah; after keeping one idol in the court-house on the same day, and granting leave to all the court servants for the said pujah; the said sum is to be carried into contingent charges. I saw the civil diary and other accounts too and find the same in them; therefore I highly request your honour will be pleased to spare ten rupees and perform the said pujah on the very day. I must purchase various things for the same.—*See Friend of India*, 1839.

The *firing of salutes*, on occasion of Hindu and Mahomedan festivals, was an every-day occurrence: while troops, both European and native, were marched out to join processions in honour of idols and their festivities. Not unfrequently these processions and salutes occurred on the Sabbath-day! The following are illustrations:—

MADRAS GARRISON ORDERS.

G. O. 26th May, 1839.—(Sunday.)

A Royal Salute to be held in readiness to be fired from the Saluting Battery at sun-rise, to-morrow, in answer to one which will be fired from the Chepauk Gardens on the occasion of the anniversary of the *Rubiul-Uwval Festival*.

G. O. 15th October.—(Tuesday.)

A Royal Salute to be fired from the Saluting Battery to-morrow, on occasion of the *Dussera Festival*.

G. O. 7th December, 1839.—(Saturday.)

A Royal Salute to be fired from the Saluting Battery at 1 o'clock P. M. to-morrow, (Sunday,) on the occasion of the *Ramzan Festival*.

FORT ST. GEORGE, 14th December, 1839.—(Saturday.)

A Detail of the R. H., the Governor's Body Guard, consisting of a Na-

tive Officer, 2 Havildars, 2 Naiques, and 30 Troopers, together with the 19th Regiment, to parade under the command of the Officer commanding the 19th Regiment, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday next, on the north side of the Palace Gate, at the Shadi Mahl, for the purpose of accompanying the Procession of the Sundul to the tomb of His late Highness Nabob Azim-ud-Dowlah Bahadur, in the principal mosque at Trilpicané."

- *Prayers for rain* (Varúna-pújam) were ordered by the collector to be presented at the various temples in seasons when drought and famine were feared. Many examples of this custom might be adduced. At Cuddapah, in 1811, the Madras Board sanctioned the expenditure of 150 star pagodas for that object: it was a common thing to do so. Mr. Cathcart, soon after being appointed to Salem as Sub-collector, had to issue orders for such a puja. He says:—

1832.—Among the first official letters I received on coming to Salem was one sanctioning fifty rupees to be expended in each of the three Taluks or districts under me, for the invocation of rain. Some brahmins were to engage in prayer to one of their gods for ten or twelve days, standing up to their necks in water; others were to be employed to avert the anger of certain planets; and some to propitiate other gods: the whole to be fed at the expense of Government, to be superintended by Government servants, and to be in every respect on the part of Government, seeking for the attainment of its revenue by these means. I could not order it: it seems to me most gratuitous to engage in such an open violation of the laws of God.

By the same authority *brahmins were fed*; as they are feasted by all wealthy Hindus on certain occasions, and for particular ceremonies. As a specimen we may quote the language of the Rev. C. Rhenius, the well-known Missionary of Tinnevely, written in December, 1831:—

The collector has, by order of Government, given 40,000 rupees to perform a certain ceremony in the idol temple of *Tinnevely*. The pedestal of the idol, for instance, has got some injury, from the oil which continually flows down from the idol at the pujahs; so that insects harbour and perish there, which is a great indignity done to the Swamy, or god. They must therefore mend the pedestal, shut up all the holes that have been made, and make it fine and close again. For this repair, the Swamy must be requested to remove from his place during the operation, and after that to return again: on both occasions, a great many muntrums must be said by the Brahmins; and 1,00,000 must be daily fed for 40 days. *To gratify this folly a Christian Government spends 40,000 rupees!*

Another evil, more serious in its character, that was long in practice, was the *forced attendance of the poorer natives* at the great festivals, for the sake of *drawing the idol cars*. Facts are the best illustration of the injustice to which they were subject. In a pamphlet published at Madras in 1835, the writer says:—

In the district of Tanjore alone, there are no less than 4,00,000 people compelled, year by year, to leave their homes and proceed often ten, twenty or thirty miles, without any provision or remuneration, for the purpose of dragging the obscene and disgusting idol cars of the province. Unless Government were to enforce their attendance, not a man of them would come,

nor would they, when arrived, pull the cars, were it not for dread of Government. At the car festival a respectable landholder came to complain that he had just been beaten in the street by the curnum of his village. The Tassildar pleaded for the curnum : he represented the impossibility of getting the car drawn unless flogging were allowed : and stated, with much respect, that he himself had beaten not less than five hundred on the occasion.

The largest item, however, in the Government connection with idolatry in Madras, was the *direct and official management of temples*. From the time of Mr. Place such management had increased every year. Having once established the fact, that an English officer might conduct the affairs of a pagoda, might interest himself thoroughly in its prosperity, and make offerings at its altar, it was easy, whenever a native official was found to misappropriate pagoda funds, to put him out and place the institution under Government charge : or if temple-lands failed to pay the land-tax, or their managers died without issue, or mismanaged their trust, the appeal was again made to the Collector, and the lands entrusted to him. Numerous causes of this kind were at work ; the natives were pleased, the Company's officers were willing ; and thus, during a long series of years, the native dharmakartas or managers were displaced, and an immense number of temples, and large tracts of pagoda-land, were handed directly over to Government. The causes of such an anomalous and injurious proceeding are well stated in the following paragraph of the "Return" for 1849, page 438 :—

When we first assumed possession of the various districts of the Madras Presidency, we did not find the religious institutions of the Natives enjoying that degree of support from the Government, which we have since extended to them. Our connexion with the Hindu idolatry has grown with our growth ; we found that in many districts pagodas were enriched by large landed endowments ; that the lands attached to them were cultivated by ryots, under engagements with the dharmakartas or the priests of the temples ; in course of time we observed, that in many instances these lands were mismanaged, the ryots brought complaints of oppression, and the people pointed to the decay of their temples as the consequence of the mismanagement and neglect of the lands. The result was, that in numerous instances, we displaced the dharmakarta, and ourselves took charge of his duties of the management of the temple and the cultivation of the lands. Wherever we adopted this course, it is evident, that to restore the dharmakarta would be to revert to the original usage, and therefore a much easier business than to find dharmakartas for temples of which the management had been in our hands from the first ; not that it is by any means certain, that these temples also were not originally under the management of their own dharmakartas ; for it seems very probable that the Governments, which preceded our own, adopted, under the same circumstances, the same course of proceeding, displacing the dharmakartas, and assuming the management of the lands and of the temples. Thus, the Collector of Tanjore, a district in which no less than 2,874 pagodas have hitherto been under the superintendence of the Government officers, alludes to the origin of this state of things in the following terms : "It has been usual for Native Governments to alienate the whole or a part of the land-tax on por-

tions of land, and sometimes on whole villages, and to vest the collection of it in the grantee; the tendency of such irresponsible management has been, to engender abuse and to call for interference; and the mode of its exercise has been to resume the privilege of control, without infringing on the proceeds of the grant. Thus, the greater part of all the landed endowments in Tanjore have for a series of years been under the management of the officers of Government on this account.

At first the lands were placed under the stewardship of the Collectors, who paid into the pagoda-funds the nett proceeds of the estates. It was soon found, however, that in many cases it was more convenient for the Government to *resume* the estates altogether, and pay annually to the pagodas a sum of ready money equal to their yearly value. Direct payments of money, therefore, became substituted for the revenue of estates. In some cases sums of money were paid by Government, as at Púna and in Kumaon, in continuation of grants and voluntary donations bestowed by former rulers of the country. In others again the estates were preserved to the temples under the Collector's management, and the clear income paid for their use. In each instance, however, the closest tie was formed between the Government and the native institutions. They who, with diligence and honesty, had paid over the income to the temple, had also to superintend its expenditure; and thus every item in the cost of idolatry had to be sanctioned and supervised by the English officer. Orders for the repairs of buildings; the purchase or construction of idol-cars; the making of new idols, had all to receive his signature. Every officer of the temple, the worshipping brahmin, the musician, the painter, the rice-boiler, the watchman, had to be appointed under his official *seal*. The poor dancing women even received their salaries, the pay of vice, through his hands. All this is fully acknowledged by these officers themselves:—

The reports received from the collectors of the different zillahs of the Madras Presidency, show that the superintendence of no less than 7,600* Hindu establishments, from the famous pagoda of Seringham to the common village temples, has hitherto been vested in the officers of Government. And this was something more than a nominal superintendence; the people did not merely regard the Collector as the friendly guardian of their religion, but they looked up to him as the regulator of its ceremonies and festivals—as the supervisor of the priests and servants of the pagodas—as the faithful treasurer of the pagoda-funds—and the comptroller of the daily expenses of idolatry. "We have hitherto," says the Collector of North Arcot, "stood to these pagodas in the obligation of sovereigns, and our interference has extended over every detail of management; we regulate their funds, superintend the repairs of their temples, keep in order their cars and images, appoint the servants of the pagodas, purchase and keep

* The exact number is more than 8,000. See the Table following.

in store the various commodities required for their use, investigate and adjust all disputes, and at times even those of a religious nature. There is nothing appertaining to or connected with the temples that is not made a subject of report, except the religious worship carried out daily in them." The Collector of Tinnevely, a district never visited by the violence of Mahomedan zeal, where Hindu idolatry has always flourished undisturbed, writes in terms very similar: "The present control and interference of the district Government authorities extends over almost every thing connected with the pagoda; from the collection of its revenues (from whatever source derived,) and the management of its lands, to the regulating of its daily usual expenses, its periodical festivals, and its repairs. Accounts in detail, including every item of receipt and expenditure, are kept and controlled, and the appointment and dismissal of its servants made by the officers of Government."—P. 437.

It would be interesting to examine some illustrations of these practical services for idolatry: but we shall mention only one or two. Perhaps one of the most scandalous instances of Government patronage of Hindu gods was seen in the festival of the idol Yeggata in the town of Madras itself. At one time this festival had been suspended for more than thirty years. It was revived, however, by the influence and exertions of an *European Collector*. On that occasion the idol was found to be too large to pass through one of the town gates: but the Government was persuaded by their officer to *have the gate taken down and the arch enlarged*, "in order to convey to the natives a full proof of the disposition of Government to facilitate the due observance of their religious ceremonies." Our rulers agreed also to *defray all the expenses*. The following is a description of the Company's share in the celebration of the festival by an eye-witness:—

MADRAS, December, 1839.—The idol Yeggata, tutelar deity of Madras, is to be brought out to-night; the compound of her temple presented a most extraordinary appearance when I passed through it about 5 P. M.

I passed through the crowd of natives, and had a full view of the process. The *Honourable Company's presents*, consisting of a scarf of crimson silk, a thali or ornament for the neck, apparently of gold, and attached to a yellow string, and another scarf of scarlet woollen cloth, exactly resembling that of which soldiers' jackets are made, were borne several times round the idol stage, with wreaths of flowers, broken cocoa-nuts, &c. A peon, the white metal plate of whose belt bore the inscription "COLLECTOR OF MADRAS," led on this procession, clearing the way with his cane, and a number of men followed with long trumpets, which they pointed towards the idol and sounded. There were several of these peons on the spot, each having "COLLECTOR OF MADRAS" inscribed on the plate of his belt; and when the presents were brought on a brass dish, I observed one of them hold it at arm's length over his head, as if to display them to the idol, and to the spectators—another of these peons held up, in the same way, a dish of cocoa-nuts, broken, as is usual in offerings.

We mentioned above, when speaking of Bengal, that there was only one temple in the Madras Presidency, at which the

Government received a money profit, viz., the temple of *Tripetty*. This temple has been greatly honoured in Southern India, especially by traders: hence it became the resort of crowds of pilgrims from all parts of India: and offerings of goods, grain, gold, silver, jewels, cloths, horses, and other articles were dedicated on its altars. The expenses of the temple were comparatively small, being about Rs. 32,500 annually; while the income, from offerings alone, amounted to about Rs. 1,10,000. The surplus, therefore, was paid into the Government treasury; and a long line of carts, preceded by a band of music, and guarded by sepoys, was employed to convey it into safe hands.

In all other cases the Government had to *give* money, either as a donation, or in commutation of resumed lands; or as the revenue of temple estates, of which its officers were stewards. After a careful perusal of all the information contained in the "Parliamentary Return" for 1849, and a comparison of one part of the Returns with another, we find that the number of temples under the charge of the Government, and the payments made to them, stand as follows:—

*Government payments for Idolatry in the
PRESIDENCY of MADRAS.*

District.	No. of Pagodas under Govern- ment.	Money paid.	Income of lands managed by Gov- ernment.
		Rs.	
Vizagapatam	50	2,154	None.
Nellore	12	30,537	1,698
Malabar	29	3,571	3,530
Madura	34	49,155	59,197
Rajamundry	18	3,695	780
Masulipatam	2	280	1,148
Trichinopoly.....	116	56,298	76,541
Tanjore	2,874	1,26,806	1,91,047
Chingleput	24	38,143	5,313
Canara	3,668	1,33,152	None.
South Arcot ..	107	67,121	2,748
North Arcot.....	75	26,941	None.
Salem	193	55,237	562
Bellary	26	2,665	3,356
Coimbatūr.....	132	60,000	49,407
Cuddapah.....	284	32,067	7,447
Tinnevely	350	1,81,369	26,059
Guntūr	2	.....	2,374
Ganjam.....	176	3,800	None.
Madras	16	.....	.....
Kurnūl	104	3,780	.....
	8,292	8,76,780	4,31,107

From this table it appears that the actual money paid by the Government was nearly nine lakhs of rupees, or exactly £87,678: and that the number of temples, mosques and shrines receiving this sum was 8,292. We doubt not that the members of Government were themselves astonished when these expressive facts first came to light. Even their best friends, even the defenders of the system, could scarcely explain, on sound reasons of moral or political obligation, why a Christian Government, whose members profess to follow the law of the Bible, should have, in two presidencies of their Indian Empire, NINE THOUSAND temples and pagodas under their management, and should endeavour, by the exercise of Christian virtues, to make their idolatrous service *efficient*. A few comments on this table may make its statements more clearly understood. By far the greater number of institutions receiving the Government support were Hindu: there were a few Mahomedan mosques among them, especially in particular districts, as Kurnúl, but there were none of much name. At Seringapatam, we believe, the tomb of Hyder Ali, and the establishment of múllahs, both there and at Tippú's mosque at Colar, were supported by these funds. The Tanjore and Canara provinces contained the largest number of temples under the Government officers. The former district, having never been occupied by the Mahomedans, has preserved the Hindu religion in the greatest strength and splendour. The pagoda of Tanjore is perhaps the most beautiful Hindu structure in all India. That at Seringham, in the neighbourhood, is without doubt the largest, most extensive, and most wealthy. Its idol of solid gold, fifteen feet in height, alone proves the power and resources of Brahminism in this ancient territory. As at Jagannáth and Púnah, some of the Government endowments in the Madras presidency were princely. The pagoda of Seringham received Rs. 43,151 annually; that of Tripetty, Rs. 32,500 for its expenses; and that at Trichendúr Rs. 19,000. A larger number received a moderate donation. The great pagoda at Conjeveram received Rs. 12,000: that at Trinomali Rs. 6,000; and the Rock pagoda, at Trichinopoly, Rs. 8,200. But in the greater number of instances, the annual donations were petty in the extreme, making up in number what they wanted in value. They were thus only an injury: they did the institutions little good: and kept up the connection of the Government in the most offensive form. Thus in many of the districts numerous temples received *less than fifty rupees* annually. In Canara, out of 3,668 temples, mosques and maths, only eighty-three were "great pagodas," receiving more than fifty rupees

each. Of these again only *seventeen* received more than Rs. 1,000. Of the whole number, 3,043 petty temples received less than Rs. 50. In one talúk, out of 221 temples of this class, *fifty-three* received less than *five* rupees. Of these again, some received Rs. 2; some, Rs. 4; Rs. 2-6-5; Rs. 1-12-10; Rs. 1-3-2; 12 as.; 8 as.; and one received 6 as. 5 pie! In other districts also several temples received only *one* rupee. In Cuddapah, out of 221 temples, only two received more than Rs. 1,000; and the majority less than Rs. 100. The climax of Government connection with Hinduism was reached, a few years back, in the district of Kurnúl. After the Pathan Nawab had been removed from power, in consequence of his conspiracy, the Madras Government, in return for all his guns and ammunition, continued his annual gifts for religious purposes, and accordingly they* presented annually to NINE TEMPLES, THE MUNIFICENT DONATION OF ONE FARTHING EACH.

We said this was the climax: but we find that the real climax in this connection, the lowest point of moral degradation, was reached, not by the East India Company, but by the Colonial Government of Ceylon. As this island does not fall within our province, it is not our purpose to describe the patronage which the native religions once received from its Government: we shall mention only a simple fact. The following is a copy of a bill sent in to the Ceylon Government; the items, according to the superscription, having been provided for HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE:—

	£	s.	d.
For the cost of sundry Articles for the use of the Malagawa and 4 Dewalas since the procession,	3	10	6
For Devil-Dancing, called <i>Waligakūn</i>	3	13	2½
For 13 Out-station Dewalas.....	4	5	1
For carrying the Canopy over the Karanduwa,...	0	16	0
For oil and rags,.....	3	15	0
	•£15	19	9½

Let those who have seen the devil-dancer of South India and Ceylon, after his draught of blood, with his long hair streaming in the wind, whirl round and round with mad excitement, consider, whether, when such a dance, a dance which a heathen king forbade in his palace, is ordered for "Her Majesty's service" for a period of *seven days*, the patronage of abominable idolatry can possibly descend lower.

From these details, it appears that down to a late period, the Government of India placed itself in intimate connection with

* "NUNDIAL: Nine temples (small).....Rs. 0 1 7"—1849, p. 295.

the temples, mosques and tombs of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions; that it looked upon them as friends whose interests were to be promoted, whose prosperity was to be an object of its care; that thus it afforded them not merely protection but patronage; and that this patronage increased in extent with the increase of their Eastern empire. It appears that it was exhibited in a variety of instances, both of greater and less importance; that in accordance with native custom, the names of idols were inscribed with honor at the head of public documents; that oaths in the names of idols and upon the Korán were administered in the courts of justice; that their officers decided cases where purely idolatrous questions were concerned; that in Government colleges the authoritative standards of the native religions were taught at the public expense; and that native scholars, brahmins and moulvies, because of their position in native society, and their acquaintance with those books of error, received from their rulers special gifts. It appears that the Government by degrees began to take a conspicuous part in the actual ceremonies of idolatrous temples and the maintenance of Mahomedan worship; that the British flag was hoisted and salutes were fired in honor of their festivals; and that troops were marched out, under the authority of English officers, to join in processions and tokens of respect to them that were no gods. In the Madras and Bombay presidencies the revenue officers gradually brought under their official management about NINE THOUSAND shrines, belonging to false religions; they supplied the funds for their expenses, superintended their internal arrangements, appointed all their servants, and were responsible for the proper performance of all their usual ceremonies; they were expected in seasons of drought to order invocations for rain; on the removal of idols, to feed large numbers of brahmins; in some places to use their influence in inducing the poorer natives to draw idol-cars; and on the great festivals to present gifts in the name of the Government. These officers held charge of large tracts of pagoda-land, made terms with the peasantry for their rents, and thus secured the largest revenue they could for the shrines to which the land belonged: they could grant donations for the feast of the "Belly-God" to be paid for out of "contingent charges;" and even permitted their account-books to be worshipped in the public offices. It appears also, that the highest officers of State have, on occasions, presented gifts to celebrated shrines when travelling in their neighbourhood; that by legislative enactments, the Boards of Revenue are directed to see that Hindu and Mahomedan endowments are really applied to the

superstitious uses for which they were intended; and that in these and a variety of other ways the Government has given a public sanction to the doctrines, ceremonies and practices of the false religions of their empire. Especially has it been notorious, that they established taxes on pilgrims at Jagannáth and other places of Hindu resort; and that from these taxes they reaped, in the course of several years, the immense sum of TWO MILLIONS sterling.

The EVILS, which naturally sprang from these lamentable proceedings of the Government, were of no common magnitude. Not that the Government is responsible for all the injury that arises from false religion *as such*, but they maintained evils already existing; they increased, they perpetuated them. Idolatry *received new strength*, and its services were rendered efficient and attractive. The income of temples and pagodas was carefully spent; the buildings were kept in good repair; the tanks were cleaned and rendered serviceable; vacancies were filled amongst the officers; the festivals were celebrated with zeal; the daily ceremonies were duly performed. Formerly, the whole system was in a state of decay, but, under English superintendence, it every where revived. Formerly, the endowment-lands were ill-managed and proved unprofitable: on this account, such large estates were brought under the Collectors' charge; but, under Government, private speculation was prevented, the cultivators were well treated, the income was improved and rendered sure. So convinced were the natives themselves of this fruit of the Government supervision, that in many cases fear was expressed, lest for the want of it, idolatry would speedily fall to utter ruin; and when orders were received to give the temples back to native managers, in numerous instances they were received with great reluctance. What clearer confession could they have made that the Government was the bulwark of their system? What could have more fully proved the erroneous position which the Government was occupying? Is it their duty to sustain idolatry? If false religions cannot sustain themselves, the sooner they die away, the better. Again; the *priests* in the temples, under care of the authorities, appeared with the character of Government agents, and wielded the influence which such agents alone possess. The pandas of Puri and the gayâ-wals of Behar pleaded the virtues of their respective shrines with new power. The whole system of Hinduism, in short, was invested with a dignity and rank, which its internal meanness, folly and immorality could never have secured for it. The *number of pilgrims* to the three most renowned shrines steadily increased, and at length became very

large in every case. The pilgrim-hunters multiplied likewise ; those at Puri having been recompensed in proportion to the number of votaries they could bring. Even without Government support, they seek for pilgrims ; much more would they do so, when that Government *guaranteed* their fees. As a consequence, all the evils attendant on these pilgrimages, especially that to the car festival at Puri, were rendered more intense, whether connected with the moral conduct of the pilgrims, their physical privations, or their numerous and painful deaths. The *fame of our country* and the *name of Christianity* were greatly dishonoured among the heathen. The public salutes, the presents to idols, the subsidizing of priests, the attendance of English officers in their official capacity at the festivals, all tended to give the natives a low estimate of our religion, and even led them to say that English people had no religion at all. *Many an argument* was furnished by their proceedings to the opponents of the Gospel, when the Missionary sought to preach its truths. Hundreds of times have the Orissa Missionaries been asked, " If Jagannáth is not god, then why does the Company give him money ? " The same kind of enquiry has been made in other parts of India, and upon a similar ground.

The greatest evil, which resulted from this attitude of the Government, was the public insult, which they thereby offered to the living and true God. All other reasons against their conduct are absorbed in this : without this other reasons might possibly have been invalid, and the support of the native systems have been proved advantageous. Political expediency changes with political circumstances. The tax, which produces harm in one place, may be beneficial in another : while it increases a pilgrimage in one district, in another it may prevent it. Even the dictates of conscience may vary with the degree of enlightenment which it receives, and the cases in which it is called to act. But as to a Government support of idolatry, there is no room for doubt. The root of all religion and morality is without change. The dictates of the revealed law of God leave no room for question. Idolatry is a crime against God. It cannot be spoken of in soft terms. We cannot call it an unfortunate error, nor style it a lamentable weakness, nor look on it as an excusable fault. The Bible styles it a crime, an " abominable thing," which God hates. On this account, therefore, we object to the position, which the Government of India held, and still partially holds, in relation to Hinduism. We plead this ground, alone, of opposition, to their patronage of its idols and its ceremonies. The Bible lays it down as a law : "*Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.*" " The

‘ things, which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God. I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils. What communion hath light with darkness : what agreement hath the temple of God with idols ? ’ The Government of India have sought to unite both, and have therefore fallen into the guilt of him who openly disobey’s the word of God. To set aside the Governor of a country, and obey another in his place, is in an individual reckoned treason. He who worships idols, “ other Gods,” whatever be their names, refuses to acknowledge the authority of God, ignores His existence, and sets up others in His room. He is guilty of treason against God. Cannot this charge of spiritual treason be made with justice against the Government of India? Have they not given divine honours to them* that are no Gods : have they not patronized and endowed that religion, which sets up Mahomet in the place of the One mediator between God and man ?

Even the heathen are declared by the Bible to be “ without excuse ” for their superstitious follies, because the works of God before their eyes teach them of better things. Still more are they without excuse who have been taught from higher sources than the works of nature, even by the instructions of Revelation : “ To whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required.” Whatever may be the degree of guilt in the Hindu or Musalman, rude and untaught, man cannot determine ; we know that the judgment of God is according to truth. But why should an enlightened Government be a partaker of their sins ? The abettors of treason suffer the penalty of treason : the abettors of false religion must bide the consequences of their folly. He who has said, “ I will not give My glory to another, nor My praise to graven images,” cannot but look with indignation on His professed followers when they join with others in deifying the licentious Krishna, Jagannáth, and Mahadev, feasting the Belly-God, and bowing the head in adoration to account-books and official records. May the sure end of such a guilty course be averted : may the improvement in their views and practice, which has been adopted by the Government, prove a lasting one ; and may every single link, which binds them to these false religions, makes them abettors of their fault, and sharers in their sins, be broken decidedly and for ever !

It was natural and right that a patronage of idolatry so wrong in itself, and productive of such grave consequences, should, as soon as it was known, attract the attention and arouse the indignation of religious men. From time to time,

therefore, objections to it were offered, and the evils of the Government system were discussed and exposed. The pilgrim-tax at Puri was regarded as specially obnoxious: and more than once servants of Government, in their official minutes, and editors of newspapers or Missionaries in the periodical press, wrote against it on the spot. The result of the agitation, both in India and in England, was the transmission of the memorable despatch of 1833, which is generally attributed to Lord Glenelg. In this despatch, his Lordship discussed the question of the pilgrim-tax in all its bearings; and referred briefly to other details of the connection of Government with idolatry. He stated, however, in emphatic terms, that that connection must be wholly dissolved. On the general principles involved in the subject, he wrote thus:—

“ All religious rites and offices, which are in this sense harmless, that they are not flagrantly opposed to the rules of common humanity or decency, ought to be tolerated, however false the creed by which they are sanctioned. . . . Beyond this civil protection, however, we do not see that the maxims of toleration enjoin us to proceed. It is not necessary that we shall take part in the celebration of an idolatrous ceremony, or that we should assist in the preparation for it, or that we should afford to it such systematic support as shall accredit it in the eyes of the people, and prevent it from expiring through the effect of neglect or accident. . . . Arrangements, which implicate the Government, be it in a greater or less degree, in the immediate ministrations of the local superstitions of the natives, might well be objected to in point of principle, even without any reference to their actual or probable consequences. But that they also tend to consequences of an injurious kind is evident; inasmuch as they exhibit the British power in such intimate connection with the unhappy and debasing superstitions in question, as almost necessarily to inspire the people with a belief either that we admit the divine origin of those superstitions, or at least that we ascribe to them some peculiar and venerable authority.

The ground which the Government was to take in future, and the particular points which all its officers were to observe, his Lordship detailed in the following paragraph:—

62. Finally it may be convenient to recapitulate, in a brief series, the principal conclusions resulting from the preceding discussion. These are the following:—1. That the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants; in the management of their ceremonies, rites and festivals; and generally, in the conduct of their interior economy, shall cease. 2. That the pilgrim-tax shall be every where abolished. 3. That fines and offerings shall no longer be considered as sources of revenue by the British Government; and they shall, consequently, no longer be collected or received by the servants of the East India Company. 4. That no servant of the East India Company shall hereafter be engaged in the collection or custody, or management of monies, in the nature of fines or offerings, under whatsoever name they may be known, or in whatever manner obtained, or whether furnished in cash or in kind. 5. That no servant of the East India Company shall hereafter

derive any emolument resulting from the above-mentioned or any similar sources. 6. That in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances, our native Subjects BE LEFT ENTIRELY TO THEMSELVES."

In spite of these express orders, for five years the Government of India did nothing. They made no enquiry; they made no change in the ancient system. The unwillingness of the Court at home was seconded by their older officers abroad: and the passes were issued to pilgrims, their fees were received into the treasury, the civilians superintended the temples, the salutes were fired, and flags continued to be hoisted, as if nothing whatever had been said concerning them. But the press was free: pamphlets began to be published, and information to be collected in India, upon which the public papers fearlessly commented. The two memorials we mentioned above, were presented at Bombay and Madras, each signed by a large number of the most respectable inhabitants, including Government servants. In England also a Resolution was passed in the Court of Proprietors, that the despatch of 1833 should be carried into effect. But the Directors were unwilling; the Governor-General was unwilling; and the revenue officers, especially those in the Madras Presidency, who *reaped large profits* from their temple management, were glad to see the question shelved. At length, in October 1837, the Court of Directors, in one of their despatches, had the temerity to speak out their real mind. Alluding to a minute of Lord Auckland's, written on the 1st of April previous, in which he had compared the ceremonies of the cocoa-nut festival at Surat to the English feasts of May-day and Harvest-home, of Halloween and Christmas, they expressed their entire concurrence in his views, deprecated the disposition evinced at Bombay and Madras "to force extreme measures" on the Government, and declared it to be their opinion that the time had not arrived for any "ostensible change" in the old system. At the same time, knowing that Lord Auckland's views coincided with their own, they endeavoured to stifle the whole question by directing, that "*no customary salutes, or marks of respect to native festivals, should be discontinued at any of the Presidencies, and that no change whatever should be made in any matters relating to the native religions, except under the authority of the Supreme Government.*" On the arrival of these despatches at Madras, Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Commander-in-Chief at that Presidency, sent in his resignation, assigning as his reason for so doing, that as the Court had drawn back from their own orders of 1833, and wished to continue the system which they

had then condemned, he could not be a party to the oppression of conscientious men, by commanding them to join in idolatrous ceremonies. About the same time Mr. Robert Nelson, a Madras civilian, then in England, openly resigned the service for a similar reason. These facts produced a profound sensation in England in religious circles. The Court felt they had gone too far, and endeavoured to shew that Sir P. Maitland had wholly misunderstood them. But it was too late. The religious public, disgusted with the Directors' hypocrisy, and convinced that they had for five years been systematically cheated in a matter where Christianity and conscience were concerned, poured their petitions into Parliament; and the system was doomed. On the 26th of July, 1838, Sir John C. Hobhouse, in reply to questions on the subject in the Lower House, declared that "he should make a point of using that discretion, which, 'by the act of Parliament, belonged to him in his position as 'President of the Board of Controul, to direct such a despatch 'to be sent to India, as would render it impossible for any functionary there to make a mistake. He would take care, and he 'trusted the Court of Directors would agree with him, to have 'such a despatch sent out to India as would perfectly satisfy the 'most tender conscience." A fortnight afterwards the despatch was sent. By November 17th, Lord Auckland had written his minute at Lúdiána, on the mode in which it was to be carried out. On that day the tax at Allahabad was abolished by an order in Council: and the other pilgrim-taxes soon met with the same fate. Such is the power of the House of Commons.

The Directors' despatch, after the indulgence of a little spleen at the decided conduct of Sir Peregrine Maitland, directs the Governor-General as follows:—

We have to express our anxious desire, that you should accomplish, with as little delay as may be practicable, the arrangements which we believe to be already in progress for abolishing the pilgrim-tax, and for discontinuing the connection of the Government with the management of all funds, which may be assigned for the support of religious institutions in India. We more particularly desire that the management of all temples and other places of religious resort, together with the revenues derived therefrom, be resigned into the hands of the natives; and that the interference of the public authorities in the religious ceremonies of the people be regulated by the instructions conveyed in para. 62 of our despatch of February 20, 1833.

Whether it arose simply from a change of views, or from the introduction of new men into their body, or from any other secret reason, we know not; but from the date of this despatch, an altogether new line of conduct was pursued by the Court of Directors. Not another word of opposition meets the eye in their letters: they issued clear and decided instruc-

tions; criticised the proceedings of the Indian Government; commended them for activity; and severely reprovèd the Madras authorities for their supineness in carrying their plans into effect. Their course has been steady and consistent; they have exhibited an earnestness and perseverance in getting rid of the evil, worthy of all praise. Had they been seconded in India with a zeal and determination equal to their own, their connection with idolatry would long since have been thoroughly dissolved. But local prejudices, fears and indolence have thwarted their intentions. The more prominent evils, it is true, have been laid aside; but the work, as yet, has only been half done.

It is not our intention to describe step by step all that was done in the three Presidencies to fulfil the Court's orders: our space permits us only to indicate the result. The minor features of the connection were soon removed. A few, in fact, had been removed by Sir Robert Grant at Bombay before the decisive despatch arrived. By a legislative act, *oaths* were no longer rendered compulsory upon native witnesses in the courts of justice: they were allowed to fall back upon their ancient custom of making solemn declarations, without reference to the Korán or Hindu Gods. The only defects in the act were, that it did not apply to oaths taken on the enlistment of sepahis, on the appointment of native magistrates, &c., and that Her Majesty's Courts in India were expressly excepted from its influence. In places, where the collector's influence had been used to *compel* the poorer Hindus to *draw the idol cars*, such influence was withdrawn, and the people were left to do as they chose. The order for abolishing the compulsion where it existed was greatly accelerated by the fact, that at Conjeveram, in 1836, fifteen peasants, drawn from home against their will to draw the great car there, had been accidentally killed. The *titles of Hindu Gods* ceased to be written at the head of official documents. By a special order, sanctioned by the Court of Directors, the *salutes* at festivals and the attendance of troops on idolatrous processions, were also discontinued.

Among the important items of this connection, the *pilgrim-taxes* occupied the foremost place. The tax on the Yellama festival at Belgaum was given up in 1836; though the arrangement made did not satisfy the natives concerned. By an Act of Council, in April, 1840, the pilgrim-taxes at Gayá, Allahabad and Jagannáth were also entirely abolished. The Raja of Gayá, Mitrajit Singh, received compensation for his loss of the Gayá profits, by a remission of land-tax on his estates equal

to that loss, viz., Rs. 17,000. The tax-barriers, were all thrown down at these great places of native devotion: and at Púri, on the 3rd of May, amid the most tremendous storm which had ever been known at that place, a storm in which the boiling surf was rolled close to the European bungalows, in which hundreds of huts were thrown down, and the sacred wheel on the summit of the pagoda tower was bent, the GATE WAS THROWN OPEN, and the Hindu pilgrims of 'all ranks, for the first time, in a long series of years, entered the barrier free. In May of the following year, the tax at Dharwar, the offerings at Puna, and those at Surat (amounting to *four rupees* annually!) were given up: and in December, the last item of idolatrous profits was cut out of the revenue accounts, by the relinquishment of the proceeds from certain shrines in Kumaon, amounting annually to Rs. 2,800.

The most difficult step to be taken was to surrender into the hands of natives the nine thousand temples which the revenue officers held under their charge, and to withdraw altogether from that interference with their festivals, ceremonies and customs, which these officers had so long exercised. Some of our readers may not be aware how, among Hindus, temples are maintained, priests appointed, and services performed. There is no public spirit among them; united subscriptions to objects of public utility have not been, till late years, at all common: how is 'it then that the country has been covered with temples; that many have been erected at immense expense; that they have obtained large landed endowments; and support a considerable establishment of priests? A few facts may put the matter in a clear light: and indicate the course required on the part of the Government in giving up their shrines to native management.

In the province of Bengal, (and the same is doubtless true in the other Presidencies of India), we believe, that all temples, great or small, will be found to owe their origin to an individual or a family. Temples are not built generally with a view to public benefit, but solely from a wish on the part of the founder to perform an act of merit, to honour gods and brahmins, to fulfil a vow, or to win himself a name. Only wealthy individuals can bear the expense of such institutions, which can be made as costly as their means allow. Small temples are found all over the country, especially in villages, near the houses of the great landholders. Just above Calcutta, for instance, on the banks of the Hughly, in several places a row of temples to Siva have been erected by Calcutta families. The larger and finer temples owe their origin of course to the very

richest families, to Rajas, millionaires, or to the ancient rulers of the country in their palmy days. Thus the beautiful temples at Sibnibas, containing the largest Sivas in the country, were erected by Raja Krishna Chandra Ráy.

When a temple is built, whether great or small, the founder looks out for a brahmin or brahmin family, to whom he may commit it, and who will there perform the proper ceremonies. In most cases he will endow the temple with some land, and commit the land also to the brahmin for his support. All the offerings presented in the temple belong to the brahmin, who thus finds it his interest to serve his idol faithfully. In course of time the family of the founder may die out or decay; but the descendants of the brahmin will hold charge of the land and shrine. Both the founder and the worshippers, who visit the shrine, know full well that what they give goes to the brahmin; and in giving to the brahmin, they give to the god *in* him. Thus he can almost be called the actual proprietor of the shrine. Small temples have generally but a small endowment of land, perhaps none at all; the offerings made there will be of little value; and the whole can support but one brahmin and his family. Larger temples, being built by richer men, have usually more valuable endowments. For instance, the temple of Káli at Panihati, near Calcutta, has a considerable estate connected with it. The land was given to the idol by Ráni Bhabáni, and a family of brahmins was appointed to receive the income, on *condition* of offering to the goddess the usual service. Joygopal Bábu was the first priest, and became very rich. The temple of Modon Mohun in Bágh Bazar, Calcutta, was built under peculiar circumstances, and illustrates another mode of management. The idol named belonged to the Bághi Raja of Vishnapur, near Bancoorah, and he being in want of money, mortgaged it to Babu Gokul Mittri of Bágh Bazar. When the mortgage was discharged and the idol was to all appearance returned, the Raja found on examination that only a copy had been returned, while the original was retained in Calcutta. He endeavoured in vain to get it back: he was told that the god found himself perfectly comfortable in Calcutta, and declined to go back to the jungles. The people of Vishnapur having thus lost their god, began to worship his wooden shoes (*khorom*), and do so to the present day. The robber of the idol built a temple for the god, whom he had so strangely stolen: on the land with which he endowed it stands the Chandni Bazar, yielding annually a large income. The endowment was not made over to any family of brahmins as their hereditary trust; but brahmins are appointed to the

temple, as occasion requires, by the descendants of Gokul Mittri, who retain their proprietorship in the temple still.

The temple at *Tarokeswar* furnishes an example of a large endowment managed by an individual. This holy shrine of Mahadev, situated in the Hughly zillah, is highly honoured by the Hindus, and immense numbers of pilgrims visit it, especially at the *Charak* and *Sibrátri* pujas. The temple and its valuable endowments are all in the hands of a single proprietor, who is called the Mahant Ráj. He must not marry; and as he has therefore no sons to take his place upon his death, he keeps a number of scholars near him, to whom he teaches all his mantras. He himself chooses a successor from among them, and although so much depends upon the appointment, the Government has never had reason to interfere. The Mahant performs all the duties of the temple; appoints all officers; and receive all the offerings. He is sole master; all the pilgrims must see him before they get admission to the temple; and only by his permission will the barbers cut off the hair which the pilgrims devote to the idol. The great temple at *Kalighát*, illustrates the system of united management. This celebrated temple was erected on the south side of Calcutta, by a wealthy family, the well-known Choudrys of Behala. It was endowed with a large quantity of land, lying all around it; and was committed to the charge of a single priest. The natives say, that this priest died, leaving four sons and a step-son, who took his charge of the temple and divided the land amongst them: from these sons have sprung the five páras of Haldars or brahmin proprietors, numbering fifty-two families, to whom the temple now belongs. These Haldars are considered actual owners of the land, and of the offerings presented to Kali; they can sell their share if they like, but always on condition of the purchaser performing their part in the temple worship. Some parts of their service, and some expenses connected with it, are performed by them in common. Thus a bhattacharjya or priest is appointed by the whole body to perform the daily service; to offer the rice and curries which are given to the poor; to present cakes, sweetmeats, and milk to the idol; to wave the lamp and conch, and to ring the sacred bell. The drum-beaters, the chowkedars, the lighting of the temple, are also paid for by the whole body. The receipts of the temple, however, are not placed in a common fund. To prevent differences, in sharing them, the days of the year are divided on a particular system among the proprietors according to hereditary right; all the Haldars thus take "turns" in the temple, whence they are called *pálá-dárs*; and

each proprietor takes for himself all the ordinary offerings presented on the day when it is his "turn" to preside. Be the gifts many or few; be they money, clothes or ornaments; rice, sweetmeats, sugar or plantains; every thing is taken by the *páládár* of the day. If however a rich man, who has his own priest among the *Haldars*, wishes to make an offering to *Kali*, that priest makes an agreement beforehand with the *páládár* of the day, as to the shares which each shall receive. Conflicting as are the interests of the *Haldars*, and liable as they must be to get into frequent quarrels, they settle disputes entirely among themselves, and never trouble the Government with their complaints.

Aware of this native system of temple management, the Government of India, when it issued orders to its numerous officers to withdraw altogether from the internal management of the shrines of the native religions, naturally directed their attention to it, as the only way in which that object could be secured. Thus the Governor-General, writing to the Madras Government on the subject, laid down the general principles to be observed in their withdrawal from interference with those shrines in the following words:—

The administration of the affairs and funds of the native religious institutions should be vested in individuals professing the faith to which the institutions belong, and who may be best qualified to conduct such administration with fidelity and regularity, being responsible, together with their subordinate officers, to the Courts of Justice, for any breach of the duties assumed by them, which can be made the grounds of a civil action.

The proceedings carried out on this principle, for the separation of the Government from idolatry, are described in all their details in the *Parliamentary Returns*, whose titles head this article. Those for 1845 and 1849 are most valuable documents, and furnish an immense mass of information as to the measures adopted for that end in the various districts of our Indian empire. The instructions of the Court of Directors to the Supreme Government in India; the directions of the latter to the Governments of the three Presidencies; the letters of the collectors; the account of their measures, their difficulties, their success; the reference of peculiar questions to the Government of India, or to the Court of Directors; the Court's approval of what had been done; and urgent instructions to complete all that had been required; these and many other things are spread over the *Returns* with a profuseness which is quite confusing. The "Return" for 1845 is shorter but much better arranged than its successor; that for 1849 is very ill put together; the different letters having only a general

arrangement, and the divisions of subjects not being clearly indicated. It contains nearly all the papers on the proceedings of the Madras Government, including a masterly Summary of those proceedings, presented to the Government of India by D. Elliott, Esq. of the India Law Commission, together with valuable minutes by the Secretaries of Government and Members of Council.

But the "Returns" have many omissions. The proceedings in the Bombay Presidency are only briefly described in the letters of the Government to the Government of India, and the original letters from the collectors of different districts are given in only a few instances. Several letters from Madras collectors are also omitted. The letters and observations of the Court of Directors are only partially extracted; and it is self-evident that some of their communications have been left out altogether. The "Return" for 1851 is especially defective. Though professing to be a continuation of the papers for 1849, it contains no information at all on several important matters which had not been decided when those papers were printed. Be that as it may, we think no one can have a perfect idea of the amount of labour required to secure the desired end, and of the questions which had to be met in the process, without reading the whole of these "Returns." We think also that all who do so will be impressed with the conviction that the Court of Directors deserve high praise for the steady perseverance with which they have endeavoured to carry out the avowed wishes of the English Parliament and the English people: for the thorough change which they admitted into their own views; and for the energy with which they urged on their own officers when the latter were inclined to adopt only incomplete measures. We think also, that from those "Returns" it will be acknowledged that in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies, the Government service contains a considerable number of very able men, acquainted with the condition of those over whom they rule, anxious to conciliate them in matters where they feel most deeply, and to carry out the measures of their superiors with prudence, justice and decision.

It is not our intention to enter into all the details of the measures which the Directors ordered, and which the local Governments carried through. We can only enumerate their results. Adopting as their basis of action, the principle which we mentioned above, the officers of various districts sought out the best men they could obtain, to become henceforth the trustees of the temples which the Government had retained under its charge. In Bengal and Bombay these measures were

begun in 1841; the Madras Government occupied in them the year 1842. Though later than the other Presidencies, for which the Court of Directors administered a severe rebuke, the work was done at last. By the conclusion of 1843, there were no longer any shrines left in the hands of Government officers.

• In Bengal, the pagoda of Jagannáth at Puri was given over entirely to the charge of the Raja of Khurdah, whose ancestors originally built it; and the Government ceased to take any part in the internal management of the shrine. In the N. W. Provinces, the mosques at Dehli, which had been managed in minute matters by the collector, were transferred to a committee of respectable Mahommedans, chosen from those who were accustomed to frequent them. At Chunar, the Government withdrew from the committee which appointed the manager of the Kasim Sulemani mosque. The pensions at Mirzapore, amounting to Rs. 415, which the pandas of the temple at Bindachol had paid under Government superintendence, were taken out of their hands, and the Government itself agreed to pay them, till the death of the present incumbents. The beautiful Durgah at Futtehpore, Sikri, was also ordered by the local Government to be surrendered to the managers of the endowment; but on the earnest intercession of the collector, who predicted its certain destruction, the Court of Directors, on an appeal to them, consented to keep its buildings in repair. An arrangement was also made concerning the appointment of the rawuls or head priests of the pilgrim temples in Kumaon; but what it was, we are unable to say, as the letter describing the details is omitted from the "Returns." Similar arrangements were completed in the Presidency of Bombay. In most of the districts there seem to have been no difficulties in the way of surrendering the temples to native management, and the officers appear to have been prompt and zealous in fulfilling the orders of the Supreme Government. At Sholapore, where grants of money had been made in three places, and the temples superintended by the collector, the people themselves chose managers, whom Government approved. At Belgaum, the temple of Wanshankari, together with its large store of jewels, many thousands of rupees in value, was made over to the pujaris or temple brahmins. The temples around Nassik, to which the Government appointed pujaris, were given up in like manner to an individual or a native committee. In the Puna collectorate, where the Government of India, following the example of the Peishwa, had allied itself completely with idolatry, the numerous temples were committed to native agents: amongst them the celebrated temple of Parbati was given over to six na-

tive gentlemen well known in the neighbourhood. The Deo of Chinchor was also informed, that on his annual visit to the temple of Murgaon, he would no longer receive in the collector's office at Puna the pair of shawls and small sum in cash which he had been accustomed to receive there. In furtherance of their object, when a vacancy on one occasion occurred among the temple trustees at Puna, and the collector was asked to appoint another, the Supreme Government forbade him to interfere, and directed that in all such cases the vacancy should be filled up by the community of worshippers attending the temple in question, or where no such community existed, the remaining trustees should elect another member. This rule was communicated to all the collectors of the Presidency; it merely continued the Hindus' own system, among whom, village municipal government is a very ancient institution. The Governor-General then expressed his great satisfaction at the complete execution of the orders of the Court of Directors in the Presidency of Bombay.

In the Madras Presidency, while adopting the same principle, in giving up the 8,300 temples which the Government had superintended, some variety naturally sprang up in the details of the surrender. Mr. D. Elliott has well described this variety in the following passage of his report :—

"The Mahomedan institutions had been seldom interfered with. Where a certain degree of controul was (formerly) exercised, it seems that it has been dropped, and the institutions left simply to the charge of those who before managed their internal affairs. In Bellary, in every village a sabha was formed, composed of the leading members of the community, to which was left the election of a single superintendent for the village. In Salem also the principle of election was followed; but the superintendence was committed to panchayats, consisting for the most part of three members.

The arrangements which have been made with respect to Hindu institutions are various. The small village Pagodas had not generally been under the charge of Government officers: but, where such charge had been assumed, it has been resigned to the pujari, who "is looked upon in the light of one of the village functionaries, entitled to meras, with the smith, carpenter, and the like. In the case of larger temples, with more considerable endowments, two or more of the principal inhabitants, including generally the official head of the village or the Carnum, have been conjoined with the pujari in a committee or panchayat. Temples of more importance, with a reputation and interest extending beyond the vicinity, have been placed under the charge of committees, composed of persons of weight and influence, selected from among the residents within a wider range. Endowments belonging to matums or gurus have been left to the care of the parties interested; and institutions of which the managers have been usually appointed by such matums, have been deemed to need no other superintendence."

A short notice of some of these arrangements will help to illustrate the proceedings of the Madras Government. In Canara, out of the 3,668 temples under the collector's charge,

2,871 were made over to their respective pujaris. All the remainder were made over to committees. In Tanjore, 2,247 small temples were also handed over to their respective priests. Wherever a temple of importance could be conveniently entrusted to the hereditary custody of the neighbouring zemindar, or other persons of local weight, that course was invariably adopted; only a few districts however allowed of it. The pagoda of Trinomali, which received a large income from private contributions, and nearly six thousand rupees from the Government, was made over to five native gentlemen of Madras, who were personally interested in its prosperity. The pagoda of Trichendur, in Tinnevely, with an income of twenty thousand rupees from Government, and private donations worth several thousand rupees more, was transferred to three wealthy trustees in the district. The great pagoda of Nellcambalum, also in Tinnevely, with a similar income, was made over to the most extensive landholder of the province. The large pagoda at Conjeveram, with a Government grant of Rs. 12,000, after a great deal of discussion among two rival sects, who worship there, was entrusted to an individual, whose ancestors had managed the pagoda in former years. The temple at Trivalur was surrendered to the jeer or high priest. The great pagoda of Scringham, with the consent of the most respectable persons connected with it, was transferred to two wealthy landholders, in conjunction with the pagoda stalattars. The Rock pagoda at Trichinopoly was at the same time given up to one of those landholders. The greatest difficulty was experienced with the pagoda at Tripetty, for whose superintendence there were numerous claimants, the annual surplus amounting to Rs. 77,000. Eventually, it was surrendered to the mahant of a college of boyragis, and to his successors in office.

Thus was completed the first great series of proceedings, after the abolition of the pilgrim-taxes, for disconnecting the Government from an interference with the native religions. The result was to withdraw the officers of Government from all interference in the internal management of the temples, mosques and tombs of those religions. Henceforth, the revenue officers had nothing more to do with the repairs of the buildings, the preparations for festivals, the enrolment of temple servants, the painting of the cars, and the custody of the offerings. All their duties were given over to the native committees or individuals, and to them was committed the custody of the temple property. They were thus assimilated to thousands of dharmakartas, pujaris and managers, with whose temples the Government had never interfered. To these committees were also paid the sums of money granted to such temples, and

which had been drawn by the collectors from the public revenue. They also received the proceeds of the pagoda lands, which the Government still retained under its management: and from these two sources of income, in addition to the usual offerings, they furnished all the supplies necessary for the temple service.

At the time when the revenue officers thus gave over charge of the money endowments, there existed in almost every collectorate of the Madras Presidency, a surplus balance which had gradually accumulated from these sources: an important question, therefore, arose how these funds, called *Pagoda funds*, were to be disposed of. There were no such funds in Bengal, or the North West Provinces. The "Parliamentary Returns" contain not even a hint of any such existing at Bombay: only in connection with Madras, therefore, was the question started: and the matter was referred by the Government there to the Government of India. The source of these funds is thus stated in Mr. Elliott's report:—

In general the ordinary expenses of the pagodas have been regulated according to fixed tables, in which are put down all constantly recurring charges allowed as necessary for the due maintenance of the establishments, the payment of servants, and the performance of all the customary ceremonies. To meet these fixed charges, periodical payments have been made out of the income arising from money allowances, and the revenue accruing from lands under the management of the officers of Government, and the surplus had been held in deposit. Out of it all extraordinary charges for repairs, &c. have been defrayed, and sometimes disbursements have been made for purposes unconnected with the institutions to which the funds appertained. The amount, which now stands in the public accounts to the credit of these institutions, therefore, has accrued entirely from an excess in the endowments above what is needed for keeping the temples, &c. in repair, and for the due performance of the requisite service and duties.

The amount of the pagoda-funds, remaining in deposit in the provincial treasuries, on March 31, 1846, after the payment of all necessary expenses, was Rs. 11,86,557. By the end of June, 1847, a further surplus had accumulated of Rs. 1,70,873, making a total at the disposal of Government on the latter date of Rs. 13,57,430: or £135,743. The former surplus is detailed in the following table, in the "Return" for 1849:—

Nett Surplus of Madras Pagoda Funds.—March 31, 1846.

Vizagapatam	713	15	4	Tanjore	4,85,656	0	0
Masulipatam	258	8	1	Tinnevely	3,81,306	7	8
Guntur	7,000	0	0	Chingleput	68,311	13	5
Nellore	4,310	1	9	Trichinopoly	65,000	0	0
Madras	3,420	8	0	Madura	80,195	6	10
Cuddapah	4,919	3	10	South Arcot	26,687	3	11
Salem	109	3	7	Coimbatore	38,835	6	7
Canara	6,961	2	5	Bellary	12,872	7	2
	<hr/>						
	27,692	11	0		11,58,864	13	7
	<hr/>			Minor sums...	27,692	11	0
					<hr/>		
				Total, Rs....	11,86,557	8	7

Discussions had often occurred, among the officers of the Madras Government, as to how these and similar sums should be appropriated: and after mature deliberation, it had been distinctly allowed, that for the Government to apply them to purposes of public utility, was not only unobjectionable, but a positive duty. The Court of Directors, when asked for their final opinion, laid down the following rule for the guidance of their officers.

"We are anxious that the principle hitherto observed in Tanjore, of keeping the pagoda-funds entirely separate from the Government revenue, should be rigidly maintained. We are of opinion, that all grants and endowments should be, in the first instance, appropriated, if possible, to their original purposes. When the funds are more than adequate to that end, instead of allowing them to accumulate without limit, they should be applied to purposes of general utility, taking care that the particular district, in which the endowments are situated, should derive full benefit from the new appropriation of the surplus."

This rule was considered by the Supreme Government, as applicable not only to the accumulation above mentioned, but also to the annual surplus from the same source, and to donations or endowments that might be resumed when a pagoda falls into decay. The construction of roads and bridges, the repairs and cleansing of tanks, the construction of ghâts, the support of refuges for the poor, and the establishment of schools, were considered to be objects on which the funds might properly be spent. But the large surplus above detailed, was not to be disposed of without some opposition. There was a class of men, who were watching the proceedings of the Madras Governor in respect to it with eagle eyes. These were the members of the recently appointed committees, some of whom were extremely anxious to receive the money, for the use of their own pagodas. (One of these petitioners is named Parameswar Gurcul of Strisuptaresheswaraswamegar!) These claims were promptly set aside and the money appropriated. All the smaller sums (in the left-hand column) were handed over at once to the collectors of the districts where they had accumulated, to be expended on bridges, choultries, tanks and wells, that might be used by all classes. The Governor also ordered Rs. 20,000 to be spent in Madura, and 80,000 in Tanjore, for similar objects; and directed Rs. 1,00,000 to be disbursed on the construction of a road to connect the cotton districts of Tinnevely with the port of Tuticorin. He asked for reports as to the necessities of the remaining districts; and of the large surplus (derived from the first five districts in the second column) set apart eight lakhs, £80,000, to the general education funds of the presidency. To this last item the Supreme Government demurred as excessive, and an unusually warm dis-

cussion took place on the subject; but both Governments adhered to their original opinion, and the matter was referred to the Court of Directors. What became of the eight lakhs, and what has since been done with the surplus of 1847 and following years, we cannot say; the "Return" for 1851, which ought to have conveyed the information, being silent on the subject.

The next step in the proceedings of the Government was to surrender the *pagoda-lands*. In the early part of this article we shewed that the Madras Government had, during a series of years, and for various reasons, assumed charge of a large portion of the landed estates with which both the great and small temples had been endowed. These lands were managed by the collector of each zillah, who paid the nett proceeds into the funds of the pagoda or institution to which they respectively belonged. We shewed also, that in that Presidency the nett income from the estates under Government management amounted to Rs. 4,31,107. When the order arrived to disconnect the Government from the native religions, an important question arose, as to whether these lands, as well as the temples, were to be committed to native management. The question was not without its difficulties; but the Madras officers, with one single exception, proposed to get rid of the difficulty, by keeping things as they were. They argued, that in all these estates, the Government had made engagements with the cultivators, who held the land directly from them: and that the honour and justice of the former were concerned in securing to the cultivator that treatment which he could not expect at the hands of a native landlord. They suggested also that the Government might take permanent possession of all the estates, and pay to each temple an annual rent for them. Such a plan, which involved an *additional payment of ready money* from the Government treasury, though for an equivalent, was considered by them to further the object which the Government of India had in view, of *disconnecting* itself altogether from the shrines of idolatry! But the Court of Directors had anticipated the difficulty, which was first referred to them in connection with the temple of Jagannáth: they also knew how the ryots were situated, and they wrote thus:—

4. In our despatch of the 2nd of June, 1840, we adverted to your resolution to retain the lands belonging to the temple of Jaggannath under the management of the revenue officers, which you had considered to be expedient, in order that protection and justice might be secured to the ryots.

5. In all cases, however, where the revenue has been, or may be fixed for a term of years, as has been done in Cuttack, we think that the collection of the

revenue so fixed, belonging to temples or other endowed religious institutions, may be safely transferred to agents, to be appointed by the parties in whom the management of the affairs and funds of such institutions may be vested; subject only to such penalties against exactions, and other abuses of their trust, as the native servants similarly employed on the part of the Government would be liable to. The foregoing observations are also applicable to entire villages, which may have been assigned to temples or other religious institutions in all parts of our territories; provided, however, that the revenue demandable from such villages, or portions of villages, has been clearly defined, and a pottah or lease issued to each ryot, specifying the extent of land, the amount of the revenue, and the periods at which it becomes due.

6. It is not our intention that the revenues of mosques and pagoda-lands should be exempted from any charges for irrigation and for the general management of the districts wherein they are situated, to which they may justly be liable; and we desire that provision may be made for defraying such charges before the revenues are applied to other purposes. *You will perceive that in the directions now conveyed to you, it is our object to give complete effect to the principles recognized in the despatches to which we have referred, and we rely on your promoting that object to the utmost extent which may be practicable.*

In consequence of these orders, the Supreme Government determined that, as far as possible, the pagoda-lands should be transferred to the native committees, as well as the money donations. But various measures were adopted at the transfer, such as the grant of special leases, by which the interests of the cultivators were fully secured. In fulfilment of these wishes of the Court of Directors, the Satais Hazári estate, the only land-endowment belonging to the pagoda of Jagannáth, and which had been held under Government management nearly forty years, was given over to the Rajah of Khúrda, the superintendent and manager of the temple. Small estates, belonging to mosques and dúrgahs at Delhi and Allahabad, were placed by the collectors in the hands of Mussalman committees. There were few cases in Bombay, as compared with the other presidencies, in which the revenue officers had charge of endowment-land; but such as there were, were transferred without difficulty, and without fear of injury to the cultivators, to the hands of the native trustees, or to the pujaris of the temples and institutions to which they belonged. The Governor of Madras first ordered all the smaller lands to be transferred; and as this arrangement occasioned no difficulty, and merely placed them upon the same footing as all the lands under private management, he proceeded to enquire into the "Great devastanam estates," the large endowments belonging to the most celebrated pagodas. Of the result of this enquiry, the "Return" for 1851 makes no mention. We believe, however, that all the estates have been transferred, and that a small fund, called the Tripani fund, constitutes the only sum received by Government for the uses of idolatry. In thus withdrawing from the effective management of pagoda-endowments, the Government officers have met with much opposition from the natives,

who felt that that management had been for many years the firmest support of their system. This opposition has produced delay; but we are thankful to say, that the transfer has been completed at last.

In spite, however, of all the anxiety and labour thrown upon the subordinate Governments in India for the purpose of dissolving their connection with the native religions; in spite of all the agitation in England; in spite of the positive and distinct orders of the Court of Directors, it must be confessed that the VERY ROOT of this unhappy connection has been left untouched. While the arrangements were in progress, two questions arose with respect to the trustees: how were vacancies in their number to be filled up, and to whom were they to be held responsible? In the Bombay Presidency, as we have shewn, the Governor-General directed, that where it was possible, vacancies should be filled up by municipal election: if that was inconvenient, by surviving trustees. Both modes of proceeding are common in Europe. In Madras no rule was adopted, and the matter ended in the *collector* appointing to vacancies, and thus keeping up the old system of superintendence. The reason given for this is, that the newly-appointed trustees have no legal existence. Instruments were in some cases executed on their appointments, but they were set aside as invalid; and a general trust-deed, to be adopted in all the collectorates, was promised in their stead. Had the Madras Government fallen back entirely upon the native system, the difficulty would not have occurred. Had they made the trust hereditary (as is the usual rule), or established the principle of municipal election, the village panchayats would have saved them all the trouble and scandal from which they now suffer: and those temples would have been managed like all others. Natives never look after a temple on public grounds; why should the Government do so? Why should they endeavour to secure greater prosperity for the pagoda of Seringham than for that of Chillumbrum? Why should they care for Jagannáth's temple at Púri, and not for that at Mohesh? Why should they watch over the shrine of Parbati at Púnah, and leave the temples of Sibnibas to decay?

The responsibility of the temple trustees in two Presidencies has not yet been settled by Government regulations. For securing the faithful discharge of their duty and the right appropriation of their endowments, it is of course necessary that they be subject to the courts of law: but the following regulation of Bengal (XIX. of 1810), and of Madras (VII. of 1817), stands directly in the way of such an accountability, and di-

rects those *collectors* to examine into the endowments, whom the Court of Directors have *forbidden to interfere* :—

BENGAL REGULATION, (XIX. OF 1810.)

Whereas considerable endowments have been granted in land, by the preceding Governments of this country, and by individuals, for the support of Mosques, HINDU TEMPLES and Colleges, and for other *pious and beneficial* purposes : and whereas there are grounds to suppose that the produce of such lands is in many instances appropriated contrary to the intentions of the donors, &c., and whereas it is an important duty of every Government to provide that *all such endowments be applied according to the real intent and will of the grantor, &c. &c.* : The general superintendence of all lands granted for the support of Mosques, Hindu temples, Colleges and for other pious and beneficial purposes, &c. is hereby vested in the Board of Revenue, and Board of Commissioners, &c. It shall be the duty of the Board of Revenue and Board of the Commissioners, to take care that all endowments made for the maintenance of establishments of the above description be *duly* appropriated to the purpose for which they were destined by the Government or individual by whom such endowments were granted.

In Bombay no such regulation existed: and it was easy therefore for aggrieved parties, in case of malversation, to cite the trustees in the ordinary civil courts, since those Courts possess so much latitude as courts of equity and good conscience. We have heard that the Bombay collectors have sometimes listened to complaints against the trustees, but they need not have done so, and such conduct is contrary to Government orders. In Madras, however, the effect of this contradiction has been to leave complainants altogether without redress. The collector is forbidden, under the new system, to entertain complaints: the civil courts refuse to take up cases which the regulation commits to the collector: and thus for NINE YEARS, the interests of those endowments, for which the East India Company cared so long, have been without any legal protection whatsoever! The warmest opponent of the Government connection with idolatry never advocated such injustice. The system established by these regulations has been very fully discussed at Madras in all its bearings; and the officers are unanimous that the old regulation must be repealed. Opinions differ, however, as to the enactment which should take its place: a very excellent Draft of such an Act was carefully prepared by the Madras Government, and sent up to the Government of India many years ago. In Bengal, and the N. W. Provinces also, the question was discussed, and the opinions of the revenue officers upon it were collected. It appeared from almost every report, that the regulation had fallen into disuse; (a clear proof of its unsuitability to the present circumstances of the country;) and that where it was most popular, it was least enforced.

It is impossible, at the close of this long paper, to discuss the

Regulation fully : we refer the reader to the "Parliamentary Return" of 1849, where he will find ample materials for a thorough investigation of it in all its bearings. We shall content ourselves with one or two extracts from the opinions of the Government officers, with respect to its influence upon religious endowments. Mr. Pattle, the senior member of the Revenue Board, wrote concerning it in 1844 :—

I would ask on what ground of reason or justice can the native subjects of this Government expect, for their institutions, a more perfect protection than is granted to the Christian subjects of all classes. In our own country, endowments are in the custody of trustees, amenable by suit in the Courts of Chancery. In like manner all such institutions, within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, have similarly the protection of that Court ; surely a Government fully discharge every obligation of protection to its native subjects, when no distinction is made, and when to their endowments and institutions is granted the same meed of justice and protection accorded to Christians of all classes. Indeed, unless it can be proved that the English Government is bound to extend to the establishments of false religions special protection not granted to the establishment belonging to the true religion of the State, and not considered necessary for the Christian subjects, I conceive, it must be admitted, that every due consideration is paid to the former by both being on an equal footing.

The junior member of the Board of Revenue, in giving his opinion, insisted that it would be a clear dereliction of duty were the Government to refrain from taking direct trust of *all* religious endowments : the Deputy Governor thus replies to the principle he had advocated :—

In the first place, as has been pointed out by the Senior Member, the interference of the Government in these endowments is now partial, and not general, as it ought to be, if Mr. Lewis's argument were sound ; for it is exercised only over Hindu and Mahomedan religious endowments, and is never extended to the pious trusts of the Christian, or any other religion. And, in the second place, it is not, His Honor conceives, true in the sense, in which Mr. Lewis quotes the terms, that it is the duty of any Government to see to the right appropriation of religious endowments, except so far as it is the duty of all Governments to provide for the regular and orderly execution of wills and testaments of every description ; viz., by making laws for their due execution by the trustees and executors selected by the testators, and providing courts to prevent those laws being broken.

It is notorious, that, the direct interference of Government with Hindu and Mahomedan religious trusts under the regulation in question, is exceedingly distasteful to the professors of those creeds, and that far from being expected by them from the Government as a duty, it is deprecated as a profanation. The practice, therefore, which was introduced by this regulation, was a mistake in two ways ; it was a departure from sound principle, and it was displeasing to those for whose benefit it was erroneously intended. It has now been found to be displeasing also to those who are appointed by the regulations to carry its provisions into effect ; and for all these reasons it never, in his Honor's opinion, ought to have been enacted, and may now most properly be repealed.

Mr. C. W. Smith, in his minute, pointed out that peculiar feature of the regulation, which has led to its introduction into the present discussion. He shows, that so long as it remains in the law of the country, it is impossible for the separation of

Government from the direct patronage of false religions to be rendered complete. He might have added, that the regulation is the very basis of the patronage; as its object is to secure, by force of law, administered by a Christian Government, such an efficient administration for the endowments of the Hindu and Mahommedan religions, as the internal principles and practice of those religions could never have secured :—

I have hitherto reviewed this measure merely as it regards the feelings of our native subjects; but there is another light in which it is also to be considered; and that is, its connexion with the principle which has induced the home authorities to urge upon the Government of India its obligation as a Christian Government, to separate itself from all interference with, or management of all funds assigned for the support of religious institutions; a consideration which originated the measures already completed, or those now in active progress to disconnect the Government from the temple of Jagannáth and the pilgrim-tax at Gayá. To carry out this important principle is alike due to the character of this Government, and to the conscientious scruples of its Christian officers: but the disconnexion cannot be complete so long as the revenue authorities and the Government of India, acting under Regulation XIX. of 1810, may every day be called on to inquire into the appropriation of funds to the worship of mosques and temples, or, as was the case last year, to take into consideration the propriety of repairing, beautifying, or re-constructing such decayed places of idolatrous worship entrusted to their care.

The matter was discussed in the Legislative Council, and as it was deemed right to make the law of the country agree with its practice, the following decision was announced to the Government of Bengal :—

The Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council is of opinion, that Regulation XIX. of 1810 should be repealed, and the Government of Bengal empowered to provide for the appointment of committees to discharge the functions which that Regulation requires the Board of Revenue and the local agents to perform, in respect to endowments for the support of the religious institutions of the natives. The draft of a law on this subject is under consideration.

The Court of Directors fully acknowledge the necessity of repealing or modifying the two regulations named. Indeed, it was they who first pointed out, in their celebrated despatch of 1841, the bearing which they had upon their connection with the native religions: it was also in obedience to the orders of that despatch, that the opinions above expressed, with those of all the revenue officers in the presidency of Bengal, were called for :—

It is by Regulation VII. of 1817, that the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George is vested with "the general superintendence of all endowments in land or money granted for the support of mosques, Hindu temples, or colleges," &c. and as the provisions of that Regulation are the same as those contained in the Bengal Regulation XIX. of 1810, we are of opinion that a similar inquiry ought to be instituted, and reports made by the Boards of Revenue in the presidencies of Bengal and Agra, with the view of relieving the officers of Government from the management of the lands and control of the funds and affairs of all religious endowments whatsoever.

We are also desirous, that the regulations above-mentioned may be modified, and that the rules, which require any of our European officers to interfere in the

management of any mosque, pagoda, or temple, may be rescinded, and we request that you will take into consideration the best means of accomplishing this object."

In spite of the concurring testimony of so many of the officers of Government; in spite of the orders and the consent of the Court of Directors; in spite of the unjust withdrawal of legal protection from the endowments of Madras; in spite of the aid furnished by the Madras Government in sending up the draft of a law, every clause of which, except the last, might instantly have been passed; in spite of the inconsistency of their position; in spite of the oppression of Christian consciences; in spite of the disgrace and guilt of being upheld as the patronizers of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions, the Supreme Government of India have not yet removed the obnoxious regulation, nor prepared another in its place. For this culpable negligence they have offered no explanation, though the matter has now been lying before the Council for more than ten years. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the new law that is required, in one thing all parties are agreed, viz., that the old regulations, the ROOT of the connection with idolatry, must be REPEALED.

We wish it were in our power to think, that this was the only measure required for the separation of the Government from the religions which it has patronized. We have already indicated some items of an inferior kind, that still exhibit their favouritism. But we shall not dwell upon them now. They are not unobserved by Christian men interested in the matter; and we hope that the Government will also observe and remove them. Besides the regulations mentioned, the great link, which still connects Government with native shrines, and which we know most deeply impresses the minds of the natives, is seen in the MONEY-PAYMENT made by collectors in various places to the pujaris of temples, to the managers of pagodas, to the moulvies of mosques; and to individual brahmins. In each of the presidencies, it has been reported to the Supreme Government, that the connection of the Government with native institutions has been dissolved, and all parties have congratulated each other on the result. We scarcely think, however, that any man, who sees Rs. 2,000 paid every month by the collector of Puri to the superintendent of the pagoda of Jagannáth, would allow that such is the case. We scarcely think, that any man who saw Rs. 43,000 paid annually to the temple of Scringham; Rs. 13,000 to that at Conjeveram; Rs. 1,26,800 to temples in Tanjore; Rs. 19,000 to the pagoda of Trichendur; who saw Rs. 18,000 given from

the collector's cutcherry to the temples of Parboti at Puna and Kutrur; with other sums of hard cash to the temples at Nas-sick and Sholapore, at Nirmol and Belgaum; who saw actual money paid at Saharunpore and Guhrwal; at Bareilly and Muttra; at Agra and Allyghur; could possibly allow that the Government has nothing to do with the support of the Hindu and Mahommedan religions. And yet such money is being paid, month by month, from the collectors' cutcherries, to the amount of many lakhs of rupees every year. We allow that the present connection of Government with the native superstitions is almost entirely a money one, but such a connection is to them most valuable, for money is power. The whole sum now paid annually by Government may be stated as follows:—

In Bengal. Jagannáth.....	Rs. 23,321	Rs.
Boyragis at Puri for } "holy food" }	... 6,417	29,738
In the North West Provinces		1,10,475
In the Bombay Presidency; allowances in } money, grain and land		6,98,593
In the Madras Presidency		8,76,780
Total... ..	Co.'s Rs. 17,15,586	

Next to the repeal of the old idolatrous regulations, these grants of money are the one most prominent feature of the subject requiring the attention of Government. If the Governor-General does occasionally give a donation to the brahmins of Brindaban or Jwala-mukhi; if the gunga-jal still appears in the Queen's courts as the basis of Hindu oaths; if in Government colleges, the Koran, the Upanishads or Purans are introduced into the curriculum of study; much as we may regret such things, may count them wrong and wish to see them laid aside, we think them almost nothing, when viewed side by side with these large sums of money paid over to idol shrines. This latter connection is patent to all; MONEY passes from the Government to the temples; that money, which in the eyes of natives, is almost the *summum bonum* of existence. That these payments are a great evil, may readily be seen by asking the natives what they think of them. There may be a reason for the payment, or not; the matter may be explained or not; all we say now is, that the natives will universally reply; "The Company gives our gods money." That they say so in the case of Jagannáth, is notorious throughout Bengal.

Some of our readers may ask, why the money is given at all. The payments are not a simple donation from the Government, given of their own free will as a gift of love: we believe that two reasons are assigned for them.

First : these allowances in money are, to a very great extent, grants made to temples and mosques in lieu of the revenue of certain lands. These lands were their own, being a portion of their endowments, but were taken possession of by Government, either for arrears of the land-tax, a failure in their management, or some similar reason affecting the Government revenue. Some of these lands were resumed under the Mahommedan Government; others, in some parts to a considerable extent, were resumed by the East India Company. A very interesting illustration of these facts is contained in page 219 of the "Parliamentary Return" for 1849. Mr. Blair, the collector of Canara, there states, that out of Rs. 1,51,870 paid by him to the 3,600 temples formerly under his charge, no less than Rs. 1,05,923 are payments for the revenue of lands resumed by the Madras Government. The Government, in other words, took the estates on a perpetual lease, and paid that sum for rent.

Secondly : another item in the money allowances consists of actual donations, which were originally presented by former Governments, and which, on the conquest of India by the East India Company, were continued by them with a view to conciliate the recipients and their co-religionists. Thus the money paid in the N. W. Provinces consists almost entirely of money gifts begun by the Mogul Government. Thus also the *dakshina* at Puna, and the many sums paid to the temples of that collectorate, originated with the Mahratta Peishwa. Thus, too, originated the nine farthings bestowed on the temples of Nundial in Kurnúl.

The present donation of Rs. 23,321 to the pagoda of Jagannáth is represented as having a somewhat similar origin, though its case is quite peculiar. It is said, that among the old endowments of the temple, in addition to the Satais Hazári Mahál, there were some sayer duties, a poll-tax, and assignments on the revenue of a district in Orissa. These sums constituted a kind of donation presented by the Rajas of ancient days; but the taxes were of the most precarious kind; have long since been abolished; and certainly ought not to be compensated now : especially, when the Government has by its roads and free communication opened up to the temple a source of revenue, which it never had in the days when those taxes existed. Then the chief income of the temple was derived from Orissa itself : now the largest proportion comes from the pilgrims of Bengal and Upper India. Of all the money allowances to temples, that granted to Jagannáth has the weakest ground to stand upon. Were the Legislative Council therefore to pass into a law, the Draft Act which they recently

published respecting the discontinuance of the donation, they would do no injustice, and remove a public scandal. The Raja of Khurda would be legally permitted to collect the usual fees from the pilgrims; and receive from them an annual income greatly exceeding what his ancestors enjoyed in former years.

• The two classes of money allowances, which we have described, stand upon a very different footing. In appearance they are equally bad; they equally lead the people to believe that the Government of the country supports the native religions in the most efficient way: they equally keep up the connection of the Government with those religions: and we hope, on this account, to see them both entirely set aside. But as they have a different origin, they require to be differently dealt with. The *former* class of payments is undoubtedly the *bonâ fide property* of the institutions. They are the rents for those estates which the Government is holding under a perpetual lease. To them, therefore, they have a sacred right, and we have no wish to see that right violated. But ought not the obnoxious payments to be got rid of? If in the outset their land was commuted for money, why should not that land be restored? The estates resumed by the Government of late years, as in Canara, must surely be known, and what objection can apply to them which does not apply to the pagoda-lands that have already been transferred to their owners? If these lands, which are known or can be found out on enquiry, were surrendered, we imagine that only a small number of donations of this class would remain. These would represent the lands resumed by the Moguls and by the English Government during the last century, the locality and boundaries of which are now unknown. Even these also might be commuted for land. They were paid for land: why may not the process be reversed, and land be given for them. If the matter were properly explained, no scandal could attend the transaction. Such cases are not like the land which some members of the Supreme Government proposed to give to Jagannâth: in the latter case, a precarious income from taxes liable at any time to be abolished would have been turned into an endowment of the most certain kind: in the case we are describing, the temples and mosques would merely receive an endowment similar to what they once possessed. *This very plan was proposed in 1845 in connection with a mosque at Quilandy, and carried into effect by the Supreme Government.*

The *second* class of payments, those made in continuation of the gifts of former Governments, contain, we conceive, a

radical defect in their very constitution, and ought to be discontinued altogether. They were given by Hindu and Mahomedan Governments for the support of religious institutions, which they believed to be true. They are continued by a Christian Government to religions, which it knows to be false. They were the voluntary gifts of those Governments; gifts of their benevolence, which the necessities of their kingdom, the demands of war, or an unwillingness to pay them longer, might at once have set aside. They were pensions, not perpetual endowments. Where then is the obligation of the present Government to continue them? They are voluntary gifts now, as they were then. If it was felt to be wrong to supervise the expenditure in an idol temple, is it less wrong to furnish the very means of that expenditure? If the Government must not manage temples, shall it pay for that management and supply the funds? If it may not be an idolator openly, may it be an idolator by proxy? Looking at the inherent error in endowing the shrines of false religions, at the voluntary nature of these gifts, and the absence of all but a political reason for paying them, we suggest whether the Government ought not to consider the propriety of altogether discontinuing them. They need not be abruptly given up. Donations to individuals might be allowed to expire with the present incumbents. In the case of larger sums a notice might be given of three or five years, as might be thought most proper. All sums under fifty or a hundred rupees (a large proportion of the whole,) might be given up at once. But in whatever way the members of Government may deem most cautious, most wise, and most complete, let the great end be secured of separating the Government from the native institutions, not in appearance only but in fact. Until the payment of money ceases, can it be said that such separation has really taken place.

To facilitate such a final settlement, there is required, first of all, a detailed statement of every pice spent upon the native religions in every district of our Indian empire. Such a statement should specify when the payment was first made, and the ground on which it was made. It should specify what payments are donations of money begun by former Governments, and what payments are made in commutation for resumed land; whether the resumed lands are known, or whether the boundaries cannot be specified. The enquiry completed, it will be easy to deal with every case, according to its intrinsic merits.

With these two measures, the repeal of the idolatrous

regulations, and the withdrawal of money-payments, would fairly cease that patronage, which has been conferred upon the native religions for more than half a century. So long as either is left unfinished, so long can it not be said that the Government relinquishes the special favour which they have shewn to them. In making direct efforts to see that Mahomedan endowments are really applied to the "pious" purposes of their founders; to see that lands devoted to the maintenance of the Charak Puja are efficiently applied; in presenting voluntary donations to the brahmins of Puna and the shrines of Kumaon; they are keeping up systems injurious to their subjects; they are disobeying the law of God. It is only for *political* reasons that the patronage has been bestowed; it is only because the friends of those systems are so numerous, that countenance has been shown to them. Thus did the people of old, "who loved the praise of men more than the praise of God." Not for this did the God of Providence bestow upon the Government of India their splendid empire: not for this was English influence rendered paramount in the Eastern world. But that the Government might secure to every man his liberty, property and rights; and let religions stand or fall by their own intrinsic merits. Hinduism and Mahomedanism have never yet elevated a single people. They have proved a curse wherever they have prevailed. If we wish to see the people of India raised, we must look elsewhere for the power to raise them. We need not go far. The King of kings has declared: "RIGHTEOUSNESS exalteth a nation, but SIN is a reproach to ANY people."

ART. VI.—*Travels in Ceylon and Continental India ; including Nepal and other parts of the Himalayas, to the borders of Tibet, with some notices of the overland route. Appendices ; I. Addressed to Baron Von Humboldt, on the Geographical distribution of Coniferæ on the Himalayan Mountains. II. On the Vegetation of the Himalayan Mountains. III. The Birds of the Himalayan Mountains. By Dr. W. Hoffmeister, Travelling Physician to his Royal Highness Prince Waldemar of Prussia. Translated from the German. Edinburgh. 1848.*

OUR readers will remember the young physician, who fell by the side of the Prussian Prince at Ferozeshah, in 1845, although they may have forgotten his name. It was Dr. W. Hoffmeister, the author of the volume mentioned above. He had accompanied Prince Waldemar of Prussia from Europe, and had followed him through many countries and many adventures, when his career was cut short by a stray shot from a Seikh gun.

On the 21st of December, the British army advanced towards Ferozepur, and encountered the Sikh forces at Ferozeshah, their main body being drawn up in a thick jungle. A bloody battle ensued. The British troops, marching in close array, attacked the enemy ; but the murderous fire of artillery and grape-shot brought them to a stand. At this critical juncture, the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, himself rode along the front ranks, encouraging them to the onset. Prince Waldemar accompanied him, surrounded by his fellow-travellers. While riding close beside the Prince, whom, in this moment of extreme danger, he refused to quit, Dr. Hoffmeister was struck by a grape-shot, which entered his temple. He fell forward to the ground. The Prince instantly sprang from his horse, and raised him ; but the vital spark had already fled ; at the same moment, the advance of the forces rendered it necessary to move on. The slain were unavoidably left on the field of battle. Not until two days had elapsed was it possible to inter them.

He was laid in the same tomb with several of his friends who fell on that bloody day ; and a simple monument in the burial-ground at Ferozepur, erected by the Prince to the memory of his faithful physician and beloved companion, records his tragic fate, and marks his journey's utmost bourn.

The book is a much more interesting one than the somewhat forbidding title-page would lead one to expect, with its "Appendices I. Addressed to Baron von Humboldt on the 'geographical distribution of Coniferæ on the Himalayan Mountains. II. On the Vegetation,' &c., &c., and ending with that—"translated from the German," which suggests to the general reader, the idea of something very learned, very comprehensive, and very dull ; in short, very exhaustive, both of the matter discussed, and of the reader's patience. But we can assure our readers, that they will find it a very readable book, with all the

Coniferæ and other indigestible matters put snugly away in the three appendices. We do agree to some extent with those who maintain that a scientific traveller is a bore, as much almost as a scientific lady. Acting on this, which is one of our fixed principles, we shall carefully exclude from our extracts, all such barbarisms as *sparus erythrinus*, *mullus barbatus*, *pietacia terebinthus*, *vultur percnopterus*, and so forth.

Our travellers sailed from Trieste on the 16th September, 1844, and touched at Ancona and Corfu, where they are surprised to find, that no one knows any thing of the remains of Calliope, "the ancient city of Corecra;" the true name being Cassiope, now Santa Maria di Cassopo. At Patras the following amusing scene occurred:—

Two remarkably handsome lads, of ten or eleven years of age, especially attracted my attention. I drew the portrait of one of them: he stood perfectly still, with decorum and respect, not knowing what I was going to do with him. Some men, who had pressed forward to peep over my shoulder, began to notice the thing, and when at last they discovered the likeness, they cried aloud again and again, "*Καλόν! καλόν!*" And now each man would have his picture taken,—each one pressed forward to the spot where the boy had stood, smote on his breast, and gesticulated with extraordinary vivacity, placing himself in the best attitude, and adjusting his dress in the most becoming manner. It was a wonderfully pretty scene. One of the most refined-looking, and best dressed among them, had the honour of being sketched; and when, at last, he actually stood there upon the paper, the fellow himself and his neighbours could not contain themselves for joy; he hopped and jumped, first on one leg, then on the other, snapped his fingers, and talked on without ceasing; at length he took Count Gr—— and me aside, and drew us almost by force into his hut at no great distance, brought out his arms, displayed to us his medals won in the Turkish war, and laid before us his best belts and jackets; then he went into the little garden, tore down with both his hands some bunches of grapes, which he constrained us to accept, and gathered besides for each of us a large nosegay of odoriferous herbs.

In due time, we find our author seated on the Acro-Corinthus, and surveying the sea and land from that elevated spot:—

On the extreme summit, we seated ourselves on two pillars of the Temple of Aphrodite,—mere broken pieces, requiring the skill of an archæologist, such as Professor Ross, to trace their story,—and surveyed the Isthmus of Corinth,—the calm blue waters on either side—death-like,—without one vessel,—the two large and magnificent harbours of ancient Corinth. How narrow did the neck of land appear, when viewed from above,—how trifling the distance separating us from Helicon and Mount Parnassus on the opposite shore! These also are now but naked rocks;—these heights that once were crowned with groves of pines and oaks,—so lovely—so much sung. Pity it is indeed, that the death of all vegetation should produce in the mind so melancholy an impression; wherever one turns one's eye, trees are wanting—men are wanting;—one sees only inquisitive Englishmen, telescope in hand, searching out the traces of former grandeur. Notwithstanding the burning heat of the sun, the precious spring-water, collected in the ancient Greek subterranean water-courses—which even the many

centuries of barbarism have not succeeded in destroying—never fails to rise on the surface of this rocky summit.

At length they land at Athens. Although we are in all haste to reach Ceylon, we must linger a while amid the scenes which bring back to us all the dreamings and aspirations of school-boy life. Who that ever read a page of Xenophon or Plato, or Demosthenes or Sophocles, has not wished to stand on the Acropolis? As the heart of the Christian beats with high emotion at the thought of Jerusalem, with its brook Kedron, its pool of Siloam, its Zion and its Olivet; so the heart of him, whose boyhood has been spent (in spirit) amid the enchanting scenes of classic story, must ever feel some re-kindling glow of young enthusiasm, when he thinks of Athens, with her Piræus, her Makronteichos, her Acropolis, her Hymettus.

On the 21st September, our author and some English travellers ascend the Acropolis:—

The impression made on first viewing the Parthenon is sublime beyond all conception; it is the most beautiful monument of antiquity that I have seen. The colossal bas-reliefs, which filled up the pediment, are now in the British Museum, to which they were sent by Lord Elgin. I have seen them there, standing upon the floor, where they have a mournful aspect, as every thing must have that has been torn down from its proper position under the free canopy of heaven. The digging up and the carrying away of old Turkish mosques, and other buildings, have afforded a rich treasure of marble fragments; one shed is here filled with broken statues and friezes, another with vases and coins.

The temples of Erechtheus, of Apollo, and of Bacchus, are now but groups of ruined pillars scattered here and there;—none of them indeed so large as the glorious Parthenon, but each in its own way, beautiful and astonishing. Had the rays of the sun been less intensely scorching, how gladly would I have sat for hours longer, on the high marble steps, where I beheld around me the magnificent remains of the past, while the dirt and rubbish of the present age lay far beneath.

* * * * *

At some distance from the town, in a street which, as yet, is only marked out, and has no houses, stands the theatre. The university and the hospital, on the other hand, are situated in a tolerably pretty part of the neighbourhood, which is already covered with pleasant houses, and has the honour of possessing the only green trees any where to be seen. The quarter of the town nearest to the Acropolis is, on the contrary, most horrible; abounding in dingy rubbishy ruins; yet one sees there scarcely a wall that has not variegated fragments of marble columns, or the heads or trunks of statues built up in it. The figures that usually meet the eye, running or crawling among the debris, are those of sordid, dusky coloured boys, or ugly, tattered old hags. In many parts the rubbish is lying twenty-four feet deep; and, on attempting to excavate, one meets with the capitals of pillars that yet stand erect.

But a great deal of our author's time, while he was at Athens, seems to have been taken up with visits to King Otho's Court, and pic-nics with their Majesties in various di-

rections. •Now, a pic-nic is a very good thing; and a merry Court, with an affable young king, and a “sprightly, active lady” of a queen, who “decidedly prefers a swift-galloping horse to a tea-party,” may also be a very good thing, (we have not tried it;) but, on the whole, we should prefer to spend our days more contemplatively, if it should ever fall to our lot to visit the once glorious hills of Attica. However, we must take our author as we find him. He that travels with princes, we suppose, must do as princes do. Here we have, then, his account of the king and queen, and of their first excursion:—

On Tuesday (the 22nd of September) I had the honour of being presented to the King and Queen; and since then, I have been at court nearly every day, and have taken a lively share in the enjoyment of all the pleasure parties. The king is a young man of prepossessing appearance, and his countenance is always marked by a friendly expression. He is habitually attired in the Greek costume, and never lays aside his broad silver sabre. He graciously did me the honour to enter at once into a long conversation with me; and, on subsequent occasions likewise, he seemed to have a predilection for talking with me on zoological subjects, especially when I had the honour of being seated opposite to him at the dinner-table. The Queen is an elegant, sprightly, active lady, of an even, bright, and happy temper,—fond of making, in person, the arrangements for all the parties of pleasure; and decidedly preferring a swift-galloping horse to a tea-party,—and social games in the open air to musical entertainments. Although the ladies of her court were clad in the graceful costume of Greece, she always appeared in a simple attire of French or German fashion.

On the appointed day the proposed excursion took place,—to the ruined mountain fortress of Phylæ, situated on Mount Hymettus. It was a most frightful ride. I could never have scrambled up these paths on foot; but, with Greek steeds, these four hours of clambering up and down again were a mere trifle, which the queen and her ladies accomplished at a gallop; while to me, the deep chasms, and the loose, tumbling masses of stone, afforded matter of no small uneasiness. Professor Ross always led the van, ready to solve any doubts that might arise, and to throw light on the various antiquities. Unfortunately, time is too short; otherwise I should have had pleasure in dealing out to you much learned information, which I picked up by the way.

The view from the colossal rocky masses, of which the ancient fort was composed, was indeed transporting. It included Athens,—the royal palace, shining in all its whiteness in the blue distance,—the fir-clad mountains, illumined with a rosy brightness,—and, rendering the effect more vivid,—grey, sombre-looking cliffs predominating on every side. At nine o'clock we returned to the village, where we had left the carriages. It is a large and prosperous place. Here we found the royal tent ready pitched, and a liberal repast was served, in which nothing was lacking that could satisfy the most dainty palate.

Then follows a dance of the people of the neighbouring village, first of the men, and then of the women, the whole being wound up with a race “run by the young maidens of the village, which caused prodigious laughter.”

At length the day of departure comes, and our travellers must bid adieu to Athens, with its dirty coffee-houses, majestic ruins, and sprightly queen:—

The most exquisite sunset glow was illuminating the Acropolis as we wended our way homewards; every mountain shone resplendent in the roseate light. What a magnificent prospect! As darkness cast its shroud over the landscape, we perceived the fires of the gipsy groups on the level plain below.

Monday passed away in preparations for our departure; after dinner I rejoined the Prince at the palace, and about five o'clock, we drove to the Piræus. The Parthenon was shining brightly in the serene light of evening; the white pillared ruins were looking down upon us, as though they would bid us farewell,—awakening in our minds thoughts of home. At the fort we met our English acquaintances; some of whom took leave of, while others accompanied, our party. To many others besides, we bid a hearty adieu, the little bark rowed off, and at the same moment, the men-of-war lying in the harbour thundered their farewell-salute!

After the usual events of a Levant steam voyage, our travellers reach Alexandria. We pass over our author's description of the motley crowd of Turks, Persians, Greeks, Africans, &c., who travelled by the steamer; the old Turk, whose tooth he extracted; the popularity and gifts of water-melons that followed this exploit; the shout of joy raised by the crowd, when they come in sight of the African coast; the shouting and fighting of the donkey-boys on the beach; the "very elegant calèche, lined with white silk," in which they proceeded to the town;—and land them at once in the great square:—

We at length reached an open square, surrounded by a number of thoroughly European-looking houses. They were built, as a speculation, by Mehemet Ali, who asks a high rent for them. We halted before one of these,—the Hotel Oriental; a large stone-house, with lofty saloons, all the blinds of which were closed. Behind each apartment is an alcove, with two beds; a handsome sofa, a piano-forte, and a number of Parisian engravings adorn the rooms: the cuisine is excellent;—in a word, it unites all the advantages of a good French or German hotel; the only drawback being the nightly plague of the mosquitoes, which unfortunately in this country never fail to disturb our slumbers. We spent some time, on our first arrival, in lounging on the window-seats, amusing ourselves with watching the sorrowful-looking and noiseless trains of dromedaries, laden with stones, constantly passing by, with slow and monotonous pace;—the Mahometan population, clad in the gay and motley costumes of the East; and the multitude of English and French travellers, even ladies, mounted on horse-back and on asses;—all seen at a glance, on casting one's eye round this spacious "*place*." Venders of pastry and sweetmeats, of lemons and sherbet,—gracefully carrying their goods on the top of their heads,—and water-carriers, with their bags of goats'-hide,—made by skinning a goat in a very clever manner, and afterwards sewing up the neck and the legs,—some on foot, and others mounted on camels, all jostling each other among the crowd.

After the usual round of sight-seeing, Pompey's pillar, the

Pasha's palace, &c., they started for Atfeh and Cairo. Perhaps all our readers are aware, (even those of them who have not travelled from Southampton to Calcutta by the "three-pound-a-day" route,) that Atfeh is the point of junction between the Mahmudieh Canal and the river itself. To those who have not travelled that way, the following may give some notion of the water transit from Alexandria to Cairo:—

On the 5th of October, in the morning, we went on board the vessel by which we were to proceed, on the Mahmudieh Canal, taking with us a good supply of provisions. Our interpreter,—a black man with fine eyes,—followed us in a small, neat track-boat, made of painted wood. The country around, destitute equally of life and of verdure, makes a melancholy impression on the traveller. Mud-huts, a "*Sakieh*," many Egyptian vultures, and a few miserably poor and half-savage men, were the only objects that attracted our attention. The whole course of the canal lies through a stratum of sand and clay, and in most parts the rude mound which confines it is not even clothed with grass.

It was late in the evening ere we reached the place where the canal enters the Nile, beside a wretched village, ("Atfeh,") whose inhabitants dwell in common with their poultry, in a kind of swallow's nests. The junction of the canal with the waters of the sacred stream is effected, at this point, by means of a lock with sluice gates. A stately steamer, beautifully lighted up, was lying at anchor in front of a house two stories high, in which coffee was served; and as we went on board, we were greeted with loud music. We found every thing in the boat arranged in the best possible style;—the after-deck was surrounded with purple velvet sofas; and the cabin set apart for our use was cool and airy. Certainly, whether from the effects of imagination, or really from the beneficial influence of the mild and tepid air of the Nile, with its silky, balmy softness,—we did, as we lay there stretched beside each other upon the floor, enjoy a slumber so refreshing, that no other could be compared to it. Meantime, every three or four hours, all the numerous domestics belonging to the vessel renewed, *in pleno*, their vigorous exertions in the way of performing, with the accompaniment of drums, kettle-drums and serpents, airs of Bellini or of Donizetti; it never occurred to any one among them to think of our poor ears being torn to pieces by their discord; on the contrary, all this was done for our entertainment, till at length we gave them clearly to understand that we were no amateurs. In the morning, (on the 6th of October) we partook of a most scanty breakfast, as our provisions were rapidly disappearing. We were therefore most agreeably surprised, when, at dinner, the cook of the steamer set before us a great number of dishes, all choice Arabian dainties, for the most part consisting of very greasy preparations of rice or of flour—several of them really excellent,—but many, according to our taste, too fat and doughy.

But truly, neither the good fare, nor the noisy Egyptian music and drumming, could indemnify us for the ennui of watching the view along the banks of the Nile. The broad expanse of water, turbid and of a dark yellow colour, winds through a low and barren plain, which displays none of the fresh verdure that one might expect to see so soon after the inundations. On the exterior margin of the river only, is there a little half-dried-up grass, to consume every particle of which, with all possible expedition, affords matter of rivalry to the young camels, and to the numerous herds of buffaloes, which stand up to their muzzles in the muddy water. Here

and there appears a palm-grove, of from fifty to a hundred date-palms; as far as I could judge, the height of some of these trees might be eighty or ninety feet.

"Sakieh" is Arabic for water-wheel, a large wheel with buckets attached, to scoop up the water from a lower channel and pour it out in a higher one. As to the "cool and airy" cabin of the steamer, we merely remark, that what is cool and airy for half-a-dozen, may be hot and close to half a hundred. Any one, who has sailed either up the Nile to Boulak, or up the Hugli, will sympathize with our travellers in their grumbles at the monotony of the process. To persons who are fresh from the beauties of the Thames, or Dee-side, or Clydesdale, or the vine-clad banks of the Rhine, the monotony of a two days' sail through a flat expanse of muddy land, against a strong broad current of muddy water, is intolerably irksome. As for us, in this monotonous Bengal, we think such grumbling quite unreasonable. Two days on the canal and river! exclaims our friend from Allahabad; what would they say to two months? However, if there is any truth in what our Howrah and Burdwan friends tell us, we are to have a railway here in the course of time. If they are not playing upon our credulity (as we half suspect they are), and the said railway is not one of those fabulous prospects with which our country correspondents, from time to time, seek to relieve the dull tranquillity of our city life; if, we say, we ever do get a railway, with real time-tables and real trains and locomotives, then even we old plodding Bengalis will learn to grumble. But as things are at present, we say again, the canal and Nile voyage to Cairo is a mere trifle. And if it, is somewhat irksome to the traveller fresh from Europe, we ask,—is it not worth a great deal more of patient endurance to attain the first burst of the beauty of Cairo? Our author speaks of this with becoming enthusiasm:—

It is now once more day. The Venetian blinds are opened. What an enchanting prospect! To our left, a long row of oriental houses, with richly carved "*mushrebihs*," (latticed projections instead of windows,) interspersed with mimosas and palm-trees, rising picturesquely above the garden walls; the long line of houses and palaces is terminated by a tall and splendid minaret: several similar buildings, gaily painted red and white, appear in the fore-ground: the centre of the back ground is a grove of palms gracefully pencilled against the blue horizon; adjoining it, to our right, tower the two gigantic Pyramids of Gizeh. They supply in some measure the place of hills, which are wanting to perfect the beauty of the landscape. To our right, on the horizon, lies the desert, easily recognizable by its atmosphere, for over it floats a thick vapour of yellowish greyish hue. The fore-ground here, however, is all the prettier for this; it consists of a thick forest of acacias, clothed in the freshest vernal green, and broken at intervals by flourishing fields of maize; in the centre of the picture a small piece of water, bordered by *Labbek acacias*. Near this basin passes

one of the greatest thoroughfares leading to the city ; it extends across the wide square called "*the Uzbekih*," upon which the windows of our hotel look out. A multitude of asses laden with fruit, followed by swarthy young drivers, is approaching the town ; then draws near a long train of slowly-pacing dromedaries, each fastened by a rope to the one before it : women in blue shifts and trousers, a large urn on the head, a smaller one on the up-lifted palm of one hand, and often a naked infant astride on the shoulder of the other side ; white Copts, with their black turbans ; black Nubians, with their long white togas ; lean, wizzened, filthy-looking Arabs ; and fat, well-fed, cleanly Turks and Armenians ; all are moving on, *en masse*, towards the city. Close in front of our windows, the eye is refreshed by the rich foliage of acacias and sycamores. It is impossible to describe the delight we feel in once more beholding really green trees, which we have mourned the want of ever since we quitted Vienna. Here is shade ; here is water ; here are clean beds, and a most comfortable breakfast. Having done honour to the latter, our curiosity could be restrained no longer. We jumped upon the backs of the asses that stood in readiness under our windows ; and off we set, without loss of time, bound for the interior of the city of the Caliphs.

The learned physician appropriately wound up his acquaintance with Egypt, by creating an interesting case of incised and contused wounds, and bones as nearly broken as whole bones could be. Like a good enthusiastic traveller, as he was, he made a point of descending into every dangerous and ugly hole he could find. Not content with creeping into the passages of the Pyramids one day, he goes down an old well or shaft the day after, and nearly ends his career by letting go the rope and falling to the bottom :—

The graves of animal-mummies, (ibises, oxen, sheep, snakes, &c) situated in the neighbourhood, near the village of Abousair, we only found after a difficult search ; and a very long rope was necessary, to let us down the half-filled-up-shaft.* While being drawn up again, having seen little or nothing, my hands slipped, I lost my hold of the rope, by which I was endeavouring to pull myself up, and fell, when I had nearly gained the top, down again to the bottom,—a great depth. With hands excoriated, and shockingly wounded, I at length contrived to get out, and, mounted on an ass, not without pain and difficulty, I reached the Nile, by which, fortunately, we were to return home : for I should have been utterly unable to hold the bridle. At midnight we found ourselves standing before the gates of Cairo, and it was only owing to a lucky accident that we were suffered to enter, though ignorant of the watch-word.

We must enter our protest against this passion for underground explorations. Miners, no doubt, must descend into the bowels of the earth. It is their trade. Many things must be done professionally, which one would never do for the pleasure of the thing. One would not like to cut off a friend's arm ; but the surgeon, who performs the operation, loses none of

* Mr. Lucas, who, in 1714, wandered, by the aid of Ariadne's thread, through nearly all of these catacombs, imagined, from embalmed ox-heads found there, that the god Apis had been buried in them.—*Ta.*

our respect by doing so. Nay, we must acknowledge that the butcher had the best of the argument when he asked the sentimental young lady, "Why, miss, would you eat your lamb alive?" Miners must go down shafts, and butchers must—be butchers. But why should any respectable young gentleman, (for an elderly gentleman would surely not think of such folly,) with a good coat to be torn, good lungs to be choked, and a good neck to be broken, (we say nothing as to brains); why should he deem it a part of his "mission" to poke himself into Peak caverns, old Roman sewers, Pyramid passages, and mummy pits? It is absurd. But the *Hindustan* is waiting at Sucz, so we must mount our camels and jog wearily across the desert, or else we shall be another month in reaching the spicy isle.

After their first night in Galle, they proceed to examine the country, beginning with the garden of the "Queen's house" or Governor's residence. The scientific botanist does show himself a little, but after the horrors of the mummy pit, even a *Hibiscus* or a *Plumeria* speaks of cheerful sights and pleasant smells :—

But a peep into the garden soon enticed us away from our spacious apartments into the luxurious freedom of the open air.—What a splendid profusion of red and yellow *Hibiscus*,—what beautiful, rich, velvety turf, such as I have never seen since I was in England! Here the gorgeous *Plumeria*, with its sweet fragrance, there gigantic banana-trees (*Musa Sapientum*), Papaws (*Carica Papaya*), and bread fruit trees (*Artocarpus incisa*), towering above the walls. We descended a flight of steps,—green from the continued warm moisture,—into the tree-garden, or shrubbery, which is on a level twenty feet lower. It is a perfect wilderness, peopled by innumerable animals. Among the tall grass,—which was full of long-tailed green lizards,—were shining forth blue creepers of wondrous beauty (the *Clitoria*), and a number of red-blossomed balsams (*Impatiens Coccinea*); above them rose bread-fruit trees, with dark, shining, sinuated leaves, at least a foot in breadth and two or three in length, white stem, and rough, heavy, round fruit, of a greenish yellow colour,—the elegant *Papaw tree*, with regularly tapering, hollow stem, from the top of which bursts a tuft of rich foliage, each leaf broad spreading like an umbrella, thick clusters of fruit somewhat resembling small melons hanging below the crest of leaves. Here too we found the plantain-tree (*Musa Paradisiaca*), universally known in India as the *Banana-tree*: its reed-like, thick, sappy stem bears the leaves, which are eight feet in length and two or three in breadth, springing in an upright position out of its top; but their thin and tender texture, while it exposes them to be torn by the wind, causes them to droop gracefully as they expand. Who could imagine that this tree, with a stem of one foot in circumference, and twenty feet in height, and with foliage so luxuriant, is the growth but of one year? The fruit grows in thick, regular clusters, on a spike hanging from the top of the stem, at the axil of the tuft of leaves;—this spike or fruit-stalk, which is about four feet long, has usually some eight or ten clusters of fruit nearly a foot in length, each of which, again, contains some twenty or thirty

plantains. This beautiful greenish-yellow fruit has a charming effect, amid the freshness of the gigantic spreading foliage ; its flavour is far more delicious here than at Cairo, where we had it at dinner daily. Each plantain is about four inches long ; its skin is soft and leathery ; beneath that is a pulpy fleshy substance, very sweet, and without either seeds or kernel.

Butas Galle is now more or less known to almost every one, we shall take leave of it, and accompany our author and his friends to Colombo. The following gives a very good idea of Ceylon travelling in the neighbourhood of Galle. When our author gets beyond sight of the steamer's funnel, we must decline to indorse his descriptions, although we have no doubt they are equally correct with those which appeal to our own recollections of youthful travel :—

We now took leave of the civil and military officers of the place, Mr. Cripps and Captain Thurlow, and, at four o'clock in the morning, on the 15th of November, we set out on our journey in what is here called a "*diligence*," or "*mail-coach*," which in fact consists merely of a box made of boards, with a linen roof spread over it, and with seats too narrow for one man, but which, on the present occasion, must needs suffice to contain two ! Notwithstanding our being deprived of the power of moving freely, great contentment reigned among our party, as we proceeded on our palm-overshadowed way, keeping close to the coast, and watching the reflection of the still young and harmless rays of the rising sun on the ocean's clear and placid face. We crossed handsome bridges over more than one broad stream. There was ever something that was interesting to look at, now the *Pandanus* (Screw-pine) growing to an uncommon height beside the sea,—now stately palms rearing their crowned heads towards the sky,—or again fishermen's boats, drawing in their heavy nets. We were ferried across two small streams, whose banks were indeed enchanting. Along the whole road we saw the people adorned in their gayest style, in motley and picturesque costumes ; the head men with their Dutch coats and their insignia, and the wealthier part of the Malabar population distinguished by a number of rings in their ears and on their fingers. They all saluted the long-expected Prince* with the deepest respect, folding their hands before their faces, and slightly bending forwards ;—nevertheless it was not difficult to discover in them symptoms of disappointment, when they beheld,—instead of the Oriental Potentate, loaded with gold and jewels, mounted on an elephant, and wearing a crown,—only Prince Waldemar in his simple travelling dress : it was evident that their imagination had conjured up some extraordinary coup-d'œil. They have, in the East, no conception of the simplicity of a German Prince.

Thus they travelled on amid cocoa-nut trees, old Dutch residents, magistrates' houses, sunshine, tropical showers, singing birds, &c. &c., to Caltura. The royal salute must have had an odd effect when contrasted with the torn and soaked and clay-

* Instructions had been sent by the Secretary of State for the Colonies,—Lord Stanley,—to the Ceylon Government, to receive Prince Waldemar in a manner becoming his rank, and suitable to the intimate and friendly relations existing between Great Britain and Prussia,—and to afford him every aid and facility on his travels. In pursuance of these directions, arrangements were every where made for the Prince's reception by the native chiefs in the provinces, and for his being treated with the honours due to the Governor himself.—*Tr.*

spattered shooting jackets of the travellers. The annoyance felt by our author, at the over-assiduous attentions of the troops of servants, is what every griffin has experienced, and is not to be wondered at. But a few hot seasons in India change all that, and the man who, when fresh from Europe, felt as if he should make a speech of grateful apology to the man who condescended to punka him, very soon learns that the multitude of servants is in many respects a nuisance, (especially on the fifteenth of each month,) yet they do after all give one a good deal of physical comfort, and save one a good deal of bodily labour:—

We were received, at this place, [that is, Caltura,] by a deputy sent by the Governor of Ceylon, who conducted us to His Excellency's equipage. Thence we advanced at a rapid pace towards Colombo, changing horses every half hour. We were preceded by two finely equipped out-runners (horse-keepers), who wore red and white turbans, short breeches, and sleeves trimmed with red ribbons. The country now became more and more beautiful at every step: nature and art seemed to conspire to render the landscape a charming one;—picturesque country-seats,—a rich vegetation,—several rivers flowing softly between banks of exquisite loveliness,—distant vistas of mountain scenery,—and the mellow radiance of evening light over the whole;—the scene was like one vast and blooming garden. For a considerable distance we passed on between the most celebrated cinnamon gardens of Ceylon: the cinnamon trees, however, though brilliant from their shining foliage, are mean-looking, as contrasted with the luxuriance of the varied vegetation around and are kept, by pruning, to a height of only about twelve or fifteen feet. The sun was beginning to dip behind the glorious horizon as we approached the capital: a courier was despatched before us, to announce that the Prince was at hand. The whole population were on the *qui vive*:—dandies in European attire, mounted on wretched nags, saluted us as we drove through the handsome open square in front of the town;—and we could distinguish, among the varied crowd, many well-dressed English gentlemen, and even gay ladies not a few. It was a most cheerful scene, and our satisfaction would have been complete, had our own appearance been in character with this grand and triumphant entry; but wetness and filth had, at the last stations, conspired to the no small injury of our never very splendid habiliments!

On reaching the gate of the Fort, we were greeted with military music, and with the firing of cannon, which noisy salutations were reiterated on

* These gardens, though the boast of the island—the south-west part of Ceylon being the only country of which the cinnamon tree is known to be a native—are comparatively of recent formation. A strange idea had obtained among the Dutch rulers of Ceylon, that the spice was only valuable when growing wild in the jungle, and it was never cultivated till after the year 1766. The Dutch were strict to the extreme in their monopoly of cinnamon. The injuring of the trees, peeling any portion of the bark, exporting or selling cinnamon,—were all crimes punishable with death.—To keep up the price, bonfires of cinnamon occasionally perfumed the streets of Amsterdam, as recorded by M. Beaumare, who witnessed it in 1760. Besides constantly supplying the European market, Ceylon exports large quantities of cinnamon to South America, where it is in daily use among the workmen, as a preservative against the noxious effects of the fumes of quicksilver used in the mines. Of the bales of cinnamon imported into Great Britain, far the greater proportion is not for home consumption, but for the foreign market,—being exported to Spain, Portugal, and other Roman Catholic countries, where it is largely used, with frankincense, &c., in the services of the Church.—Ta.

our finally halting in front of the magnificent "Queen's House." The Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, a venerable old man, with hoary head, gave us a most kind reception; and Captain Maclean* conducted us to our respective apartments, in a wing of the Palace opening into the garden. Unfortunately, my swelled face prevented me from appearing at table, so I passed a quiet evening on the sofa. Here again, we were followed, at every step, by a host of copper-coloured domestics,—men and boys,—some wearing jackets, others wearing no clothes at all: many and vain were my attempts to get rid of their attendance; before I was aware of it, the sneaking fellows were at my heels again.

The "swelled face" alluded to was caused by his first exposure to the tropical sun, that is, (we presume,) on shore. How he escaped at Aden, we know not. We suppose it was rather his first of those boils which break out on most newcomers. The swelled face, however, prevented our author from seeing much of Colombo. At Kandy, "the capital of the ancient Cingalese rulers, those proud and mighty kings," he made his first acquaintance with the leeches, which seem to be a very pestilent brood:—

Towards evening I was tempted, by the infinite multitude of fire-flies which were fluttering over the lawn, to step out upon its velvety grass, and succeeded in collecting several dozen of these splendid insects. When dinner-time arrived, I observed, to my horror, in the brilliantly lighted apartment, that my white trowsers were streaked with blood! I was not long left in suspense as to the cause of the disaster: this was our first acquaintance with those leeches with which we afterwards became but too familiar. I actually found several hundreds of them clinging to my legs; they had penetrated through my trowsers; however, I freed myself, by means of the established recipe of lemon-juice, of these unwelcome guests.†

The following sketch of Nuwera Ellia will be interesting to our Indian readers, since the place is becoming every year more important as one of our regularly recognized sanatoria. The mistake, as to the discoverer of the retreat, is corrected by the translator, who, we may observe in passing, seems to be a man well fitted for the task he has performed. They are an unfortunate race, translators. Most useful labourers, as they are, they are somehow looked upon as mere drudges, whom critics

* Sir Colin's son-in-law and aide-de-camp.—Tr.

† The Ceylon leech is of a brown colour, marked with three longitudinal light-yellow lines; its largest size is about three-fourths of an inch in length, and one-tenth of an inch in diameter; but it can stretch itself to two inches in length, and then becomes sufficiently small to be able to pass between the stitches of a stocking. It is nearly semi-transparent in substance; in form, tapering towards the fore-part,—above, roundish,—below, flat; it apparently possesses an acute sense of smell, for no sooner does a person stop in a place infested by leeches, than they crowd eagerly to their victim from all quarters, unrestrained by the caprice sometimes so annoying in their medicinal brethren. Loss of blood, itching, and sometimes slight inflammation, form the extent of their injuries in the case of a person in good health, but animals suffer more severely from their attacks.—Tr.

are not called upon to praise, nor publishers to pay liberally. It ought not to be so.

The sweet, inviting spot, Nuwera Ellia, lies in an open plain among moor-lands, encircled on every side by craggy mountains, which, in our climate, would be clad in eternal snows; bold and lofty peaks tower to the very skies; among them the highest summit in the island, is Pedro-tallagalla, which rises to the height of eight thousand four hundred feet above the sea.

The level ground, on which, scattered here and there among the thick bushes, stand the few detached buildings of which Nuwera Ellia (or New-House) consists, is but two thousand feet beneath this high level; no wonder therefore that the whole vegetation of the neighbourhood should assume altogether a new appearance, and more of a European character. Few trees are to be seen; among these I may mention *Rhododendron arboreum* (tree rhododendron) with its flowers of burning crimson, *Viburnum opulus* (the "snow-ball tree," or guelder rose,) *Euonymus* (the Spindle-tree,) and several species of *Acacia*. The peach, the apple, and the pear-tree thrive extremely well here; and above all, the potatoe, and every possible variety of European vegetable, turnips, cabbages, &c., &c.—One object the eye seeks in vain in all this highland district; I mean the fir-tree;—for throughout the whole of Ceylon no trees of the order of *Conifera* are to be seen. The moors are overgrown with a kind of hard grass, two or three feet high,* among which luxuriate many beautiful alpine varieties of *Campanula*, and a most fragrant species of *Physalis* (winter cherry), I think, probably, the *Physalis Pubescens*,—all in as great abundance as the stinging nettle in our meadows! The winter-cherries are here called *Cape gooseberries*, and no fruit makes a better tart.

This beautiful retreat is said to have been discovered by a rich English gentleman, (I think his name was Horton,) while engaged in a wild-boar hunt, and I am assured that he laid out the ground as a park some fifty years since. Be that as it may, the posts of a spacious gate-way, rising above the moor, still meet the eye; and the place all round them, wherever it is not too boggy, is covered with thick bushes of *Pelargonium*, *Tagetes*, and various other plants, all of which we are wont to see in pots; and which are here probably the relics of former cultivation.†

* This is the *Lemon-grass*, *Andropogon Schœnanthus*,—one of the most characteristic productions of Ceylon, and of some parts of the adjacent continent. It is the general covering of such parts of the hills, near Candy, as are not overgrown with jungle; and in its young and tender state affords good pasture to buffaloes; it emits when bruised a strong lemon-scent, which, although pleasant at first, becomes, if one is long exposed to it, particularly oppressive. Its taste is a refreshing acid.—Tx.

† A slight confusion, not surprising in a stranger and a foreigner, seems here to have arisen on the subject of names. Nuwera Ellia, though visited and described by Dr. Davy in 1819, when its solitude was but rarely broken by the natives who resorted thither in quest of iron or of gems, was little known to Europeans till, in 1829, Sir Edward Barnes, then Governor of Ceylon, having accidentally wandered thither in the chase, fixed upon it as a military convalescent station, and built the residence above alluded to. Its wonderfully temperate climate, 65° being reckoned its mean temperature by day, and 55° by night for the entire year, freedom from piercing winds, and proximity to the mountain peaks, and the extraordinary purity of its water, render it equally salubrious and congenial; there are also chalybeate springs in the neighbourhood. The "fifty years since" spoken of by our author is thus probably an error for *fifteen* years since. But the allusion to the "gentleman of the name of Horton," doubtless refers, not to Nuwera Ellia, but to an interesting, wild, and solitary table-land, at no great distance from it, known as the Horton Plain, thus named in honor of Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, Governor of Ceylon, from

The following gives a very lively description of elephant-shooting. It is no doubt a very exciting occupation. But why should elephants be shot? So long as they keep to the jungle, what harm do they do?

Every morning, before night had fully yielded to the dawn of day, we started from our lurking-place, in pursuit of elephants, which are met with in large herds; and usually, even before sunrise, we were wet to the skin. When the natives perceived, by their quick scent or otherwise, that the elephants were at hand, which they announced by a particular sign, we all instantly dismounted, and the huntsmen rushed, head-foremost, through the thicket, while I remained with the attendants at the halting-place. The crash of an elephant, running at full speed, may be heard at the distance of half a mile; a whole herd makes a noise such as one might imagine from an avalanche falling over a vast forest. The terrific and portentous cry, not unlike a fearfully loud note sounded from a broken trumpet, is uttered by the mighty beast at the identical moment in which it turns round, either to crush its enemy, or itself to receive the fatal ball; I therefore always knew, even at a distance, when the crisis of danger had arrived.

On one occasion I had remained nearer than usual to the hunt, because the danger of being isolated in a broken and rocky ground, all alive with elephants, is really greater than that of following close to the chase. Suddenly a crash was heard to the right and to the left,—behind us sounded a trumpet-tone, and before us appeared the head of a huge and powerful animal, stirring among the thick bushes;—we were standing on a smooth rock, only slightly elevated above the surrounding ground. How fortunate that just then, Major Rogers, the most expert marksman of the hunt, was close to us. He sprang in among the elephants, and, advancing towards the one nearest him on the right, to within the length of its trunk, he fired a shot into its ear, then turning with lightning speed to the one on the left, he discharged the contents of his other barrel into its temple. Both fell with a hollow groan, as if blown down by a sudden whirlwind; the others, on hearing their giant comrades sink crashing into the bushes, hastily fled; for their fall produced a resounding noise like the report of two distant cannons.

After that day, I had seen enough of elephant-hunting, and always sought some pretext for remaining at home. On the following day, Major Rogers killed a female elephant, and by that one shot he brought down two victims, for she crushed, in her fall, a young one that was running beside her. Besides these, a young elephant had been already numbered among the

1831 to 1837. A picturesque description of the primæval desolation of these plains,—the most elevated in the island,—of their sombre forest,—and mountain ramparts,—and of the adjacent sources of the Bilhul-Oya or Walawe River, and the Mahawelle-Ganga, is given by Major Forbes: One of his characteristic touches is as follows:—"In these vast jungle solitudes, on the ascent from Nuwera Ellia, on every twig, round every tree, the stilly damp of ages has twined a mossy vesture: their mouldering rocks, moss-clad forests, and silent plains offer so few signs of animated nature, that the notes of a small bird are a relief from universal stillness; and the occasional rise of a snipe is absolutely startling. In following up the green banks of a rill on one of these mountains, I called to my companion and proposed a change of direction; he answered, 'Very well.' Instantly, as if these words had burst the magic-spell which bound the demon spirits of the waste, the joyous sounds, 'very well! very well! very well!' came hurrying forth from every copse and winding glade in these, the farthest bounds of the forest labyrinth."—*Tr.*

slain, and many were wounded. The Prince himself was at one time in instant danger of being overtaken by an elephant rendered furious by three wounds in the head. Fortunately the creature was laid low by another shot.

On the 9th December the party started for Adam's Peak. At the foot of the mountain a hut had been rudely fitted up for their use, in a village named Palabadulla:—

After a few hours' rest, we started with early dawn, on the 10th of December,—leaving all our luggage behind us,—for the ascent of Adam's Peak. Here the tropical vegetation ceases; long ere now we had bid farewell to the palmy groves;—yet for some distance further, the thick and gloomy forest, with its masses of dark verdure, cast on us a welcome shade as we proceeded on our toilsome climb. We had nothing now before us but to clamber up the steep ascent, over the wet, smooth rocks, or the slippery roots, without a halt or a resting place.

As the path up to Adam's Peak is annually trod by many thousands of pilgrims,—Mahometans as well as Brahmins and Buddhists,—one might expect to find there an easy way; but on the contrary, nothing has been done but what was absolutely indispensable; here, against a cliff so steep as to be quite impassable, a ladder of feeble twigs has been placed,—there, in some peculiarly polished and slippery part, a few steps have been hewn out of the living rock.

Climbing several steep rocks,—on whose surface are chiselled figures of Buddha and very ancient inscriptions,—we scrambled on with the aid of hen-roost ladders and roughly hewn steps. Now the path led us, to our great annoyance, after having ascended the abrupt elevation, down a no less abrupt declivity; now we were forced to wade, for a quarter of an hour, through running water; or again, to scale cliffs so smooth, and as it were polished, that to fall was inevitable, and to escape with unbroken bones, almost more than we could hope for. How delicious and refreshing here were the fruits of the burning zones that now lay far beneath us,—the cocoa-nuts and the oranges, which our natives had carried up with us! Those Cingalese were running and springing in advance of the party, like goats, though they were bearing heavy burdens on their heads; they climb the smooth rock so nimbly and easily with their bare feet, that I began to esteem our pilgrimage as far more meritorious than that of the unshod Buddhists.

Much fatigued, we arrived towards the end of our fourth hour, at one of the elevated platforms, a level, open space; the sharp peak,—a single conical mass of rock,—rises majestically beyond it. It was the first time that we had beheld its full outline; but, how were we ever to gain its summit? The feet of a fly or of a lizard seemed to be indispensable requisites for accomplishing that exploit. A small rest-house stands in the centre of the little valley.

You will easily believe that, having been accustomed in the lowland valleys, to a heat of from 22° to 24° (about 81° to 86° Fahrenheit) we felt the air now, at a level of nearly six thousand feet, cool and thin. But indeed the thermometer had fallen even here only to 14° (59° Fahrenheit), which at home is not reckoned cold enough for lighting our fires.

From time to time we had splendid panoramic views of the mountain glens and the lower ranges of hills; and in a deep vista below, but at no

great distance, a narrow stripe of the sea,—of whose immediate proximity we could scarcely persuade ourselves,—was glancing brightly in the sunshine. The mountain is not higher than those which travellers commonly climb in Switzerland; but nowhere in that land can the eye measure the height, by comparison with a plain so nearly on the level of the sea. On that side of the peak on which the path leads up, all vegetation ceases at some six hundred feet below the highest point; not indeed by reason of the great height, but because the summit is one single huge mass of rock,—gneiss with hornblende,—without the least covering of soil on its steep sides. Here the traveller, if at all inclined to giddiness, can scarcely escape suffering from it. A most singular expedient has been resorted to for diminishing the dangers and difficulties of pilgrims in the way. To hew steps in these mighty rocks, would have been too great an undertaking; instead of attempting it, numberless chains, of every variety of link, are riveted in to the living stone. They hang in dozens to the right and to the left; some antique and rusty, some of newest stamp; for it is esteemed a meritorious work to lay one of these chains along the path, that so, if any pilgrim should chance to fall, he may be caught in this iron net-work. After dragging myself up for some fifty paces or so, as if by a windlass, I reached a sort of flat landing place, upon which one may set foot to ground firmly, and enjoy a breathing time; but immediately I beheld, to my horror, an overhanging precipice, which I could scale only after a most aerial fashion, by the help of strong iron chains. The end of the ascent is extremely disagreeable; an iron stair is here suspended in the air, and has been so completely forced out of its original position, that the steps are now nearly perpendicular. When this last difficulty has been overcome, the cry of "Land, Land!" may at last be raised, and the pilgrimage is completed!

The Prince was the first to gain the summit, followed by Count O———. I had too many plants packed all about my person, besides being encumbered with the weight of sundry apparatus, to allow of my sharing the honour. A stair leads up to the entrance of the walled enclosure, which surrounds the apex of the peak. The flat space within the wall, in the centre of which this highest cone rises, measures about seventy feet by thirty. The height of the conical apex is about eight or nine feet. The whole of the eastern side is resplendent with the gorgeous scarlet blossoms of the *Rhododendron arboreum*; and an exuberant abundance of other flowers of unrivalled beauty luxuriates among the thick grass. Everything that here meets the eye is strange and wonderful. The most singular object is a small temple of iron-wood, adorned with much carved work, under a low roof of tiles: I should think it is about eight feet in height, and covers a space of ten feet square. Within is to be seen the holy relic, which attracts such multitudes of pilgrims, the celebrated "*Sri Pada*," or sacred footstep, believed by the Cingalese Christians and Mahometans to be that of Adam; by the Buddhists, of Gautama Buddha; and by the Brahmins, of Siva. The rocky mass, on which this footstep is engraven, forms the floor of the little wooden edifice, dignified with the name of temple. There is certainly here to be seen something resembling a foot-print, an impression between five and six feet in length, and upwards of two feet in width, in which the partitions of the toes are very clumsily restored or formed with gypsum; but what cripples should we all have been, if our great progenitor Adam had stood on feet like this! The mark of the sacred footstep is enclosed within a golden frame, studded with gems of considerable size, a few only of which are genuine.

They slept in a hut on the top of the mountain, and next day effected their descent, not without many falls and bruises,

They then returned to *Colombo*, and sailed in H. M. War-steamer *Spiteful* to Trincomali. We must, however, pass over Madras, Calcutta, and other more familiar places, and pass at once to Cathmandu, the capital of Nepal. To reach the British Resident's house, the travellers passed through the town from side to side, and our author thus records his first impressions of it:—

We entered the city itself through several very narrow streets, whose entire width was just sufficient to admit of an elephant passing along. The rich wood carving lavished on the rosettes of the windows, on the pillars, architraves and corners of the roofs, reminded me of many an ancient German commercial city; yet, on the other hand, the Oriental character stamped on the whole scene is very conspicuous. The gilded roofs of the temples, hung round with bells and adorned with flags of many colours, and the gigantic images of stone, betray the influence of Chinese taste. The rain, which was falling in torrents, did not prevent our gazing with surprise at many an ancient and splendid edifice, nor admiring the skill in the fine arts displayed in the horses, elephants and battle-scenes, carved on the houses, the rich designs of window rosettes through which the rays of light penetrate, the colossal dimensions of the hideous monsters of stone, (toad-headed lions, dragons and rhinoceroses,) and the many-armed red-painted images of the god.

More surprising than all the rest was the coup d'œil presented by the market-place, notwithstanding its moderate size. On either side of it stands a great temple, whose eight stories, with their gilded roofs, are peopled by innumerable minas and sparrows. A flight of broad stone steps, guarded by two monsters leads up to the entrance of the temple; above, gigantic rhinoceroses, monkeys and horses adorn the edifice. The multitude of these strange figures, the stunning noise that resounded from within, the antique gloomy air of the surrounding houses, with their projecting roofs, and the solemn grandeur of the whole scene, awakened in my mind a feeling as though I had been suddenly carried back to some city of a thousand years since: I was involuntarily reminded of the description which Herodotus gives of ancient Babylon. For how long a time may all these things yet continue to appear exactly as they now do! The durable wood, the indestructible stone,* and a people who, like their kindred and instructors, the Chinese, cling to all that is primitive, unite in effectually resisting the destroying influence of Time.

We rode on, meantime, through a high, but narrow gate way, into a court, where we saw several tame rhinoceroses, kept here on account of the custom of the country, which requires that, on the death of the Rajah, one of these creatures should be slain, and imposes on the highest personages in the State the duty of devouring it!†

Passing through dark and narrow streets, and traversing squares,—in which Buddhist pagodas, with their many-armed images of *Mahadeva*,

* Described by Dr. Hamilton Buchanan as being found disposed in vertical strata in large masses, as containing much lime, being very fine-grained, having a silky lustre, cutting well, and admirably resisting the action of the weather.—*Tr.*

† Menu, the law-giver of the Hindus, enumerates the articles of which the offerings to the manes of deceased ancestors should consist, and which, when the ceremony had been duly performed, were to be eaten by the Brahmin and his guests; among these is the flesh of the rhinoceros.—*Tr.*

Indra and *Parvati* alternate with the Brahminical temples* that rise tier above tier,—we at length found ourselves at the other extremity of the town.

The gate is, like all the other gates of the city, a simple, tall, white arch, with a large eye painted on either side; indeed every entrance is, according to Chinese fashion, adorned with these horrid eyes surrounded with red borders. On the flat roof above the gate stands a slender iron dragon, with a tongue a yard long, exactly of the form usually represented by the Chinese.

The travellers made an expedition to the Kaulia Pass, which brought them within sight of Dhawala Giri:—

In six hours we gained the head of the pass and our night's quarters, —a bungalow, erected by Mr. Hodgson, at a height of two thousand feet, near the summit of the mountain-peak. Unfortunately the shades of evening prevented us from enjoying a full prospect of the chains of mountains. Of the Himalayns, we saw only the DHAYABUN group, still irradiated by the crimson glow of sunset: all the others were wrapt in clouds. Early in the morning of the 21st of February, the most glorious and enchanting landscape burst upon our view, that imagination could picture in any highland scenery: a boundless ocean of gigantic snowy mountains, towering one behind the other on the clear horizon; four distinct ranges were visible; the peak of Dhayabun in the north-west seemed almost to vanish amid so many other giants; but lo! in the north, while we were gazing at the huge Gossainthan, its eastern surface caught the bright glow of morning light. Now again our attention was attracted to the W. N. W., where a sharp and lofty summit seemed to pierce the very skies, its three needle-like peaks one after the other, illuminated with the most exquisite crimson tints. We could hardly venture to believe it the Dhawala Giri itself; yet, according to its position, it could be no other.

Our maps, the compass, and the testimony of several old men, soon removed all doubt. Who could have imagined that a distance of thirty German miles† could thus shrink into nothing? It was an overpowering impression, filling the soul with awe. The realization of a perpendicular altitude of a German mile,‡ there it stands, like a giant spectre, and in vain does the astounded beholder seek for similes whereby to shadow forth the sublimity of the spectacle: I can only say that the outline of the Alps of Switzerland, so deeply engraven in my memory, now shrunk into comparative insignificance, and as it were vanished into nought.

It must truly be a glorious spectacle. And yet after all what is twenty-six thousand feet? When rigidly examined as a matter of measurement, it seems no great thing; but yet we all feel a lofty mountain to be a magnificent object to contem-

* The creeds, deities, and superstitious rites of the Nepalese are no less diversified and intermingled than their tribes. While the Brahminism of the majority of the population is looked upon by the natives of Bengalas corrupt in the extreme, the Buddhism of the remainder is not unmingled with divinities, rites and customs borrowed from the Pantheon and the sacred books of the Hindus.—Tr.

† Upwards of a hundred and thirty-eight English miles.—Tr.

‡ Mr. Hamilton, in his account of Hindostan, gives the height of Dhawala Giri (or the White Mountain) as exceeding 26,862 feet above the level of the sea. Dhayabun, he gives as 24,768, and states that it is visible from Patna, a distance of 162 geographical (about 186 statute) miles. Dr. Wallich makes the height of Gossainthan, 24,740.—Tr.

plate. And however rigidly we may measure the object by our scientific standard, there it stands as magnificent, as overpowering, as sublimely poetical as before.

"I ask not proud Philosophy
To tell me what thou art,"

says the poet to the rainbow. But the truth seems to be, that an acquaintance with the science of an object never interferes with the sense of its poetry. And this, of course, holds more especially true in a case like the present, where the anti-poetical quality is mere magnitude. And, besides, it is by comparison with other mountains that a very lofty one claims our admiration. Five miles along a level road is a trifling distance, because you may go on five hundred miles further. But five miles perpendicular above the earth's surface is felt to be a sublime elevation, because few men are accustomed to any thing approaching it.

It may seem to be taking the step from the sublime to the ridiculous to descend from the majestic Dhawala Giri to a Nepal court ceremony. But there are some points of half-civilized society exhibited in the sketch, which it would be a pity to pass over:—

On the third day after our arrival, (the 12th of February,) the ceremony of our reception by the Rajah took place. His elephants were sent to convey the prince and his suite. We were conducted to the usual reception palace,—a sort of court-house; but were not admitted to the proper "*Durbar*,"—the Royal Residence; the interior of the latter however is said to be very shabby, and even its exterior is by no means imposing.

The large wooden building, in which the reception took place, had certainly no resemblance to a palace. It contains dark stair-cases, and rooms filled with dust and with old armour. The audience-chamber is on the third floor. Two rows of chairs were placed at the sides, and a couple of sofas against the wall at the end of the apartment. The dirty yellow hangings were but partially concealed by old and very bad French engravings, and portraits as large as life, among which I remarked a Napoleon with cherry cheeks, and the whole succession of the Rajahs of the last century, as well as many of their kinsfolk, all painted, after the flat and rude manner of the Chinese, by native artists. Coverlets of white cotton served instead of carpets. No display of wealth or magnificence appeared, save in the costly and brilliant costumes of the Rajah and of his courtiers and household.

Upon the divan to the left side of this presence-chamber, sat the young Rajah (he is only sixteen years of age), and beside him his father, the deposed sovereign: both have quite the air of rogues,—the young Rajah even to a greater degree than his father. If his face had not that disagreeable expression, which he has heightened by the habit of distorting his mouth and nose abominably, he might, with his large black eyes, his long, finely shaped, aquiline nose, and his small, delicate mouth, have been reckoned very handsome. Young as he is, his actions prove that the opinion formed of him from his outward man, is not an erroneous one. He appears to have every quality best fitted to make an accomplished tyrant. The

father,—a man of milder disposition,—has still many adherents; but, fortunately for the country, the real ruler is Martabar Singh.

Both Rajahs were not only magnificent in their apparel, but literally overloaded with gold gems and brilliants.

The divan on the right-hand side was occupied by the Rajah's three younger brothers, boys of eight, ten and twelve years of age. The two elder ones are already married.

The Prince sat on the side row, next to the Rajah, and, as I took my seat at some distance and on the same side, I could, to my great regret, follow but little of the conversation. Meanwhile, it afforded me no slight amusement to see how Martabar Singh made a point of showing off his power, as he now rose, now again seated himself; for all those present, even the members of the Royal Family, are obliged to stand up the instant he rises; there was therefore an incessant rustling up and down, and he took care moreover to give occasion for perpetual bowings and salutations.

At the conclusion of the audience, presents were distributed: various and costly furs, Chinese silken stuffs, and beautiful weapons. My turn too came to stand up and to receive a fur dress made of otter's skins, a poniard, and a "*khikri*,"* in a gilt scabbard. The Rajah touched my hand, which honour, graciously conferred on me, I was instructed to acknowledge by a low salam, while Martabar Singh threw the gifts over my arm.

As we are at ceremonies, we may give here the form of salutation in use at the Nepal court, as exhibited in the traveller's introduction to Martabar Singh, then the "Minister and 'Generalissimo of the Kingdom," afterwards murdered, by Jung Bahadur (if we mistake not), which last our author represents as "a kinsman of the Rajah, a man of very intelligent countenance, by far the most educated and agreeable of them all":—

Martabar Singh advanced to meet the Prince, first made a most graceful "*salam*," then stepping forward about two paces, bowed himself over the left, then over the right shoulder of the object of his salutations, in a way similar to what is practised in embraces on the stage; a second salam, and a retreating step, concluded the ceremony, which each of our party was in his turn obliged to undergo. His sons too, and the officers, all performed it with the same formal solemnity, the whole operation occupying, as you may imagine, a considerable time.

This done, we seated ourselves on the chairs which stood ready in the tent, and a short but most interesting conversation took place, during which Major Lawrence, Captain Ottley, and Dr. Christie, had enough to do to satisfy every claim upon them as interpreters, both in putting questions and in answering them.

From Cathmandu the Prince and his companions retraced their steps to Sugouli, and proceeded by Gorucpore, Benares, Allahabad, and Cawnpore, to Lucknow. It is pleasant to hear ourselves abused now and then, especially when it is done in the form of a comparison which is flattering to our beloved neighbours:—

No other city that I have seen presents as lively a picture of the mode

* That is, a short, broad, sword, crooked forward, like a Bengali wood-cleaver.

of living of the people of India, their manners and their customs, as Benares. How poor and monotonous in comparison of it is that great metropolis, Calcutta, so often extolled by the English,—wedded to all their home luxuries,—because, forsooth, roast beef and pickles, and everything that appertains to good living and to "*comfort*," may there be had in abundance, to their very heart's content!

Like good, earnest travellers, they regarded the English towns, the cities in the British territory, more as places of rest than any thing else; so we soon find them at Lucknow. In this, we think, they were right. Perhaps the fact is rather, that Dr. Hoffmeister, eschewing the exhaustive system adopted by so many of his countrymen, has merely left out of his letters descriptions of places, which are familiar to every reader of travels, and so *appears* to have passed over the British cities with a summary inspection. Perhaps the thanks should rather be given to his editor. How different from the plan of those *book-making* travellers, who make no scruple to repeat what has been said by others, and sometimes even wrap up their second-hand wares in unacknowledged quotations from their predecessors:—

We entered LUKNOW, (the natives pronounce it *Lachno*.) after traversing, in our palanquins, the weary plain that extends from Allahabad, and passing through the town of CAUNPUR, spending Maundy Thursday and Good Friday itself, *en route*, as heathen among the heathen.

If it is heathenism to travel on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, we fear many are heathens, who were not before aware of it. We have not noticed our author make any allusion to the heathenishness of travelling on Sunday. Let us hope that he went to church on Sunday when there was any church to go to.

The travellers reached Lucknow on the 25th March, about half a year after leaving Athens:—

On the 25th of March, we had alighted from our palanquins at five o'clock in the morning,—for we travel on, night and day without intermission,—to take our morning walk, and run a race with our palki-bearers. Not imagining ourselves in the immediate vicinity of the city of Lucknow, we had not changed our usual travelling guise,—loose trousers of thin red silk, with only a shirt and a "*solah*" hat,—when, to our utter amazement, at day-break, we found ourselves in the narrow streets,—then peopled only with dogs,—of a suburb of that great city. The clay-walled hovels, with their outer coating of cow-dung to exclude the moisture, soon came to an end, after we had passed through the last of several large gates of Saracenic architecture, with painted arches. Brick houses, entirely open on the ground floor, with shops and workshops, at this early hour still occupied as bed-chambers, formed, within the city-gate, wide and regular streets. Here and there appeared a building of greater size, and of semi-European aspect. Another gate, larger than the preceding ones, presented itself at the extremity of the great street through which we had proceeded; beside it was drawn up a detachment of soldiers, with red jackets and iron morions, but wearing, instead of trousers, the simple

white cotton handkerchief hanging about their legs. One of the veteran officers felt himself called upon,—in his great zeal to imitate European civilization,—to run up behind us, most respectfully, desiring to know our names. So unreasonable a demand we had never yet met with in India, and Mr. Fortescue seemed inclined to reply by brandishing his stick. I contented myself with informing him in a most confidential manner, that my name was "*Sechs und sechzig sechs eckige Hechtskopfe*," ("*Six and sixty six cornered pike's heads*,") upon which, after repeated and unsuccessful attempts to pronounce the name, in the course of which he nearly dislocated his tongue and his jaw-bone, he retired, grumbling and indignant; for neither Sanscrit nor Persian could furnish the necessary sounds.

A peep at English society at Lucknow :—

We had reached our goal, and Mr. Shakspeare, the British Resident, gave us a most friendly welcome in this his chateau. The Prince and his companions had arrived the day before; we were all delighted to meet again after a separation of four or five days, such as often happens in the palanquin travelling of these lands, and mutually to recount the adventures of our journey. Our kind host is himself a bachelor; but three or four other English gentlemen are resident at Lucknow with their families; and in this little circle we could clearly mark the pleasure caused by the arrival of foreign guests, as introducing a little variety into their dull and monotonous life. The stiff and aristocratic tone that prevails among the fashionable society of Calcutta, does not reign here; consequently the drives, pleasure parties and evening entertainments, which were of daily occurrence, were most cheerful and agreeable. Music was all the fashion; the most trifling performance seemed to give universal satisfaction; no voice was so poor or insignificant, as not to be exerted with pleasure, to display its owner's skill in the tuneful art, by pouring forth some simple melody; no piano-forte so discordant as not to enable one to shun by striking up a few hackneyed waltzes.

A tomb filled with fancy glass-ware is a pretty good sample of oriental æsthetics :—

We also visited the burial-place of the present Royal Family, a wonderfully fine work of art, for Moslems spare no expense on their sepulchres. The dwellings of the living may indeed be filthy and scarcely habitable, provided only the departed are lodged in splendour. The entrance to the royal tomb is a lofty white gateway, surmounted by a cupola, and from its appearance the stranger would never expect to find a place of sepulture within. In the first court, surrounded by buildings, fountains are ever playing in beautiful marble basins, encircled by myrtles, roses and cypresses; palm-trees grace each corner of this garden, on every side of which glittering turrets and walls of dazzling whiteness rise amid the fragrant and shady bowers. The balmy air of evening was loaded with the perfume of roses and jessamine, and the deep azure of the vault above formed a striking contrast to the whiteness of the domes and the corners of the roofs, still illuminated by the last rays of the setting sun. A brilliant light shone through the arched windows of the lofty Moorish hall, under the marble gateway of which we now passed.

If the entrance court and external appearance of the burial-place produce an indescribable and magic impression, the charm is somewhat broken in the interior, where the eye wanders, distracted by the confused mass of incongruous yet brilliant objects; the tone of feeling caused by the first general view being, meantime, unpleasantly disturbed. The inner space,

from its overloaded magnificence and unbounded profusion of gold and silver, pearls, gems, and all the valuables the East or the West can afford, had rather the appearance of a retail shop or of a fancy glass-warehouse, than of the resting-place of the dead. Glass cupolas, and candelabra of every variety, may be seen standing in dozens, pell-mell, upon the ground; lustres, ten feet in height, of bright and many-coloured glass, brought hither from England at an immense expense: and among these are deposited many trophies, swords and other weapons, of the finest Ispahan steel. The glare of the innumerable lamps so dazzles the eye, that it is difficult to find the principal thing among the multitude of other objects of interest.

Here, stand a couple of tigers, as large as life, formed of pieces of green glass, joined together with gold, presented by the Emperor of China. There, the attention is arrested by a silver horse, five feet high, with the head of a man, and the wings and tail of a peacock.—the steed sent down to the prophet from heaven. Another horse, carved in wood, is an original likeness of the late Nabob's favourite charger. Vases, bronze figures, marble statues of moderate size, plans of the city and of the palaces, painted upon a gold ground, and a thousand other toys and trifles, were gathered together in this extraordinary place.

At length, however, amidst all this chaos, we discovered the tombs themselves, enclosed within massive golden railings, and canopied with a baldachin of gold, filigree-work, pearls and gems, large and small, lavished upon them. Besides the father of the reigning sovereign, who lies buried in the principal tomb, several of his wives repose on either side of him.

But the royal gardens quite eclipse even this:—

The centre of the garden is usually occupied by a marble tank, in which many fountains are playing, and cypresses alternate with roses in embellishing its margin. The water-works are very tastelessly modernized; soldiers in red jackets, sheep, crippled dogs and lions, all spout forth water in the most wonderful manner!

The bowers and flower-beds are, in the hot season, owing to the great drought, in a poor condition, in spite of their being every morning inundated by means of multitudes of small canals, which, along with the straight paved walks, produce a very stiff effect in the general aspect of the grounds. In addition to this, a mania prevails at Lucknow for placing marble or plaster statues, as large as life, at every turn and corner, without the slightest regard to the choice of figures, which seems to be left to the discretion of the sculptor. He copies the most antiquated French models, the originals of which have been out of date for many a long year, and manufactures, for a very reasonable price, shepherds and shepherdesses, British soldiers, Neptunes, or it may be Farnese pugilists, or dogs, lions, and sundry other beasts. Among them all, I espied busts of Jean Jacques Rousseau, D'Alembert, and Napoleon, standing on the ground amid the fauns and the munsiers of Indian mythology, all gathered together in the most perfect harmony to defend a flower-bed! What marvellously enhances the brilliant effect of these works of art, is a discovery which certainly is worthy of notice in Europe, viz., the custom of painting the hair, eyes and feet, (whether bare or shod,) with a thick coating of lamp-black. The Venus de Medici appears to wonderful advantage in this improved edition.

The Nawab was to give a *déjeûner* in honour of the Prince. His Majesty's son was to come for them; "but instead of him, came the news that he was indisposed. It was rumoured that he had taken rather too much opium!"

At length they reach the palace. The picture of the Royal family is not flattering:—

The long table was already set, and soon his Majesty appeared, grave and dignified in his demeanour, and surrounded by his suite, all glittering with gold. His entrance was proclaimed in a clear and sonorous tone by various officers. The King is a tall, stately person, of enormous embonpoint; his apparel resembled that of his son, except that it was yet more splendid and more richly ornamented with diamonds. He was accompanied by another of his sons, who, though still more corpulent, much resembled him. The physiognomy of the reigning family is expressive rather of good nature than of shrewdness or talent, if indeed character can be expressed at all in such a mass of fat! How different were the portraits of their ancestors, even of the father and grandfather of the present Nabob! In their features power and energy are strongly marked, while the living faces around us bore the stamp only of luxurious enjoyment, and of a life of indolent pleasure.

Exactly opposite to me sat three most lovely little boys,—the younger Princes,—in whom I could see clear marks of a good appetite, and of the eagerness with which they longed to attack the ragouts that stood before them. Their heavy golden turbans seemed to be no less an oppression to them than the moderation they were constrained to observe. The King, on the other hand, was in a most merry mood. He himself helped Prince Waldemar, and did the honours of the beautiful delicacies of Indian confectionery. Flower pots were set upon the table, the flowers, twigs, leaves and soil in which, were all eatable, and when they had all been devoured, the flower-pots themselves were demolished in like manner; again, on breaking off the pointed top of a small pasty, which he caused to be handed to the Prince, out flew a pair of pretty little birds,—which playful surprise threw the corpulent Nabob into an immoderate fit of laughter.

We allude to the beast fights merely for the purpose of reproaching the unwomanly conduct of our country-women in countenancing such spectacles. The page in which their shame is recorded has been quietly headed by the editor “humane entertainment:”—

The combats of wild beasts were now to commence. We were conducted to a gallery, from which we looked down upon a narrow court, surrounded by walls and gratings. This was the arena on which the exhibition was to take place. Unluckily the space allotted for spectators was, on account of the great number of English ladies present, so circumscribed that we could find only a bad standing-room, and one moreover in which the glare and heat of the sun were most oppressive: however, the spectacle exhibited before our eyes in the depth of the battle-field, was of such a nature that all discomfort was soon forgotten.

We there beheld six powerful buffaloes, not of the tame breed, but strong and mighty beasts, the offspring of the *Arnees* of the mountains, measuring at least four feet and a half in height to the back, with huge and wide-arching horns, from three to four feet in length. There they stood, on their short, clumsy legs,—snorting violently, and blowing through their distended nostrils, as if filled with forebodings of the approaching danger. What noble animals! what strength in those broad necks! Pity only that such intense stupidity should be marked in their eyes!

A clatter of sticks, and the roar of various wild beasts now resounded, to which the buffaloes replied by a hollow bellowing. Suddenly, on the opening of a side-door, there rushed forth a strong and formidable tiger, measuring, I should say, from ten to eleven feet in length, from head to tail, and about four feet in height. Without deliberating long, he sprang, with one mighty bound, into the midst of the buffaloes, and darting unexpectedly between the redoubtable horns of one of the boldest champions, he seized him by the nape of the neck, with teeth and claws. The weight of the tiger nearly drew the buffalo to the ground: a most fearful contest ensued. Amid roars and groans, the furious victim dragged its fierce assailant round and round the arena, while the other buffaloes, striving to liberate their comrade, inflicted on the foe formidable wounds with their sharp and massive horns.

Deep silence reigned among the audience, &c., &c.

But enough of Lucknow. Let us refresh ourselves with a glance at Nainethal:—

"NAINETHAL" signifies the lake of *Naina*, the latter name being that of a renowned heroine. The lake lies between lofty cliffs of black limestone on the one, and loose deposits of argillaceous schist on the other side: its depth is very considerable; the plumb-line proved it, in several places, to be from sixty to seventy-five feet. Near its centre is a shallow spot, which, from the adjacent mountain summits, shines with emerald hue. The narrow end of the lake is towards the south-west; the north-eastern extremity is broad, and is the only place where, for a short distance, its margin is flat, scarcely raised above the level of the water. According to the measurements of Colonel Everest, its height above the sea is six thousand three hundred feet, and its circumference three miles and one third. The calcareous spar, which appears on the highest point of the surrounding rocks of clay-slate, the greenstone-trapp, detached blocks of which lie upon its western side, and the broken, indented form of its shores, would lead to the conclusion that this lake is of volcanic origin. Three others are situated in the neighbourhood, within a circuit of from ten to fifteen miles.

Our stay in this charming valley was prolonged from day to day, as the provisions necessary for our further wanderings in the mountains could only be procured,—and that not without many delays,—by a mountainous and circuitous route from Almora. I thus enjoyed abundant leisure for collecting botanical and zoological specimens.

The remainder of the volume is so full of interesting details, that we must allow our author to speak for himself as much as possible.

We have all heard of the hanging bridges of the Himalayas:—

"*A Sangho*," or rope-bridge, leads across, not far from the village of BAMOTH, situated on the right bank. These bridges, in universal use among the mountains, consist of two strong grass ropes, tightly stretched across the river from side to side, to which are suspended, so as to hang perpendicularly, short grass ropes, not thicker than a finger, bearing transverse pieces of wood, fastened at right angles to their lower extremity; over these horizontal sticks, are laid lengthways, split bambus, which, properly speaking, form the bridge. As its width is scarcely one foot, and these bambus do not afford a very substantial footing, the passenger, who ven-

tures to traverse this primitive suspension-bridge, must be free from all tendency to vertigo.

At Gauricand they visited the temples and hot springs:—

A multitude of pilgrims had gathered round the sacred springs of this spot, where, amid many ceremonies, they perform their ablutions. A basin of twelve feet square, with three gradations of depth, receives the water of one hot spring, TOCTACUND, which flows down from it in copious streams, by brazen conduits. Here we witnessed several singular bathing scenes. The temperature of the spring is 41.95 (125° Fahrenheit) the devout pilgrims, therefore, could not come into contact with its sacred waters without experiencing a certain degree of pain; the female bathers especially found the heat decidedly too great for their softer skins. They popped in alternately, first one, then another foot, without venturing a leap; many, even of the men, betrayed their pain while in the water by a most doleful mien. Others again displayed great heroism, standing in the centre amidst the bubbling of the fountain. One fakir stepped in, without moving a muscle in his face: remained in the water fully three minutes, then rubbed his whole body with ashes, and, shortly afterwards, without having put on his clothes, was seen squatting in the cool evening air. What an enviable impossibility! I entered into conversation with this man regarding his mode of life. His expressions were as follows: "I left Juggernaut, my family property and home, and followed the god, by whose inspiration I was moved to wander hither. For twenty years I have been a fakir. The god has ever given me all that I could need. The god has likewise kept me from being sensitive to cold, preserved me from suffering the pangs of hunger, and, when sick, raised me up again. In winter, the god must needs send me something in the shape of a mantle, something wherewith to clothe myself; yet, if it be not so, he will not suffer me to sink under the chilling blasts!"

When the pilgrims have at length contrived to perform their three prescribed immersions, their garments are next washed in the holy water, amid continued prayer. Among them may be seen men and boys running up and down at the edge of the basin, without the least idea of devotion, simply to wash their feet or to cleanse various goods and chattels in its sacred fountain; gun-barrels and lamps were being cleaned in it; nevertheless, I was not permitted to descend to its margin, to estimate the temperature of its holy source.

The towering peaks of the Himalaya again. They visit the Temple of Kedarnath, and after ascending the Pass of Tso-rikhal, contemplate the lofty peaks once more:—

Never before had the giant mountains to the north appeared so completely to pierce the very skies, as when seen from this point, where a deep and wide glen lay at our feet. Like crystal palaces of ice, they towered into the air; to our right, the PEAK OF BUDRINATH, with its immense slopes of smooth and shining snow; to our left, our old friend, the PEAK OF KEDARNATH. Sharp and clear were the outlines of these bright summits,—pencilled against the azure sky,—and difficult would it have been to decide which was the more beautiful of the twin pair. Two beds of snow,—bordered with lovely, pale rose-coloured auriculas, and primroses of bright sulphur yellow and of delicious fragrance,—must needs be crossed; after which, scaling a steep rock of mica schist, the surface of which had been reduced by disintegration to a somewhat soapy consistency, we gained the summit, the crowning point of all these lofty passes. Here we again beheld the

glorious snow capped peaks of the higher Himalaya range ; but it was only for a moment ; the next instant, glittering icy needles alone towered above the dense mass of vapour, at such a height, that we might have deemed them an airy mirage, had we not, but a few seconds before, been gazing upon the entire chain, down to its very base.

The rumour of their approach appears sometimes to have alarmed the ignorant natives :—

A strange rumour had spread among the people in the dominions of the Rajah of Gurwal, to wit, that the Prince was preceded by a host of three thousand military, carrying fire, devastation and pillage, wherever they went. With the utmost difficulty were the terror-stricken populace convinced that the plundering army, and the splendid court with its golden pageantry, all consisted merely of a few pedestrian travellers, clad in simple attire, and followed by their luggage-bearers. Our party has unfortunately been diminished by the loss of one most useful member,—the Prince's personal attendant,—who, being seized with repeated attacks of the nature of cholera, probably caused by the sultry air of the valleys, was left behind. His place was taken by the aforementioned English hunter, who is intimately acquainted with all the windings, the ups and downs, and the narrow passes, of these mountain roads, and is moreover well versed in the "*Pahari Zubaan*," or language of the mountaineers, a dialect unintelligible even to our interpreter.

After much fatiguing travel, they reached Gungotri, some interesting notices of which are given in a note by the translator :—

Until a comparatively recent period, this region was unexplored by any traveller, save some wandering Hindu devotees. Mr. J. Fraser, who visited Gungotri in 1816, was the first European who penetrated thither ; he ascertained the elevation to be 10,319 feet. Even among the devout Hindus, this pilgrimage is considered an exertion so mighty as to redeem the performer from troubles in this world, and to ensure a happy transit through all the stages of transmigration. The three pools,—*Surya* (the Sun) *Cund*,—*Vishnu Cund*,—and *Prahma Cund*,—are said to be of pure Ganges water, unpolluted by any confluent stream. The water taken from hence is drawn under the inspection of a brahmin, who is paid for the privilege of taking it, and much of it is carried to Bengal and offered at the temple of Baidyanath. The ascent of the sacred stream is, beyond Gungotri, of extreme difficulty ; it was however accomplished by Captains Hodgson and Herbert, who after ascending an immense snow bed, and making their second bivouac beyond Gungotri at a level of 12,944 feet, found the Ganges issuing from under a very low arch from which huge hoary icicles depend, at the foot of the great snow-bed, here about 300 feet in depth : proceeding for some thousand paces up the inclined bed of snow, which seemed to fill up the hollow between the several peaks, called by Colonel Hodgson, Mount Moira and the Four Saints, and geometrically ascertained to vary in height from 21,179 to 22,798 feet, they obtained a near view of those gigantic mountains described by our author as seen from Mukba. As Colonel Hodgson justly observes, "It falls to the lot of few to contemplate so magnificent an object as a snow-clad peak rising to the height of upwards of a mile and a half, at the short horizontal distance of two and three quarter miles."

Failing in the attempt to penetrate into Thibet, they proceed direct to Kunawar "by one of the mountain passes."

In this journey they endured many hardships. For example :—

We were perpetually sliding back upon the wet grass, and a full hour of tedious

climbing had passed away, ere we arrived, half-way up the hill, at the base of an over-hanging precipice of granite, which, although the level space below was limited enough, afforded some slight shelter to our party from the ice-cold rain. We halted here. Our naked coolies covered around us, shivering, and their teeth chattering from cold. It proved however actually impossible, with our coolies and baggage, to pass the night on this platform of only ten feet square. There was not room sufficient to allow of pitching our tents, and not a spot was to be found in the neighbourhood bearing the most distant resemblance to level ground, —nothing but rugged acclivities and precipitous cliffs on every side.

Count O—, meanwhile, had gone in search of a better resting-place. The wind was every moment becoming colder and more piercing, and our limbs more and more benumbed; and still no messenger arrived to announce the discovery of an encampment-ground. Thus an hour passed away in dreadful discomfort and suspense; at the end of that time, one of the guides returned, to conduct us to a spot which he had at length found.

It was nearly dark from the heavy rain; we stumbled on,—following our guide, over the almost impassable mountains of débris,—so stiff from cold that, when we slid down, it was scarcely possible for us to rise up again, and our benumbed hands almost refusing to grasp our much-needed mountain poles. At length we reached the spot selected as our resting-place, a somewhat less steep declivity, above the deep glen of the Gumty's parent stream. Our tents were pitched as well as could be managed, but the rain poured through them on all sides. Before our camp-beds could, with the help of large stones, be set up, another hour and a half had elapsed, and we had not yet got rid of our drenched clothes. As to establishing any thing like a comfortable abode, such a thing was not to be dreamt of for this night; and the wood we had brought with us was so thoroughly wet, that it would not ignite. At length, after many vain attempts, a feeble flickering flame rewarded our perseverance, and, cherishing it into a small fire, we boiled our own chocolate, the cook being ill from the cold, and incapable of doing any work: but neither chocolate nor brandy,—in which last we indulged more largely than usual,—succeeded in thoroughly reviving the natural warmth of our frames.

I was scarcely in a state to make any measurements of height by the thermometer; however, the result of my calculations, such as they were, was an altitude of eleven thousand, seven hundred and nineteen feet above the sea.

THE "MOUNTAIN SICKNESS."

Nearly an hour and a half passed away before the van-guard of our troop of coolies, with their load of baggage, arrived at the head of the pass. They were in a deplorable condition, and suffering, as was also our interpreter Mr. Brown, from headache, which they described as intolerably severe. Anxiety, debility and sickness are the other symptoms of the disease, known here by the name of "*Rish*," poison, or "*Mundara*." Travellers among these mountains, ascending within the limit of eternal snow, are generally attacked by it. It showed itself among the coolies even half-way up the pass. They take, as an antidote, a paste prepared of the small sour apricots ("*Choaru*,") which I before described, the kernels being bruised, and mixed up with it; it has an unpleasantly sour taste, from which it derives its name of "*Khutai*."

Finding the way blocked up with snow, they had to descend in another direction:—

We set out on the march, and had scarcely gained the highest point, when a chill and soaking mist, gradually changing into a violent hail-shower, enveloped us in a gloom so dense, that the pioneers of our long train were altogether cut off from the rest.

Everything however conspired to make us earnestly desirous of reaching the foot of the mountain with the least possible delay; for the day was already on the decline, and it would have been utterly impracticable to pursue, amid the perils of darkness, a march in itself so replete with danger. As little could we, without risking our lives, spend the night on these heights. Our guides, themselves apparently anxious and perplexed, were urged forward with the impatience of despair.

We arrived in safety at the base of the first snowy steep ; but here we found that the lowest, and unfortunately also the most abrupt declivity, consisted of a smooth mass of ice, upon the existence of which, we had, by no means, calculated. We forthwith began, axe in hand, to hew steps in it. It was a painfully tedious operation ; and, while engaged in our fatiguing labour, we were obliged, hanging over a giddy abyss, to cling fast with our feet and our left hands, lest we should lose our hold and slide down to the bottom. This did indeed all but happen to the Prince himself ; his pole, however, furnished with a very strong iron tip, checked his fall. I too slipped, and darted down to a considerable distance, but fortunately with the aid of my "*alpenstock*," I contrived, in spite of its point being broken off, to keep myself in an upright position. Thus the Prince and I, accompanied by the guides, arrived prosperously at the end of the ice, and reached a less dangerous surface of snow ; but not a creature had followed us, and the thick rimy snow that darkened the atmosphere, prevented us from casting a look behind, towards our lost companions and attendants. One of the guides was sent back in quest of them ; and it turned out that the coolies had refused to descend by this route. Neither money nor cudgelling seemed now to be of the least avail.

At length the snowy shower somewhat abated ; the curtain of mist opened for a moment, and we descried, standing in a line on the crest of the ridge, from which we had descended an hour before, the whole array of coolies. Not one of them could muster resolution to venture upon the icy way ; they looked down in despair. When they perceived us standing below, a few of the most courageous,—urged on by Count O—— with voice and stick,—at length agreed to follow in our steps. They got on pretty well as far as the smooth icy precipice ; but here several of them lost their firm footing and slid down the steep descent with their heavy burdens on their backs. It was a frightful scene, and, to all appearance, full of danger ; not one of them however met with any injury ; even Mr. Brown, whose shooting descent from the highest part filled us with terror,—as he slid down a distance of at least a hundred feet, into a crevasse, in which he was apparently engulfed, was at last brought to us safe and sound, with the exception of considerable excoriation and torn raiment. It cost half an hour, however, to hew a long flight of steps for him in this icy wall. During all these proceedings, which occupied more than an hour, the Prince and I were standing at the foot of the declivity, up to our knees in snow, exposed to a freezing blast and to incessant sleet, but most heartily were we rejoiced, when at length all our people were gathered around us, without one broken neck or limb. The coolies had latterly given up the attempt to scramble down the fatal precipice of ice, and had glided down "*à la montagne Russe*," abandoning themselves to their fate.

The Lama's hymn seems to have been very like what some of our readers may have heard in Armenian churches :—

From the top of a cliff, over against Puari, we enjoyed, for a long while, the pleasing view afforded by the groups of neat houses surrounded by smiling vine-bowers and verdant corn-fields,—the frowning rocks in the back-ground, crowned on their summits with dark cedar-forests,—while the light clouds flitted across the silvery peaks of *Raldung*, ("*Reildang*") in the far distance, and we were refreshed, after our day's fatigues, by the soft and balmy breath of evening. Already the valley was veiled in twilight, when the Lamas (Priests) of the temple appeared, with their long red mantles thrown round them in imposing drapery, and commenced, in honour of the Prince, a strain of melancholy singing. First, a leader gave forth the melody, as if intoning a Latin prayer ; then the whole chorus, consisting of four other voices, joined in chanting the response, as in the "*Responsorium*" of a Roman Catholic church. The scene produced a wonderfully grand and solemn effect. It was long before we could summon resolution to quit this enchanted spot ; and we did not return until a very late hour to the shady walnut trees under which our tents were pitched.

At length they reached Chini.

Our path,—here very steep, and rendered slippery by the fallen leaves of the cedars,—soon led us above the wooded region, and we found ourselves upon a

well-made and carefully kept-up road, the *Dâk-road* to CHINI. It has been made, for the distance of at least a hundred miles, across the roughest mountain country, by a company of British merchants, simply on a speculation, for the sake of carrying grapes with the greatest possible expedition to Simla, from the few places where they are successfully cultivated ; they arrive at that station fresh, and in excellent condition. A contract has been entered into with the authorities of the district, according to which the grapes are packed by people appointed for the purpose, and transported from one village to another. Each station is fixed, and the Dâk has scarcely arrived, when the Mukdiar makes his appearance with fresh coolies, ready to forward the grapes without a moment's delay. Thus they travel on from village to village, till they reach Simla. The baskets, in which they are carried, are long dosers, or back-baskets, painted at the lower end. Cotton is sent up the country for packing them ; in this the grapes, gathered not in bunches but singly, are packed in alternate layers. When they come to table at Simla, they have, by no means, the tempting appearance of a handsome, full-grown cluster, but rather resemble gooseberries ; an immense quantity of them is however disposed of.

In this grape trade, to which the Rajah of Bissahir presents no obstacle, a single English merchant is said to realize, in the course of each season, a profit of four hundred pounds sterling, and the demand for grapes is greater than the supply. It is strange that the Rajah knows all this, and yet it never occurs to him that he might carry on the traffic in this article with the low country on his own account, by which means he would make much larger gains, as the grapes are his own property.

* * * * *

We had now gained an open height, commanding a view of the left bank of the Sutlej. Behind the chain of mountains which rises from its banks,—in the rugged defile of which we could yet recognize the ruinous avalanche and the masses of snow which we had so recently traversed near Barung,—appeared heights, treeless indeed, but clothed with fresh verdure : above them rose the outlines of the Ralduwg group, piercing the very skies with their eternal snows. Unfortunately a shroud was wrapped round the highest summits, for a storm was advancing towards us. How magnificent the contrast of the dark cedar forests, the alpine pastures of tender green, and the white dazzling snow. • •

From Chíní they at length succeed in penetrating within sight of the Chinese territory :—

But what a surprise awaited us on reaching the highest ridge ! A single, sharply-drawn crest of white granite, destitute of all vegetation, (such are all the loftiest ridges of the Himalayas,—one cannot even walk along them), now rose before us ; at one spot only there is a passage broken through it, a narrow opening like a sort of gate. The instant we entered this, the most magnificent Alpine panorama, beyond what fancy could have pictured, burst upon us : the mountains of the Chinese territory,—PURKYUL,—which we now beheld for the first time. How strange, how interesting, the thoughts that filled the mind on thus finding oneself, as it were, magically transported to the very gates of the Celestial Empire ! Alas ! we knew too well by former experience, how securely defended these were. So much the more ardent was our desire to penetrate the barrier ! so much the more vivid were our imaginings of the beautiful and the wondrous enclosed within ! The mellow violet blue of the long lines of hills towering one behind another, had something in it so mysterious, so enchanting, that the most intense longing to see them more closely, to perambulate them at our leisure, was kindled in our minds. We did not then know how little they gain by nearer approach,—how, at last, that landscape, which from a distance appears so attractive, resolves itself into cold, naked, ruinous-looking rocks, crowned with everlasting snow. We afterwards reached these heights, and so far crossed their barrier, that we saw before us no more blue mountains, and even no more snow,—but only the monotonous horizon of that table-land of Thibet, which, most unpromising in its sterility and desolation, stretches far as the eye can reach.

EXTEMPORE BRIDGE (NEAR CHASU.)

There was here but one route by which we could descend. It consisted of the remains of an avalanche, which in spring had choked up the bed of the river, and had hitherto served as a bridge. Unfortunately this mass of debacles had recently fallen in, and one gigantic tower of snow was now left standing alone on either side; even these mighty piers of the quondam bridge had been partly washed away by the current at their base, while the glowing sun above, no less fatal a destroyer, caused the melted particles to trickle down their sides. We descended with great difficulty on these wet and dirty banks of snow, and when all was done, we found ourselves at the very margin of the river indeed, but without any means of transit across its rapid waters. We were constrained, on account of the distance from the wood, and of the difficulty of transport, to relinquish all idea of bringing down timber and beams for building; ropes of sufficient length too were wanting, and if we had had them, they must have proved useless by reason of the frowning crags on the opposite shore. At length a huge cedar-stem, torn down by the rushing avalanche, was disentangled, and one grand effort was put forth to drag it to the narrowest part of the stream; after long and arduous labour, in the course of which we were all drenched to the skin, and covered with black mud, we were forced to abandon this plan also; for the tree became deeply imbedded in the sand, and no power of ours could move it from the spot. In this dilemma, we at last learned that a better place for constructing a bridge was to be found elsewhere; for actually our pioneers had been too indolent even to obtain proper information regarding the locality.

In order to reach the spot pointed out to us, we were obliged to clamber up an abrupt cliff, then to ascend a steep acclivity, several hundred feet in height, and covered with loose fragments of rock, and finally, to scale a conical mass of granite without the slightest vestige of a path. The slope of loose debris was expected to present the most insuperable obstacle: it proved otherwise; the blocks of stone did not yield beneath our feet, and when we reached the granite rock above, we found flat ledges and narrow fissures enough, so that, clambering up with hands and feet, we did at last gain the top of the cone, just in time to guide our coolies, who were at that moment coming up,—to the right course by our shouts.

The second spot selected for the passage of the river, seemed, at any rate, less dangerous than the first; for although the stream, fifty feet across, dashes its raging billows through the narrow gorge, a solid pier presents itself in the midst of its eddy, in the shape of a huge mass of rock. If it be possible to gain that point, all is safe; for it lies not very far from the opposite shore: unfortunately however, it offers no jutting corners, but presents, on the side towards which we descended, a smooth face of from sixteen to twenty feet in height. Without delay we proceeded to the work of building; there was no time to lose; for already, in the depths of this contracted defile, the shades of twilight were threatening to overtake us; each coolie must needs give a helping hand; stones were collected, and trees hewn down and driven into the bed of the river.

The work advanced more rapidly than I had expected. As soon as a few firm points in the stream had been secured, the rock in its centre was, with the assistance of a hastily-made ladder, speedily gained; from it a second rock was reached by means of a short bridge laid across, and thence the opposite bank itself was attained. At each hazardous spot, one of our party seated himself, to stretch out a helping hand to the *coolies* and *coolias*, and thus bring them safely across. After three hours of very arduous toil, the whole party and the whole baggage were on the further side. But we were still far from our station of Chasu; a steep acclivity rose in front of us, and when, with much difficulty and fatigue, we reached its top, we found ourselves deluded, again and again, by a false hope, as, at each turn of the path, we expected to see the village immediately before us.

KORA AND ITS INHABITANTS.

We were soon surrounded by a throng of the inhabitants, attired completely after the fashion of Thibet. The profusion of amber ornaments, and the brownish red of all their garments, the thoroughly Thibetan complexion, the general use of boots and trowsers, even among the women, which prevails from this place forward,

all mark the influence of the manners and customs of Thibet. The men wear skull-caps, sandals or high cloth boots, and a broad belt round the red vestment, in which are stuck a knife, a pipe, spoon, and a number of other little articles. The only thing which distinguishes the women's costume, is the absence of the belt, and the manner of wearing the hair, which, divided into numberless thin plaits, and interlaced with coral, shells, amber, and silver bells, hangs down like a sort of network upon the back.

The Tartar physiognomy is, by no means, very predominant; and although the noses are generally somewhat broad, and the cheek-bones large and prominent, yet I saw some faces which, in any country, would be acknowledged to be pretty and expressive. The figures are slender and yet athletic, resembling those of the inhabitants of the valley of the Buspa, near Sungla.

FRIENDLY FAREWELL.

Our departure, on the 4th of August, was, as had been our arrival on the 3rd, a universal fête. The path was enlivened by numbers of blithe and merry women, maidens, and children; and the male population escorted us as far as the river,—at least an hour and a half's walk,—and even there parted from us only one by one. The women remained on the vine-clad hills commanding our path, singing in clear but plaintive tones, "*Tantun ne re ho!*" which, I understand, signifies, "*happy journey!*" The kindly salutation was still heard resounding, long after the songstresses had vanished from our eyes.

ENCAMPED.

Our last steep ascent for the day accomplished, and a spot selected for our encampment, our first concern is to fix our tent. Each one sets his hand to the work, and in a few minutes the tent is pitched; our cloaks are unrolled, our blankets spread, and thus our night's quarters are prepared. But there stand, expecting their pay, the whole troop of coolies; the poor fellows must not be kept too long waiting for their hard-earned pittance. Many a rope must be unbound to get at the money, and forthwith tied up again in dexterous knots, the substitute for a lock and key. Suddenly, I bethink myself of my beautiful gathered plants; what a pity that they should be left to wither! The paper too, saturated with moisture, must be laid out in the sun to dry. To release from suffering the various living creatures, swarming and sprawling in all manner of bottles, and to file them on needles, is likewise a duty that admits of no delay. While I am occupied with it, numbers of people gather round me, with imploring gestures. One points moaning, to his stomach; another brings a sick child, and without more ado lays it silently at my feet; while yonder group are carrying hither an unfortunate man, with shattered legs. There is no time to lose: not a moment to linger among my zoological treasures: I must at least show my willingness to afford relief, even where I cannot give a remedy; and alas! how rarely can an efficacious remedy be provided in such haste! Yet it would be hard, indeed, to send away with worthless or fatal advice these poor people, who have come from their far-distant homes, confidently anticipating their cure from the "*Bara Doctor Saheb*." When the wonder-working medicine has, at length, been rummaged out of the deep and closely-packed chest and duly dispensed, and the bandages applied,—though not without making large holes in the remains of my linen shirts,—I begin to think of indulging in a little repose. But lo! a sudden torrent of rain threatens destruction to the plants I had but just prepared for my *hortus siccus*: I hasten out to rescue my treasures. Thus the rest of the day slips away; darkness comes on with swift and unlooked for strides; and, as evening closes in, our simple repast is devoured with voracious appetite. Scarcely have the dishes been removed, when the conversation dies away, and our eye-lids drop heavily; but no! hence lazy sleep! my journal must be written before the vivid impressions of the day have faded from my mind. A solitary candle,—sheltered from the draught of air by an ingenious paper bell, lest it should be too often extinguished,—sheds its faint and murky light upon my work. In what a poetic mood must I then indite, in what interesting and witty language clothe my descriptions of the adventures we have gone through

or the scenes we have beheld ! At length, I am free to sink down on the hard couch of coarse, scratching, woollen stuff ; and refreshing enough would be my slumbers, if the incessant blood-letting, occasioned by gnats and stinging flies, and other little hostile animals of the sucking or stinging kind, would but suffer the dreamy doze to merge into a sound sleep. After a short rest, morning dawns ; a noisy menial enters, and unmercifully pulling away the bed-clothes, compels me to throw on my apparel, yet damp from yesterday's rains. The tent vanishes no less quickly ; and we are left to stand shivering in the chill morning blast.

IN THIBET AT LAST.

After repeated unsuccessful attempts, His Royal Highness succeeded, on the 6th of August, in traversing the boundary of Thibet ; not indeed at the place originally contemplated, but in a highly interesting part of the country ; and thus we actually penetrated within the barriers of the Celestial Empire !

Four sturdy yak-oxen stood in readiness for us to mount their woolly backs ; the baggage-sheep were saddled and packed, and a merry band of village dames and maidens, all clad in the loose red trowsers, were bustling about with the remainder of our luggage, amid incessant laughter and singing. The men, on the frontier and in Thibet, act as bearers only when forced to do so ; and the whole burden of agricultural and of domestic toils they also leave to the women. It was a matter of some difficulty to gain a firm seat on the backs of our novel steeds, caparisoned with our Greek capotes by way of saddles ; for they are very shy, and kick with their hind-feet, turning their heads round perpetually, as if about to gore their riders. About half-past nine o'clock, we set out on our expedition, leaving behind us the apricot-groves of Namulja, and thus bidding farewell to the last oasis in the desert of rocks and of debris through which the Sutlej forces its way.

Although our path appeared, from a distance, to be extremely dangerous, it proved quite sufficiently firm and level for our broad-footed yak-oxen, noble beasts with the thick, silky, white fringe under the body, and the bushy tail, both of which sweep the ground : but soon the steepness increased so much that these poor animals began to groan, or rather grunt,* in the most melancholy manner, and this unearthly music gradually rose to such a violent rattle, that,—driven rather by its irksome sound than by the discomfort of our saddleless seats,—we dismounted at the end of the first half-hour.

How dreary, yet how imposing, is the prospect of those rude, steep, rocky masses of shattered slate, between which the roaring Thibetian river thunders its dark yellow waves. Not a shrub, not a green herb to gladden the eye ; as far as it can reach, nothing is seen but rock after rock, tumbled together in wild ruins, or frowning in stern crags, descending in deep and startling precipices, or towering,—if indeed the mist allows a glimpse of those stupendous heights,—into bold mountain peaks and lofty pinnacles, crowned with everlasting snow.

* * * * *

Our resting-place, the frontier village of SHIPKI, was not yet visible ; but we could descry three or four more distant villages, and could follow,—alas ! with our eyes only,—a path winding across the barren mountain-ridges, into the interior of that hidden land. How much did I envy the *lämmergeiers* the freedom of their flight, as, poised in mid-air, they circled high above our heads !

To our left towered the majestic Purkyl, with its thousand sharp cones and pinnacles, like some gigantic *Termites*-hill : the greater part of it was covered with snow.

We descended from this commanding point by gentle zig-zags, through tall bushes

* From this peculiar sound the animal derives its name of *Bos-grunniens* ; by some naturalists it is designated the *Bospoephagus*. Besides the important article of trade furnished by the yak-oxen in their tails, which are sold in all parts of India as chowries, and as ornamental trappings for horses and elephants, and commonly used in Persia and Turkey for standards, dyed crimson and known under the name of horse-tails, they are valued by the natives of Thibet for the long hair, used in the manufacture of tents, ropes, &c., and for their rich and abundant milk.—TR.

of fufze, the home of a multitude of partridges and of small mountain-hares (*Lagomys*);* and in two hours we arrived at Shipki: the last portion of the way only was fatiguing from its steepness.

FORBIDDEN HOSPITALITY.

Notwithstanding the Emperor's mandate, which forbids the supplying of any victuals to foreigners under pain of being ripped up, these villagers brought us milk and apricots in as great abundance as we could possibly desire. By degrees, the whole population, men, women and children, assembled to stare and to laugh at the strange, ungowned intruders. The men are tall and well made, and have moreover, generally, agreeable features: still, the Tartar descent is betrayed by the broad cheek-bones, and the long oblique eye turned upward at the outward extremity. The difference between the population of Northern Bissahir and that of Thibet is scarcely perceptible; the features, the costume, and the manners and customs are the same, with this distinction only, that the inhabitants of Bissahir are friendly, merry, and yet modest; those of Thibet, on the contrary, the most impudent, filthy, vulgar rabble upon the face of the earth: they cheat and chaffer like the Jews, and practise deception whenever opportunity offers.

The costume of both sexes consists of a caftan, a pair of loose drawers, and high cloth boots of motley patch-work; the women are marked only by their drawers being a little longer, and by their plaited tresses of black hair, shining with grease, which hang down the back in a multitude of narrow cords, bound together with imitation-agates made of glass, innumerable shells, and pieces of amber. Round the neck they wear, besides amulets, from ten to twenty strings of lumps of amber, false stones, lapis-lazuli, and turquoises of great beauty. The men content themselves with one cue, which, to make it very long and thick, is interwoven with sheep's wool.

Among the numerous dignitaries of this little place, who without the slightest shyness forced their way into our tent, were two doctors, an elderly and a younger man. They intimated the most earnest desire to make my acquaintance, and the elder one by way of salutation, touched my brow with the points of his folded hands. Our conversation was necessarily somewhat monosyllabic, as neither our interpreter nor any of our attendants could speak the language of Thibet. I understood only enough to convince me that these people are extremely ignorant, and physicians as it were by inspiration alone. One showed me his case of surgical instruments, which hung from his girdle; a long iron case, with a little drawer, beautifully inlaid with brass. It contained a number of lancets, or rather fleams, which are struck with a hammer to open a vein, a variety of rudely wrought iron knives, and a razor. He had set his heart on exchanging his instruments for mine, and for the sake of curiosity, I actually gave him one of my lancets for two of his fleams: he departed quite proud of his new possession.

SINGULAR TERROR.

One of the elders of the people, a fine-looking old man, with a shrewd countenance, on my attempting to draw his portrait, flew at my sketch-book, and endeavoured forcibly to snatch it from me; when that measure of violence failed, he had recourse to the pathetic, throwing himself on his knees before me with gestures of the deepest anguish, and seizing me by the beard.

This was the only means which I discovered on this occasion for distancing

* An animal unknown to scientific tourists among the Himalayas, until a comparatively recent period: it was discovered by Dr. Royle and named after him the *Lagomys Roylei*. To the Zoologist it is peculiarly interesting, as the other species of the Genus, from all of which it differs more or less, have been found only in Northern Asia, and among the rocky mountains of North-west America. The length of the *Lagomys Roylei* is about nine inches: like most of the other animals inhabiting the elevated regions of Kunawar, Thibet, &c., it has a soft rich fur below the coarse outer hair. The former is of a blue-black colour; the latter dark-brown; and usually about an inch in length: the face is somewhat shaggy, and the ears are of a singular funnel-like form. By some travellers the *Lagomys* has been erroneously described as a tail-less rat.—Tu.

from our tents the uninvited guests ; whenever their importunity exceeded all bounds, I assumed an attitude as if about to draw their portraits ; instantly they fled, neck and heels, as if driven away by some evil spirit. Nevertheless, I did succeed in committing to my sketch-book some few costumes.

The faces were, for the most part, of really frightful and repulsive ugliness,—the bridge of the nose deeply depressed,—the nasal stump scarce visibly protruding.—and the mouth very large and gaping wide.

They return to Namdja and thence descend to the Sutlej, and so on to Chíní again.

VISIT OF THE RAJA OF RISSAHIR.

The following morning (the 25th of August) His Highness the Rajah kept us all very long waiting ; noon had already arrived, when we at last heard the sound of trumpets and of drums, announcing his approach. The Sovereign appeared on foot ; a small, decrepit man, clothed in violet-coloured silk, with morocco-leather boots of the same colour, and a huge and most unshapely cap of gold tissue : he was led forward by the Vuzir ("*Bujír*") and "another exalted dignitary, both arrayed in white.

Count Von O — and I advanced to meet him ; the Count took his left, and I his right arm, and so, amid the acclamations of the people, and the loud shouts of "*Maha Rajah*," "*Maha Rajah*!"—we proceeded to the tent, where, already, the presents sent by His Highness as precursors of his visit were deposited on large brass dishes. Our camp-beds, with Indian shawls thrown over them, served as divans, on which the Rajah and his suite immediately reclined. Our interpreter, Mr. Brown, translated questions and answers at a brisk rate, and the conversation flowed on with vivacity and zest ; for the aged Rajah, however dulled and enfeebled in his outward man, displayed no lack of life and quickness in his mind and language.

Among the presents was a piece of Russian leather, which has thus the opportunity of making the great round and travelling back to Europe ! There were also several singular weapons, and webs of silken and of woollen stuffs, musk bags, and the highly-valued Nerbissi root.

The same ceremonies took place at the departure of the Rajah ; however, he very politely declined our further escort, not without symptoms of secret uneasiness.

After dinner the Prince returned his visit. The Vuzir came to conduct us to the palace. Passing through a half-dilapidated gateway, surrounded by an eager throng of inquisitive spectators, we entered the great court, over which was spread a baldachin. A grand yet simple entrance leads into the interior of the palace, an edifice distinguished by the severe and unadorned style of mountain architecture. Three elegant silken sofas were placed in a circle ; behind them and on either side, stood hosts of couriers clad in white, with drawn "*Khukries*" (short sabres) in their hands : a few only were marked as heralds by the insignia which they bore,—the long, gilt staff, separating at the top into two curved points. The counter-presents now offered as an acknowledgment of those received,—in compliance with the oriental etiquette of exchanging gifts,—were accepted, apparently with great satisfaction, by the Rajah. He conversed for a long while with the Prince, and expressed a great desire to obtain information concerning the position, size and state of our native land, as well as to know the name of every sovereign in Germany ; on all which subjects it was no easy matter to give His Highness an intelligible reply. He refused, through the medium of his "*Bujír*," to allow us to see his palace ; excusing himself on the plea that "the gods were in it," and only granting us permission to be conducted round its outer gallery.

Altogether, the audience was a highly interesting scene, and one of peculiarly oriental character. By the crimson light of an exquisite evening sky,—a rarity in this part of the country,—we wended our way back to the tents.

KOTGHUR.

We followed the course of the Sutlej, from Rampur, along easy and well-made roads, on the 30th of August ; till, quitting the river-glen, we struck off in a

south-westerly direction, towards KOTGHUR, where we celebrated the termination of our mountain wanderings in a most solemnizing manner at the home of two German missionaries, Messrs. Rudolph and Prochnow.*

These very amiable and excellent men,—the first a native of Berlin, the second of Pomorania, have done wisely to settle in this paradise of Kotghur, where they have created very neat and pretty dwellings, surrounded by a charming park, and have established a large school for the Hindus, who appear also to flock in numbers to the Church. Thus a foundation seems to be laid for forming a Christian Church in Kotghur; for the mountaineers, though they themselves indeed come apparently only from curiosity to the Church, send their children to the school; not one of them however has been baptised as yet, but the boys are admirably well instructed, have learned English very quickly, and can read the Bible both in English and in Hindui, and intelligently explain what they read. In Germany, these two missionaries would doubtless be mere “candidates;” whereas here, they are already beginning to gather a family circle around them. Herr Rudolph yesterday announced to us an addition to his, requesting the Prince at the same time to stand god-father to his child.

We heard a Hindui sermon, and afterwards a German one, which was very excellent, although Herr Prochnow has not spoken a word of German for three years. I am bringing home with me a Hindui Bible, which I received from him.

SIMLA.

On the 4th of September, we arrived at Simla, the English convalescent station, where there is a crowd of English officers, who have resorted hither with their families in quest of health. The place lies on the same level as at Nainthal, but there is this difference between them, that the latter is just springing into existence,—scarce twenty Englishmen are there, and no ladies except the daughters of Mr. Wilson,—whereas at Simla, some hundred and fifty officers reside, half of that number being married, and provided with daughters or female relatives besides; in addition

* Agents of the Church of England Missionary Society. The Himalaya Mission, of which Kotghur is still considered the centre, was established at the request and with the assistance of the British residents at Simla and elsewhere, in the year 1843, since which time the Gospel has been preached in the villages of the district and at the annual *melas*, or fairs; Thibetian and Hindui tracts have been distributed: medical and surgical advice and assistance given by the missionaries; orphan institutions opened; and day-schools established: in 1844 the boys' school, under the charge of Mr. Rudolph, numbered from thirty to forty; while Mrs. Prochnow had a school of ten or twelve girls, whom she taught to sew and knit, to read and write. Since then, the war in the Punjaub has caused some interruption to the labours of the missionaries, who were obliged to remove for a time to Simla; but from the latter part of 1845, Kotghur has again been their head-quarters, and their operations are carried on with uninterrupted activity, and not without evidences of that blessing which alone can give success. Another step has been taken in the extension of the mission towards Thibet, by the establishment of a new school at Kepú, between Kotghur and Rampur; and another school has been opened at Theog, between Kotghur and Simla. Mr. Prochnow mentions that many people from the adjacent villages, and travellers from a distance come in, and with the children of the schools and the native servants from the plains, listen attentively not only to the services on the Lord's day, but to the daily family worship, at which he has read and explained the Scriptures, particularly the Parables, the Sermon on the Mount, and the History of the Death and Resurrection of our Lord. He had met on the road between Kotghur and Simla a wandering Lama from Chinese Tartary, who had one of the Thibetian Christian Tracts which he had received from a travelling Zemindar, who told him that a *Sahib* had distributed many of them at the Rampur fair the year before: in other instances these Tracts having been distributed in Lower Kunawur and Bissahir, have been met with and found to be read and highly valued in Chinese Tartary: so that these silent and unobtrusive messengers of the Gospel, clad in no foreign garb, have found their way into the Celestial Empire itself, across that very barrier which has been found so impassable for Europeans.—Tr.

to which, many widows are settled here, and not a few solitary matrons, who console themselves at balls and varied festivities for the absence of their lords.

At the end of our long and wild Himalayan peregrinations, we arrived at the new and handsome English hotel in a somewhat barbarian costume; instead of a coat was substituted something between a cloak and a coat of mail, formed of coarse woollen stuff,—in the broad belt confining it at the waist was stuck the cutlass; feet shod with sandals by way of shoes, long hair combed back over the top of the head, and rough and shaggy beard completed our grotesque appearance. The whole skin of my face had peeled off twice from the reflected glare of the snow, and that which had now succeeded it was of a dark brown hue.

Now,—we draw French kid gloves over our sun-burnt hands; force our feet, broadened by exercise, into delicate dancing-boots; and never dream of appearing otherwise than in dress-coats and white waistcoats; for the most rigid etiquette is here observed. How strange does it still seem to me when I awake in the morning, to find myself, not in the dripping tent, but in a comfortable bed-room furnished with all manner of luxuries. The lack of pedestrian activity too is an unwonted slavery; for our limbs, accustomed to scaling mountains and scrambling down precipices, are now exerted only to pay morning visits, or to dance polkas at a ball!

There are, at Simla, three great Bazars, *i. e.* streets consisting only of shops and warehouses, occupied chiefly by Cashmere merchants. A great number of native artisans also live in this place. Here is to be seen an infinite variety of costumes; those of the mountains mingling with those of the plains; Sikhs with the high, pointed turban, on which they generally wear an iron ring with a sharp polished edge,—a dangerous missile; Affghans with the red caftan and the noble, flowing beard; and Cashmerians, never failing to display upon their persons their beautiful shawls. The latter people are usually merchants or tailors, but the goods they sell are not suited to my purse. To complete the picturesque effect of the varied throng, there are the gay and motley uniforms of the Indian troops.

From Simla our travellers visited Ferozepore, Lúdíana, Atscheriko and Múdkí. The last words written by our author were:—

To-morrow the army is to advance towards Ferozepore, and I cherish a confident hope that we shall get through successfully, fresh reinforcements having now arrived. Farewell;—may we soon meet again!

Alas! he met them no more.

This is altogether a most interesting book. The travellers seem to have been most patient, persevering, courageous, and cheerful. The wonder is, how Dr. Hoffmeister contrived to write so full an account of every thing they met with, amid all the turmoil and hardships of their long journey.

ART. VII.—*Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay for the years 1849-50. No. X. Bombay, 1851.*

•WE have long felt that the members of the Medical service of Bengal are wanting in a sense of what is due to the public at large, and to their own character as a class of highly educated and intelligent men, in having no organ through which to record the results of their experience in the treatment of diseases peculiar to this country, or of their investigations into the history and properties of the many substances used by the *Baidis* and *Hakims* of India, as remedial agents in their village practice. With a far more extended field of observation, and numerically much stronger than their brethren of the sister presidencies, they have shown themselves far less anxious than these, to promote the interests of their profession, and far less ready to support, with either pen or purse, the several attempts which have, from time to time, been made to supply a want, which all must feel to exist.

As a class, there are few who come out to this country more fitted by their previous training than Medical officers, to take a high position in the ranks of science and literature. They have received a highly finished collegiate education, are supposed to be possessed of fair classical attainments, and, from the more advanced age at which they enter the service, have had opportunities of acquiring knowledge beyond those enjoyed either by the Civil or the Military officer. With all these advantages, however, but few have attained to any eminence even in their own profession. There are many causes to which this may be ascribed. From the harassing nature of the duties devolving upon the young officer on his first arrival in this country, the *habits* of study acquired at College are lost, and where this is not the case, with the exception of the few resident in larger stations, he labours under no small disadvantage, in having no access to a well-stored library, or to the Medical literature of the day; while his isolation from others of his own profession, throws him entirely upon his own resources, and rarely affords him an opportunity of comparing his experience with that of others. Under these circumstances, the energy, zeal, and love of his profession with which he set out in life, gradually, from the utter absence of any stimulus, become annihilated.

We believe that a well-conducted Medical periodical would greatly tend to advance Medical science in this country; and we cannot but consider it as an opprobrium to the Bengal service, that they have not one at their command.

Both Madras and Bombay have their Medical Societies, supported by the bulk of the officers of their respective services ; and these from time to time, issue volumes of Transactions, goodly octavoes, like the one before us, containing a mass of highly important facts and statistics, which, but for the fostering aid afforded by the Society, would never have been communicated to the world.

Bengal, we believe, was the first to organize a Society of this character, when in 1823, chiefly through the exertions of Dr. James Hare, there was formed—"The Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta." Its objects, as stated in the resolutions passed at its establishment, were "the advancement of professional knowledge, for the mutual benefit of the members, more particularly with reference to Indian diseases and treatment; and the promoting, by every means in their power, the study of such branches of Natural History as are connected with the practice of medicine, or lead to Medical research."

The publications issued by the Society, during a period of twenty years, sufficiently prove how fully the objects, as above set forth, were attained. The "*Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta*" deservedly ranked with the best of their kind published in England, and acquired, for many of the contributors, an European reputation.

It would lead us too far to endeavour to trace out the causes, which led to the decline of this Society, until its final dissolution about the year 1842, when, with the consent of its then existing members, its library and museum were made over to the Medical College.

We cannot believe that the energy and zeal, which organized, and, for so many years, supported the Society, is extinct in the Medical service ; and we confidently look forward to its re-establishment, at no distant date, under the auspices of the talented professors of the College, and the medical men resident at the Presidency. We hold, that it is incumbent upon the members of the service, for their own reputation, to take some measures,—and we know of none offering the same facilities as are afforded by a Society, to record and perpetuate, for the benefit of others, the results of their experience in the treatment of disease in this country.

We have been led into making these remarks by the appearance, upon our table, of the 10th volume of the *Transactions of the Bombay Society*, the contents of which we shall briefly glance at, as from their professional nature, a critical analysis would be hardly suited to our pages. The first paper is entitled "Medical History of the 1st Bombay European Regi-

'ment (Fusiliers), during its service in the Punjaub in 1848, 1849, and 1850, by F. S. Arnott, M. D., Surgeon of the Regiment."

On the breaking out of the war before Múltan, in August 1848, this regiment, then stationed at Kurrachi, received orders to proceed with the Bombay force to the seat of war, and in October embarked on steamers on the Indus for Rorí. The Bombay Commissariat appear to have taken a lesson from the victuallers of Her Majesty's Navy, for we read—"When on the river, the men had much reason to complain of their rations. The biscuit was so bad, as often to lead to its being rejected, and indeed no man ever ate it, who could get any thing else; and the one pound of meat, which is at no time sufficient for a day's consumption, was now, from its leanness and general indifference, found quite inadequate; and there being no bazars, where they could supply the deficiency, the men suffered a good deal, till at length an order was issued, directing the meat ration to be augmented to a pound and a half; and this quantity was continued till after the battle of Guzerat, when, from its not assimilating with the Bengal allowance, it was again reduced to one pound."

The Bombay force, according to our author, would appear not merely to have had more capacious appetites for food than their brothers of Bengal, but also "more stomach to the fight;"—it may be as a *sequitur*; for further on, speaking of the retreat of Shere Sing's army from Guzerat, Dr. Arnott writes:—"We were scarcely astonished, when we were ordered off next day in pursuit of the enemy; but when we found that a great part of the Bengal force, which had been almost stationary for months, was to remain behind, it did seem odd that the Bombay army, which, since the beginning of November, had been incessantly engaged, either in marching, or before the enemy, and during the previous twenty days had marched upwards of 240 miles, should be selected for this duty. But the Bombay troops had turned the tide of war, had sustained no reverse, and were flushed with success, and, above all, had imbibed none of that extraordinary, and, to them, incomprehensible over-estimate of the Seikh prowess and strategy, which pervaded the Bengal army; so that the selection was perhaps a judicious one. The men, too, had confidence in themselves and their officers, and their officers had every confidence in them."

We leave our readers to judge how far this is applicable to the men who fought at Mudki, Ferozshuhr and Sobraon. These well-contested and hard-fought fields taught them that they could

hardly over-estimate the valour of an enemy from whom they had suffered so severely, and who, in the two first engagements, had, for so long a time, disputed possession of the field, and left them but a doubtful victory.

After the dispersion and surrender of the army of Shere Sing, the Bombay Fusiliers proceeded to Peshawur, where they arrived at the latter end of March, and encamped at the foot of the Khybur hills near Jumrud. Here, or in the neighbourhood, the regiment remained under canvass during the hot months of May, June, and July. In addition to this exposure to extreme heat as a cause of disease, Dr. Arnott enumerates many others incidental to the life of a soldier, not merely at Peshawur, but in all parts of India. We are much disposed to think, that the danger from exposure to the sun has been greatly exaggerated as a cause of acute disease in India; for though it cannot be doubted that cases of death from this cause do occasionally occur, yet we believe they are much more rare than is commonly supposed. The seamen of ships in the river at Calcutta may be seen at all seasons, at all hours, employed in the rigging, exposed to the direct rays of the sun; yet cases of disease among them, which can be fairly and solely attributed to such exposure, are rare. Among the European residents of Calcutta, the hot months of April and May are usually considered healthy, and such the experience of medical men generally has pronounced them to be. The soldier in barracks, during these months, is, from the utter inertness and listlessness in which he lives, tempted to indulge in drinking, at first from mere idleness, afterwards from habit. His whole system of life renders him peculiarly obnoxious to disease; the carelessness with which, reeking with perspiration, he throws himself on the damp ground: and other causes, well known to all professional men, tend to fill the regimental hospital.

Our author points out several of these pre-disposing causes—a high temperature among others; but as before stated, we think it a question whether the sun has the effect upon the system, which is generally ascribed to it. Major Tulloch, in one of his invaluable reports, on sickness in H. M. army and navy, of which we shall afterwards speak more fully, expresses the opinion founded upon statistical evidence, that mere heat has little influence in the treatment of disease, though he is disposed to attribute power in this way to heat co-operating with moisture. He establishes that in Antigua and Barbadoes, where the range of the thermometer is rather higher than in Dominica, Tobago, Jamaica, or the Bahamas, the sickness amounts to little more than one-third of its prevalence in the latter stations.

The prevalence, too, of epidemic fever during the winter months, of which the reports furnish many examples, is an argument against the abstract effect of heat. Moisture, abstractedly considered, as a cause of disease, is met by similar arguments. British Guiana has more rain by one-half than Jamaica, but the mortality among troops in the latter situation is twice as great as in the former. Were excess of moisture the cause of excess of disease, the same effect should be observed in this country; yet the Malabar coast, which for six months is deluged with rain, is generally the most healthy quarter of the Madras presidency.*

Dr. Mackinnon, speaking of the Indigo planters of Tirhut, a class notorious for their contempt, it might be called, of the sun, writes:—"The Indigo planters lead active lives, enjoy the comforts of good country-houses, and generous wholesome diet; but, on the other hand, they are subject to much exposure. Their appearance of rude robust health, so different to most Anglo-Indians, and even to the civil servants residing at the same station, was remarkable, and appeared to show that being much in the open air is conducive to giving the constitution a high tone;"† and again speaking of apoplexy, he writes:—"Solar apoplexy is clearly a misnomer for this disease—but apoplexy is perhaps a better appellation. We often see soldiers exposed to very high ranges of temperature, and even to the direct rays of the sun, without even one person suffering; while at other times the disease would appear to attack as an epidemic, and as if its invasion depended upon something besides mere heat."

In considering the causes of the greater mortality among the soldiery during the hot months, their mode of life in the barracks must be kept in view. It is during the cold weather only that troops are moved, and marching is eminently conducive to their health, as compared to the idle and inactive life of cantonments. On this point we will let Dr. Arnott speak:—

"Simple is the fare of the European soldier on the line of march, more especially in a distant campaign, and steady and regular are his habits. On the march he is necessarily regular in his exercise, and he soon learns to be regular in his diet, in his drink, and his hours of retiring to rest. Well aware is he of the penalty any infringement of the rules of prudence there entails upon him, and carefully does he avoid all temptation. When a march comes to a close, a change takes

* *British and Foreign Medical Review*, *passim*.

† Mackinnon on Hygiene, Public Health, &c.

‘ place ; the soldier has no longer his regular service, he has no occupation, and few amusements, consequently time hangs heavy on his hands ; and it is scarcely to be wondered at that he is then ready to give way to every impulse, and to gratify his inclination to the utmost ; and it must be an extraordinary country where the European soldier will not find the opportunity of doing so.”

Again : “ These six months” (of marching) “ had consequently been a period of great mental excitement and bodily activity, labour and exposure ; and were succeeded by a period of idleness, inactivity, and want of excitement, which almost uniformly exerts an injurious influence on the health of the soldier. Accordingly, as appears from the returns, though we lost only three men by disease in the preceding six months (when marching) we lost in the six months succeeding April, 1849, no less than eighteen men by disease ; we lost two in each of the three following months ; and as again exemplifying the beneficial effects of mental and bodily activity, regularity of habits, &c., I am happy to say, that during our long and tedious march from Peshawur to Púnah, in the end of December, 1849, January, February, March, and the beginning of April, 1850, we lost only two men by disease, though we brought every sick man from Peshawur with us. The effects on the men of change from the active, regular, and excited life of a campaign to the sedentary, inactive life and looser habits of a standing camp, soon became apparent in their diminished relish for their meals, their predisposition to indigestion, jaundice, and in the prevalence of nausea and vomiting after meals, which during the time we lay at Jumrud, affected nearly every man and officer of our regiment, and indeed, I believe, almost every man of the force.”

We have latterly heard much of the fever of Peshawur, which seems to have changed its type : for though extremely prevalent among the fusiliers when stationed there, it appears to have been of a mild character. The greater number of cases occurred in July and August, when it might almost have been considered an epidemic ; no fewer than 798 cases having been admitted during these two months alone, and of these, we are told, *not one proved fatal*.

Of late years, fever at Peshawur has assumed a far more formidable character, the mortality from this disease being unusually high, but the cause is still enveloped in mystery ; the thermometrical range is unchanged, and as far as observations have been made, there has been no appreciable difference

in the seasons, but of all inscrutable matters connected with etiology, these epidemic aggravations of endemics are the most inscrutable. In Major Tulloch's statistical report of sickness among Her Majesty's troops serving in the east, printed by order of the House of Commons,* there is an account of the epidemic fever, which raged at Kandy, in Ceylon, in 1824. It appears that the highest rate of annual mortality of white troops, prior and subsequent to 1824, was eighty per 1,000, the lowest was twelve, and the average of sixteen years, exclusive of the epidemic year, was forty-three and a fraction, whereas in 1824, it amounted to the ratio of 333 per 1,000, in other words, to one-third of the entire force. "A slight increase of temperature," remarks Major Tulloch, "and a longer continuance of dry weather than usual, were the only circumstances which preceded or marked the continuance of this epidemic, but its subsequent re-appearance in 1824, and July, 1825, was not marked by any such indications, and since then every variety of season, hot and cold, wet and dry, equable and changeable, has passed over without inducing a greater extent of febrile disease than would be likely to occur among an equal number of troops in the most healthy of our colonies." Whence arises this occasional aggravation of a disease ordinarily existing, but in a mild form? If it is supposed to arise from any increase in what are commonly supposed to be the exciting causes, such as a high temperature, moisture and miasma, how account for the exemption from fever of parts of South America, where these combined powers abound equally as in Ceylon?

Dr. Wilson, in a report upon the health of the Navy, states that H. M. S. the *Warspite*, with an average complement of 600 men, lay the whole year in Rio Janeiro harbour, and did not lose a man, and had only seven cases of fever. He states also "that epidemic diseases are almost unknown, and though the inhabitants are not free from febrile diseases, they suffer but little from them, and from severe sweeping epidemics of all kinds they are exempt. What is the cause of such immunity? Why is it that in a land-locked harbour, in this part of the world, under a powerful sun, surrounded by marshes and rank vegetation, ships lie for months or years without the occurrence of a single case of concentrated fever?"

But we are wandering far from our regiment, which we left at Peshawur, in our search after this will-o'-the-wisp, for equally intangible appears to be the cause of fever, call it by what

* Vide *British and Foreign Medical Review*.

name we will, marsh-miasm, or malaria, it is but a name representing an agent, or agencies, of the nature of which we must be content to admit our utter ignorance; we only know it by its effects, which resemble those of a poison upon the human constitution, but the substance itself has yet eluded our grasp. We may indulge a hope, that the great progress made of late years, in organic chemistry, will eventually lead to the discovery of this, as of other agents, the causes of disease.

Of diseases affecting the brain, of an apoplectic nature, but eight cases occurred during the nine months the regiment was at Peshawur. Of these the author writes:—"As far as I could ascertain, insolation, that is, exposure to the direct rays of the sun, was in no instance the cause of the attack, as the orders of the time were most stringent against men exposing themselves in the sun."

Yet the general impression is, that affections of the brain are, in particular, the result of exposure. On the 30th December, the Bombay Fusiliers commenced their march to Púnah, which they reached on the 3rd April, 1850:—

Having thus come a distance of eighteen hundred miles in three months and five days, and having descended from a latitude of 34° to one of 18° , of which 12° were completed within the last month. Gradually, as we came South, the weather became warmer, and towards the end of March, in Lower Scinde and the Concan, the heat began to remind us that the season was sufficiently advanced to make a change of residence desirable from crowded tents into more spacious barracks.

During this three months' march, as before stated, the regiment lost but two men by disease, and during the nine preceding months, while at Peshawur, but twenty-four, out of a total of 840, a result which we think must be, under Providence, ascribed to the zeal, discrimination, and medical skill of Dr. Arnott, of whose highly interesting paper we now take leave, with a hope that the medical history of the regiment under his charge, so ably reported in the volume before us, will be continued in the next number of the "*Transactions*."

It is not our purpose, nor indeed have we space to enter into a detailed consideration of each of the papers contained in the volume before us. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with the following extract from an interesting account of the medical topography of Baghddad, by the residency surgeon, Dr. Hyslop. We have heard much of the hot winds as they prevail in the N. W. Provinces, but few of our readers are aware of their effect in the neighbourhood of Baghddad, according to the testimony of Dr. Ives:—

In December and January, ice is frequently to be seen, and frost is still more common. March and April are the two most pleasant months in the year; the gardens are then in full foliage, and the atmosphere is delightfully loaded with the

perfume of the orange blossom, which is occasionally wafted on the breeze to a considerable distance from town. In August and September we have occasional hot winds from the NE., during which the air is generally obscured with dust, which is so fine and subtle, as to penetrate even into the works of a watch when carried in the pocket. I have seen the thermometer stand at 117° at 10 o'clock at night in one of these winds, but I have never seen nor heard of it proving fatal, except in one instance, in the summer of 1847, in which forty people, working at a canal in the neighbourhood of this city, were struck down in one day, and many of them died. But this might easily be accounted for, without supposing anything poisonous in the wind, as the name *Saum* implies: the heat in 1847 was intense, and the mere exposure was enough to produce the consequences. I do not deny, although I am inclined to doubt, the existence of the pestilential vapour in the arid deserts of Syria; but I do deny its existence in the neighbourhood of Baghdad. Many strange stories have been told, and much that is improbable has been written of this hot East wind; as an example, we transcribe the following extract from a quaint history of travels, in 1758, by Mr. Ives, a surgeon in H. M.'s Navy at that time. After describing the precautions adopted by travellers to escape the "sudden, death" produced by this "fatal blast," called *Samiel*, he continues (page 275):—

"And when it is over, they get up, and look round them for their companions; and if they see any one lying motionless, they take hold of an arm or leg, and pull and jerk it with some force; and if the limb thus agitated separates from the body, it is a certain sign that the wind has had its full effect; but if, on the contrary, the arm or leg does not come away, it is a sure sign there is life remaining, although to every outward appearance the person is dead; and in that case they immediately cover him or them with cloths, and administer some warm diluting liquor to cause a perspiration, which is certainly but slowly brought about.

I have not been able to learn whether the dead bodies are scorched, or dissolved into a kind of gelatinous substance, but from the stories I have heard there has been frequent reason to believe the latter; and in that case I should attribute such fatal effects rather to a noxious vapour than to an absolute and excessive heat."

Professional readers will find much to interest them in Dr. Hyslop's report, and may learn a new cure for ague as practised by a Persian *hakím* :—

Among the disciples of Esculapius there are hosts of Arabs, Persians, and Jews, men of reputed skill and large practice, who know a hot disease from a cold, and who treat them accordingly; who, while they pursue most active treatment, practise upon the credulity and superstition of the natives, and kill their patients with great *éclat*. As an instance of active treatment, during the fever of 1849, a Persian *Hakím* was called to a patient, whom he found shivering and shaking in an ague. This was decidedly a cold disease, and the remedy was evident. He ordered an earthen oven, such as they use here, to be heated, and the patient to be put into it. This was done, and the mouth of the oven was covered with a thick bed-quilt. The poor patient shouted and struggled, but the attendants were ordered to keep him down until he perspired freely. After a time, one of the friends of the patient removed the quilt, and took him by the arm to assist him out of the oven: the skin of the arm peeled off in his hand; the man had been roasted to death!

This reminds us of one among the thousand cures for cholera, which we have seen recommended by a Frenchman as a specific. The patient, rolled in a blanket, was to be suspended as in a hammock, over a huge cauldron of boiling water, steamed in fact to death *or* life, as the ingenious proposer averred.

The next paper is a very complete and important report of the European General Hospital at Bombay, from April, 1850, to March, 1851, by Mr. Stovell, surgeon to the institution. It

is difficult to estimate sufficiently the importance of a report of this nature. Had the vast mass of valuable returns, which have accumulated in our Medical Boards for so many years past, been made available, and a condensed arrangement published annually, with a selection from the reports accompanying them, the profession would now have been in possession of data, upon which to found somewhat authentic conclusions as to the salubrity of different parts of India, and the hygienic and therapeutic measures, best adapted for the preservation of health. The report under consideration is so exclusively of a professional character, as to debar us from dwelling as long on it, as its merits would otherwise warrant. We therefore pass on to a second paper by Dr. Arnott, entitled "On the moving of troops," which contains many useful hints, as well for the commanding officer, as for the medical man, derived from his experience during many years in India. How true are the following remarks on marching :—

Marching.—There are very few men in the service, however inexperienced or young, who see any difficulty in conducting a march : every man thinks he understands the subject, and indeed that it is too simple to require the slightest pre-consideration. Many military men suppose, that if they can conduct a body of armed men from one camp to another, without suffering from the enemy, without loss of baggage, and without complaints from the villagers, that they do all that is required. A good deal more than this, however, is required ; for on the manner of marching much of the healthiness and comfort of the troops depends ; and, to conduct a march properly, it ought to be as exact, regular, and precise, as an ordinary parade. With one man, the hour of starting will be determined by no fixed rule, but probably by his own caprice ; and the hour of arriving at the new ground will be a matter of the merest indifference. The pace will probably be guided by the pace of his own horse, and the halts by his own feelings of cold or fatigue. But this is not the way to march : the hour of starting ought to be regulated by the distance to be traversed, and, of course, in some measure by the nature of the roads. The hour of reaching the new camp ought to be such that the men are not exposed unnecessarily to the sun ; the pace should be guided by the physical powers of the men ; and the halts should be at regular intervals, and regulated so as to rest and relieve them from their fatigues.

To accomplish these objects, it is laid down by the best authorities, and is now practised by all having any experience of marching, that the best pace at starting, and for the first hour, is at the rate of three miles ; at the end of the hour a halt of five minutes is allowed. For the next hour, the pace should be at the rate of four miles, and at the end of it there should be a halt of twenty minutes. The third hour ought again to be at the rate of three miles, with a halt of five minutes ; and then to start off at the rate of four miles, when, it may be supposed, in ordinary marching, the halting-ground will be reached within the hour ; so that the time consumed in a march of fourteen miles ought never to exceed four hours and a half. In forced marches, a halt of at least an hour ought to be given about this time, and then to commence again as at first.

Experience has proved that the above mode of marching is the best, and that the less it is deviated from the better : a very quick pace exhausts a man by the violence of the exercise ; a slow one by its long continuance under his heavy accoutrements, and perhaps under exposure. A varied pace, therefore, is considered the best, as it avoids the extremes, and brings into play alternately a different set of muscles. The halts are intended to recruit a man's wearied energies, to re-invigorate him for the remainder of the march, and give him an opportunity of refreshing himself

with his pipe, and, if necessary, of relieving nature, and adjusting the stocking over an incipient blister, and so on. As the bugle sounds the halt, the men should, as much as possible in the order they are marching in, and without delay and bother, halt, pile arms, and fall out, so that when they again move off, they have merely to unpile, fall in, and start.

By marching in this manner, and the distance being known, the time of reaching the new ground may be calculated to a nicety; and so well have I seen things arranged and managed, that we could always calculate to within ten minutes at what time our march would end,—and that time ought never to be later at any season than one half hour after sunrise. By this method of marching, almost any soldier, native or European, can accomplish, even at the commencement of a campaign, an ordinary march with ease; and those who do feel distressed, soon get over it. A man knows beforehand, and therefore sets his mind to it, that a certain quantity of exercise is before him; that he has a certain distance to go, and that with almost the same regularity as on his ordinary parades, he will at a regulated time complete it; that he will in the most moderate space of time be relieved of arms and heavy accoutrements, that he will be able to undress, drink, wash, and get rid of the dust he was smothered in, and either rest till the kit comes up, or, what is more generally the case, provide himself with firewood, water, or supplies, from the neighbouring village or bazaar. He in this case exerts himself cheerfully; he arrives fresh, little fatigued, and full of buoyancy and joy, in the cool of the morning: he has time to cook and enjoy his regular meals, and, if inclined to snooze in the heat of the day, he does so.

In Bengal, it is, we believe, the almost universal practice to halt the men when about half through the march, which is usually about day-break, and serve out to them a cup of hot coffee; and experience has proved the wisdom of this measure. It may be conceded as a generally admitted, although not proved, fact, that the system is more obnoxious to miasmatic and other pestilential influences when fasting, than when the digestive process is going on. We are also disposed to believe, that with the rising of the sun, and the evaporation of the dew deposited during the night, these subtle agents of disease may be more widely diffused through the air, and more active in their effects than at other hours of the day. Should there be *any* truth in these suppositions, they would confirm the wisdom of the hot cup of coffee at sunrise, the good effects of which have been observed, and supposed to be owing to its stimulant properties.

We shall pass over the "Statistical Report of the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy and Native General Hospital, for the years 1845—48," by J. Put, assistant-surgeon to the hospital, as being too professional for our pages, merely extracting the last paragraph, in the truth of which we are disposed, from our own experience, to believe. Comparative statistical tables would settle the question, and could easily be procured:—

In concluding this very imperfect report, I would wish to make one remark in reference to a peculiarity alleged to exist in natives of this country, bearing upon the subject of operative surgery, and the management of severe accidents. It is a very commonly-received opinion that Hindus, from the simple nature of their diet, their abstemious habits, and other circumstances, are much more favourable sub-

jects for the performance of surgical operations than the inhabitants of other countries (England for example) ; and that they recover from injuries which would be fatal to Europeans. Statements to this effect may be found scattered throughout almost all the journals. Not only does experience lead me to doubt the accuracy of this opinion, but actually convinces me that the reverse of it is the truth : so far from natives recovering from injuries which would be fatal to Europeans, I am firmly of opinion that they sink under injuries from which Europeans would recover without difficulty ; and further, that operative surgery is less successful amongst them than it would be, under the same circumstances, amongst Europeans. I would wish it, however, to be understood, that my experience is confined to the class of persons who are admitted into this hospital, and who are, for the most part, residents in Bombay : whether experience amongst the inhabitants of rural districts, or amongst the better-fed class of scpoys, would warrant the same conclusion, I am unable to say. It would appear, however, from the reports of the late campaign in the Punjaub, that surgical operations amongst the native troops were less successful than those performed upon Europeans.

“Notes on the Cape of Good Hope,” by Mr. Stovell, is a paper which will interest many of our readers ; for to the Indian resident, all that relates to what he *should* look upon as a sanatorium, must be an object of interest. The subject has been so fully considered in the fourth volume of our *Review*, that we shall not dilate upon it here, referring such of our readers as desire further information regarding the exceeding salubrity, the climate, the mode of life, and the amusements of the Cape, to that volume. We shall confine our observations to the advantages it offers to the invalid necessitated by disease, or weakened by too close application to the desk in India, to seek a renewed state of health in some “more genial clime.”

In connexion with the furlough regulations, a modification of which has been long demanded by the Indian services, the question of the Cape as a preferable climate to that of England for the invalid, becomes a matter of high importance. So long as the present regulations continue in force, by which an “officer is permitted to proceed to the Cape for two years for ‘the benefit of his health,’ without forfeiting his appointment, sacrificing more than half of his allowances, or having his leave deducted from his period of service ; so long as these high inducements are held out, the number, who would, from choice, proceed to Great Britain in preference to the south of Africa, must necessarily be very limited ; but there is every probability that these provisions in the furlough regulations will be materially altered. Since the establishment on a permanent footing of steam communication with England, the Indian presidencies are really much nearer that country than they are to the Cape ; and officers on leave there, in the event of their services being urgently required, could be ordered to, and would join, their regiments in India in little more time than it would take to communicate the necessity for their services to those at the Cape. Remove the pecuniary advantages, which, under the present system,

leave the invalid no choice, and the services would then be nearly in the position as regards proceeding to Europe as the other numerous and daily increasing European residents in India. These, almost invariably when necessitated by illness to leave the country, proceed to take their passage by the overland steamer, and once remove the restrictions, it would be the same with the members of the services. There is a feeling which no length of absence entirely eradicates, even in the most worldly heart, which leads us to think our native clime would restore, in some degree, the feelings and the freshness of youth; and in illness, with the despondency thence arising, this desire to revisit the scenes dear to us from our childhood exerts two-fold power. We are ready to exclaim with Coleridge:—

‘Sickness is a wasting pang :
This feel I hourly more and more ;
There’s healing only in thy wings,
Thou breeze that play’st on Albion’s shore.’

But poetry and reality are two widely different things, and we fear that in rushing to the *bracing* climate of Great Britain, the invalid too often rushes into the gates of the tomb. Dr. Martin, than whom no one probably has had greater experience in the treatment of Indian disease and its sequelæ, as shown in the persons of retired officers and others, writes in terms of the strongest caution on this point. He says:—“The return of the ‘tropical sojourner to the land of his fathers, strange as it ‘may seem, is not unaccompanied by serious risk to his ‘health, and by many moral considerations of a painful and ‘distressing nature.” Again: “This state of activity,” (of the cutaneous system, &c.) “which holds during eight months ‘of the year, will explain how it is that in such climates as India, ‘diseases of the air passages, lungs and kidneys, are of but rare ‘occurrence, while on returning to Europe, dangerous diseases ‘of these organs are liable to occur. My experience here (in ‘London) during the last nine years, would lead me to conclude ‘that, if there be really any such immunity from cold, during the ‘first year of residence in England, as we hear spoken of so ‘generally in India, it is enjoyed only by the healthy and robust. ‘Numberless examples have satisfied me of the truth of this ‘observation. A dry, or even frosty cold, is well borne comparatively, even by the enfeebled tropical invalid; but the ‘damp cold produces sensations of indescribable distress and ‘depression in persons possessed of considerable powers of resistance. Many invalids, again, arriving in England in an ‘enfeebled state, seek what they call ‘the *bracing air*’ of Brigh-

‘ton, and other such places, during the winter and spring months, in forgetfulness, or in ignorance, that without a previous restoration of health, this said bracing is impossible of attainment. Many lives are annually sacrificed in this vain endeavour.”

These and many similar passages, the warnings dictated by his experience, should make us pause ere we too confidently trust ourselves, as invalids, to the treacherous climate of Great Britain. We are convinced, that in that numerous class of ailments dependent upon derangement of the liver, and biliary secretion, so common among old residents in this country, a residence in the equable and mild climate of the Cape, is infinitely more likely to prove beneficial than the colder air of Great Britain. Without entering into medical technicalities, we may state as briefly as possible what is now the received opinion among medical men, as to the influence of a high temperature over the functions of the lungs and liver respectively. There is a certain amount of carbon taken into the system in the shape of food, to be again eliminated, partly by the lungs, partly by the liver and other *emunctories* of the system. The carbon in part is said to be consumed in respiration ; and from it is supposed to be derived the heat of the body. This consumption in the lungs takes place, when the oxygen of the air taken into the lungs at each inspiration comes into contact with the carbon circulating in the blood. Carbolic acid is formed and given out in expiration. Now the theory is, that at a high temperature the air is so much rarified, that the same volume contains less oxygen than an equal volume at a lower temperature, hence as the capacity of the lungs is the same whatever the temperature, there is less oxygen taken in at each inspiration, and consequently a less amount of carbon consumed in a warm than in a cold atmosphere. To compensate for this deficient consumption of the lungs, a vicarious decarbonisation of the blood is established by an increased flow of bile, and hence it is, as remarked by Dr. Johnson, that “the function of the liver weakened and torpid, in proportion to the excitement of the hot and rainy seasons, becomes disposed to congestion, or inflammation of its parenchyma during the cold season, and thus are produced the dangerous states of disease noticed.”

Dr. Martin, referring to this as a cause of disease among Indians on their return to Europe, writes :—“To the tumult of the nervous, vascular, and secreting functions, within the tropics, has now succeeded an exhausted condition of all three. The system at large, and the organ now principally at

‘fault, have lost their power of resisting the cold and damp atmosphere of Europe. To be more precise, the circulation through the skin, and also its function, which had been raised to the greatest degree by the high temperature of the tropics, is reduced to the opposite extreme by the cold and damp atmosphere of our northern climate. The blood, which had long been drawn to the periphery, is now driven to the centre. Vascular reaction seldom ensuing, the congestion is of a passive nature. There is stagnation of the portal circulation, and a consequent contamination of the blood, with languor and oppression of all the abdominal functions.”

We have entered more fully into this question than is perhaps adapted for the pages of a review addressed to non-medical readers; but it is one deserving of high consideration from all classes of the Indian community, as consequent upon the facility and speed with which the overland journey is performed, it has become, may we not say a fashion, except in the case of an officer where pecuniary considerations prevent it, that the invalid, whatever his ailments, should proceed to Europe. Where the patient is young, having been but few years in India, particularly if the disease driving him from the country has been of a sudden acute character, leaving him weak and emaciated, with no actual organic disease, this may be all well and proper. But to the old Indian, who has been, probably, for years labouring under more or less biliary intestinal disorder, whose health at length gives way with little or no actual severe attack of illness, to these, such a step is fraught with great danger. In all such cases, and in those of hepatic derangement generally, we are disposed to think highly of a residence at the Cape, as affording every possible chance of recovery that climate alone can give.

As regards the mercantile man, or man of business, his position is so far the reverse of that of a member of the service, that he has every reason and inducement to prefer a trip to England, to a voyage and residence far away from the sphere of his interests; and in his case, it becomes his medical adviser to weigh well, and point out strongly to him, the comparative advantages of the two countries, and not leave him under the impression that England is, from being his native clime, on that account best suited to restore his health.

The conclusions derived by the author, from his personal experience of the climate of the Cape, are corroborative of the view we have now taken. He attaches much importance, although probable not more than it deserves, to the long sea

voyage, as greatly enhancing the probable benefit to be derived from a residence there :—

From the preceding statements relative to the physical character of the climate, it is evident that important modifications in the system are likely to be produced by a change from India to the Cape ; and, with ordinary prudence on the part of an invalid, such modifications will be found to be highly salutary, more particularly, as such change involves the important measure of a long sea voyage, thus gradually putting the system into the most favorable state for deriving ulterior benefit, for it is often of the utmost importance that a change of climate should neither be too sudden nor too great. This again, is one great advantage which a change to the Cape must ever have over one to a hill station, even when in other respects the latter change may be perfectly unexceptionable.

Probably the great majority of Indian invalids who seek health by going to the Cape, are gentlemen in the different services, who have suffered more or less from functional disease of the stomach and bowels, or chronic derangements of the liver ; men, whose secreting and assimilating functions are very imperfectly performed. In many of these cases I have not the least doubt that a residence at the Cape is even more beneficial than a change to Europe, and certainly far more so when this latter change is obtained by a rapid run overland, more particularly if in winter. I doubt whether the important element of a long sea voyage for the restoration of health is sufficiently kept in view ; yet it is usually of incalculable benefit, not only in its immediate results, but more particularly in its ulterior effects. How often do we hear that invalids running home rapidly overland, particularly in the winter months, find the sudden change to a cold atmosphere extremely hurtful ; and this can easily be understood. The exhalant organs of the external surface are liable to become constricted, and the internal viscera, in consequence, congested. The result is frequently an aggravation of derangement in those organs which may previously have been weakened, either by disease or by the influence of an Indian climate. Relapses in England from hepatic affections, as well as from dysentery and other diseases, are proverbially common. Now at the Cape we do not often meet with this. The reduction of temperature has been gradual, has been preceded by a long sea voyage, and is never sufficiently great of itself to produce visceral congestion, provided invalids are careful to guard against it by taking exercise, by using warm clothing, and by preserving a rigid adherence, at all events for a time, to great moderation in eating and drinking. Most of the invalids from India improve greatly before reaching the Cape, and seldom bear in mind sufficiently the importance of persevering in that regimen and mode of life which both the climate and the nature of their disease render necessary ; yet this is evidently a condition on which alone they can reasonably expect to derive permanent benefit.

Among the chief elements of disease, great and rapid alterations of temperature are justly regarded as not the least important ; and the salubrity of a climate may be said to be dependent, *cæteris paribus*, upon the extent of the annual, and more particularly the daily range of the thermometer. We subjoin a table, by which it will be seen, that this range is very inconsiderable at the Cape, as compared to most other parts of the globe ; Madeira, the superiority of the climate of which is so universally acknowledged, has a mean annual range of only 14°. At Rome, Naples, Nice, and the Mediterranean generally, the extent nearly doubles this, and about equals that of the Cape ; but in the equable distribution of heat throughout the year, this latter assimilates much more to

Madeira than the first named places; for example, the mean difference of temperature of successive months at Madeira is only 2°—at the Cape 3°, at Rome and Nice 4°, and at Naples and Pisa 5°; while in steadiness of temperature from day to day (a very important quality in a climate) the Cape may equally rank with Madeira:—

Date	Barometer corrected		Mean Temperature in the Shade.	Humidity.	Mean Temperature.		Extreme Temperature.	
	Temperature and Capillarity.	Tension.			Maximum.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Minimum.
1848.	inches	inches	degrees		degrees	degrees	degrees	degrees
January...	29.874	29.384	70.435	68	77.33	63.99	86.6	58.9
February...	29.879	29.397	67.845	73	74.56	61.27	83.6	54.4
March...	29.927	29.428	68.048	75	74.61	61.22	85.7	54.0
April.....	29.914	29.486	61.219	83	67.22	54.80	74.4	43.0
May.....	30.042	29.658	58.241	84	63.59	52.74	75.4	47.0
June.....	30.141	29.777	55.206	85	59.49	50.17	69.7	43.2
July.....	30.118	29.761	54.831	84	59.14	50.02	70.1	43.4
August....	30.104	29.750	54.276	85	58.50	48.45	69.8	39.9
September	30.087	29.710	57.494	81	62.67	51.67	75.2	45.0
October....	30.082	29.686	61.876	74	68.14	54.50*	89.5	45.9
November.	29.983	29.543	65.075	73	71.13	58.27	84.2	46.0
December.	29.911	29.453	67.428	71	73.06	60.43	81.2	55.6
Means.....	30.005	29.586	61.831	78	76.445	55.627	78.783	48.025

This Table embodies full particulars on all points connected with the character of the atmosphere, in relation to its three principal conditions of pressure, temperature, and humidity. Each column contains the monthly means of daily observations, concluding with the annual mean. These daily observations are the means of observations made five times in the twenty-four hours. The first column contains the height of the barometer reduced to 32°, and corrected for capillary attraction of the tube. In the second the readings are corrected for the elasticity of the vapours suspended in the atmosphere. The humidity is expressed in parts of 100, considered as complete saturation. It seems unnecessary to refer to the remaining columns of the Table, further than this, that the thermometers are all expressed in terms of Fahrenheit's scale, and corrected for index errors by comparison with the standard thermometer of the Royal Society. They might, therefore, be taken as the indications of that thermometer, supposing it to have been transported to the Cape.

It will be seen from this Table that the mean maximum temperature is 78°, and the mean minimum 48°, showing an annual range of only 30°, while the difference between the means of the hottest and coldest month is only 16°. It will thus be apparent that the temperature is equally removed from the extremes of heat and cold; and, moreover, that there is considerable equality in the distribution of temperature throughout the year. It will also be seen that the mean difference in the temperature of successive months is less than 3°. This is a point of great importance in forming a correct estimate of climate, for it shows that there are no sudden or great variations in the thermometer as the seasons successively change; but that they glide into each other almost imperceptibly.

We have dwelt somewhat fully upon this subject, believing it to be one of high importance to the Indian community, for the temptation of a trip to England is so great, that the advantages offered by the Cape are lost sight of. Some of them are here set forth by Mr. Stovell :—

Upon the whole, I certainly formed a very favorable estimate of the value of the Cape as a sanatorium. There appeared to be but a very trifling amount of disease in any shape, and a most happy exemption from the disease which surrounds us here. No cholera ; no remittent fever, and but very little continued fever ; diseases of the lungs far less prevalent than in Great Britain, or in any of the colonies named in the last Table ; and no unusual prevalence of disease either of the brain or of the stomach and bowels. Its perfect freedom from remittent and intermittent fever may easily be explained by the fact of the total absence of marsh, and from the nature of the soil, which is formed mainly of sand, decayed vegetable matter, and the *debris* of the neighbouring mountains, the partial decomposition of the granite making it in some places a little tenacious.

There are yet several papers in this volume, which will well repay the attentive perusal of the medical man, but we must pass them over, having already intruded too much of a professional nature upon our readers. We cannot, however, close the volume without drawing attention to the report in the Appendix, upon the treatment of the cholera in the Infirmary at Bombay on the plan recommended by Dr. Mosgrove. We deem it unnecessary to apologize to our readers, if we enter more largely into details than may seem quite suited to the pages of this work, but the subject is one of such vital interest, that any means of combating the disease, recommended strongly as this has been by Dr. Mosgrove, deserves examination.

We shall explain this mode of treatment, after having briefly considered one or two points in the history of cholera, and first as to that *questio vexata*, “the contagiousness or otherwise of Cholera.” Notwithstanding the almost innumerable observations, which have been made with a view to determine this one all-important point, like every thing else connected with the disease, it is still as much unsettled as when it first excited the attention of the profession. What is contagion ? Dr. Todd defines it as “a poison differing from that produced by the putrefaction of animal and vegetable matter, inasmuch as it originates, not external to, but within the body, and may be designated as a subtle secretion from the blood itself, the mode of the primary generation of which is, however, wrapped in the greatest obscurity. The intimate nature of this poison, like that from paludal sources, is quite unknown, and it is therefore better to confess our ignorance of its exact nature, rather than to attempt to enumerate the physical or chemical qualities of a substance which

does not, with any degree of certainty, come directly under the operation of the senses. We cannot lay hold of the poison for analysis, consequently we are obliged to be satisfied at present with knowing, that, like the fever poison, emanating from paludal sources, it is a something generated in abundance in the human body in a particular class of diseases—a peculiar and morbid power imparted to certain animal secretions in consequence of some particular, though unknown, actions excited in the living body when pre-disposed—a poison capable of floating through the atmosphere around the dwellings of the sick, and thus contaminating the very air we breathe, and spreading disease and death to those exposed to its influence.” This influence is, however, presumed to be communicable, only within the distance of a few feet, even in diseases of the most acknowledged contagious nature. Does cholera possess this character, or is it not rather an epidemic dependent on some unknown state of the atmosphere, as regards its electric condition, or constitution? Sydenham remarks, as one of the peculiarities of epidemics, that “at their first appearance they seem to be of a more spirituous and subtle nature, in other words, more violent and acute, as far as can be judged from their symptoms, than when they become older,” and this is exactly what has been observed in cholera. It is one of the causes to which may be attributed the numberless “*certain cures* and *nostrums*, which, from time to time, have been forced upon the attention of the public by medical men and others. At the outbreak of the disease in any one place, the mortality is invariably so high, that the medical man runs through the Pharmacopeia, in the vain attempt to find a remedy capable of arresting its fatal march; as it wears itself out, after exhausting, as it were, its violence upon the first victims, recoveries become much more numerous, and the physician, ascribing such recoveries to the last remedy he has tried, rushes forthwith into print, extolling the virtues, it may be of strychnine, it may be of cold water, as his tendencies have led him to adopt the heroic, or the expectant line of treatment. Need we say that both prove equally unsuccessful when tried on a larger scale. But to revert to the question of contagion, which we have lost sight of, the experience of medical men in India is strongly against it. Dr. Rogers of Madras, in his report upon cholera at that presidency, after citing the opinions of various regimental surgeons, sums up as follows:—“The authors of all these reports have recorded their deliberate opinion, that the disease did not originate from contagion, and I believe the general voice of the medical

‘ profession in India has always been in favor of this doctrine, and the non-contagion of cholera is assumed as an axiom, by all non-medical persons, both European and Native.’ It would be easy to fill pages with facts supporting this side of the argument, but equally easy to state others, which scarcely admit of explanation, except by allowing that the disease is contagious: in Europe the medical world may be said to be divided in opinion. Dr. Copland, who first writing on the disease in 1822, has since watched its progress, traced its causes, and investigated its phenomena with all the philosophical acumen which so strongly characterises him, is a most weighty authority in favor of the contagionists; after weighing, we must admit, with impartial scales, the arguments on both sides, he delivers the following verdict:—

116. Having devoted much attention to the phenomena of this pestilence, and to the circumstances characterising the dissemination of it, and having had extensive experience in it during its prevalence in this country, * I proceed very succinctly to state the conclusions at which I arrived as to its causation and propagation.

117. (a) The distemper was caused by infection, which was traced in many cases—in most of those which I saw in private practice; it was manifestly infectious according to the definition I have given of INFECTION, in the article devoted to the consideration of this topic (see § 3, *et seq.*).

118. (b.) It was not caused or propagated by immediate or mediate contact—by a consistent, manifest, or palpable virus or matter; but by an effluvium, or miasm, which, emanating from the body of the affected, and contaminating the air more immediately surrounding the affected person, infected the healthy who inspired the air thus contaminated, especially when pre-disposed in the manner above shown (§ 99).

119. (c.) This morbid effluvium or seminum of the distemper—this animal poison emanating from the infected—was often made manifest to the senses of smell and even of taste; it attached itself to the body and bed-clothes; remained so attached for lengthened periods, if these clothes were shut up in confined places; and reproduced the disease which the air respired by pre-disposed persons was contaminated or infected by the clothes imbued by the effluvium or poison.

120. (d.) The disease was thus propagated in numerous cases; and, as I was convinced, in my own person, even by the clothes of the physician, without himself becoming affected. An infected or contaminated air—infected in the way just shown—caused an attack, without immediate or mediate contact, which was entirely innocuous, provided the air contaminated by the affected person was not inspired.

121. (e.) Placing the hand upon any part of the surface of a person in the cold or blue stage of the distemper, was often followed by a peculiarly unpleasant or tingling sensation in the course of the nerves of a healthy person, but this would not occasion infection, if breathing the contaminated air surrounding the affected was avoided.

122. (f.) When the poisoned air was breathed by a healthy person for the first time—especially the unpleasant air in the wards of a cholera hospital, or that surrounding the dead body, or that contaminated by the evacuations, a morbid im-

* On the introduction of the pestilence into this country, I was desirous of observing it in the cholera hospitals within my reach, especially in those first established; and my friends at the Privy Council Office furnished me with every facility in accomplishing my intention. I saw also many cases in private practice, both in my own vicinity and in various parts of the metropolis and suburbs.

pression was often felt and referred to the chest and epigastrium, giving rise to frequent forcible inspirations or expansions of the chest. This impression and its immediate consequences generally disappeared after a recourse to stimuli, or full-living; but were followed by some grade or other of the distemper if other depressing agents, as fear, &c., or high pre-disposition, favoured their development.

123. (g.) On occasions of subsequent exposure to the efficient cause of the malady—the morbid impression was somewhat less manifest; and each successive exposure was followed by less evident effects, unless the morbid effluvium was more concentrated in the respired air.

124. (h.) The operation of the morbid effluvium or animal poison was violent in proportion to the concentration of it in the air respired, and to the weakness of the person inspiring it, and to the grade of pre-disposition.

125. (i.) There is no evidence to account for the generation of the choleric poison in the first instance, and there is as little of its reproduction *de novo*, on subsequent occasions. It is also impossible to form a correct idea of the period during which the infectious miasm or seminum may be retained by clothes closely shut up from the air, or by the dead and buried body, and be still capable of infecting the healthy.

Notwithstanding the weight of this authority, we are still disposed to agree with the majority of the profession in this country, that it is not contagious, but epidemic, dependent upon some peculiar state of the atmosphere often localised, and showing no tendency to spread. We were particularly struck with this feature of the disease in the year 1844. In the month of March there had been unusually hot weather for some days, when, on the 23rd of the month, cholera broke out among the chumars, or curriers, attached to the regiment to which we were attached. Their huts were about one quarter of a mile to the southern or windward side of the regimental hospital, and about double that distance from the lines occupied by the sepoy; while in their immediate vicinity stood the elephant-shed, where the elephant-drivers, and attendants numbering about a hundred persons, resided. On the afternoon of the 23rd, there were nine of these chumars attacked by cholera; by 3 o'clock next day, the number was doubled. At this hour there was a most violent thunder-storm, with the wind from the north and west, which, it was anticipated, would check the disease, in place of which it was rather aggravated, as on the following day, the number attacked by the disease more than doubled that of either of the preceding days. On the fourth day the number somewhat diminished, and no cases occurred thereafter. During these four days, of a small community numbering about ninety persons, forty-seven were attacked with the disease, and thirty-five died, notwithstanding the application of the then most extolled remedies. Beyond this small cluster of huts the disease did not extend, although there was no sanitary cordon drawn around it, nor any measures adopted to prevent contagion; the hospital servants were con-

stantly in attendance with medicines, the friends of the patients had free access to them going and coming from the bazar, and yet not another case occurred in the whole cantonment.

We consider that the occurrence of the disease, in connexion with a disturbance in the electro-magnetic state of the atmosphere, calls for more minute and extended observation than it has hitherto met with, for although it has attracted the attention of many able members of the profession in Europe, their experiments, with a view of testing the accuracy of the hypothesis, have not been conducted with that simultaneousness which is required ere their deductions can be received as in any way conclusive. We have remarked for some years past that the isolated occasional cases, which occur annually to a greater or less extent in Calcutta, during the hot weather, generally precede or follow close upon some change in the electric tension of the atmosphere evidenced in a thunder-storm or nor-wester. We know that when the disease first originated in an epidemic form in the district of Nuddeah in 1817, the season had been unusually wet and accompanied with frequent storms of great violence. It is an ascertained fact, that whereas the electricity of the atmosphere, under ordinary circumstances, is positive, whenever it is observed to change to negative, it is certain that rain, hail, or mist, are in the neighbourhood, or that a thunder-cloud is near; if further observation confirm our experience that occasional cases always, or frequently, occur in connection with atmospheric disturbances, it would go far to support the opinion advanced by Mr. Ainsley in his work "On the diseases of India," as stated in the following paragraph:—

"Dr. Johnson observes, in speaking of the diseases of the Mediterranean, that during the strong southerly winds, the circulating system in the human frame becomes wonderfully deranged, and according to Ritter, the electricity of the positive pole augments, while that of the negative diminishes the actions of life; benefaction is produced by the former, depression by the latter; the pulse of the hand" (he says) "held a few minutes in contact with the positive pole is strengthened, that of the hand in contact with the negative pole is enfeebled, the former is accompanied with a sense of heat, the latter with feelings of cold.

"From these facts and considerations, therefore, I am led to conclude, that either the absence of electricity from the human body, or some important change in its electrical state, arising, perhaps, from exposure to a negative electrical atmosphere, may be the cause of the dreadful and destructive epi-

‘demic, which has recently ravaged the East, and that the vicissitudes of the seasons preceding this formidable visitation may support this opinion. If, then, this view of the subject be correct, we may readily account for the sudden attacks of the disease, the change in the temperature and sensibility of the body, and in the fluids, which changes seem chiefly to characterize it, and for the manner in which it has been limited to some districts, extended to others, and has successively ravaged all.”

There is a curious fact stated in regard to the deflection of the magnetic needle, during the visitation of cholera in Russia. “Every one is familiar,” writes Sir J. Murray, in his report of experiments on the nature of cholera “with the ordinary phenomena of a magnetic needle freely suspended, and with its tendency to assume a position more or less approaching to parallelism to the earth’s axis, that is to say, all over the world, a magnetic needle points nearly north and south. Most persons are also acquainted with the common phenomenon termed the dip or inclination of the magnetic needle; thus in the latitude of London, a needle exactly poised and freely suspended, instead of assuming a horizontal position, will settle at an angle of 70° , the north pole being downward. It is said however that the needle did not obey these natural attractions in Russia during the late awful visitation of cholera.” A further observation of the same character was made as to the loss of magnetic power in an artificial magnet. A large horse-shoe magnet was found, during the period that cholera was raging, to have lost a considerable portion of its magnetic power, being incapable of supporting the same weight which it had done before the breaking out of the disease. From the fancied resemblance of cholera to a paroxysm of intermittent fever, it has been frequently surmised, that the two diseases are identical, the former being merely an aggravated form of the latter, both being identical in the progression of their stages, and originating from the same cause; and upon this erroneous view of the nature of the disease, quinine has been strongly recommended and widely used as a remedy, but with little success. The two diseases present contrasts even more marked than their points of resemblance. As to their origin, there are no grounds for supposing the cause of cholera to be miasmatic, as that of intermittent fever undoubtedly is; in its steady onward progress from the heart of Hindostan to the westernmost parts of the earth, regions, in which ague was unknown, were devastated equally with those in which it reigned supreme.

In the phenomena of the disease, the differences are equally striking. Dr. Ayre has placed them in strong contrast, and we cannot do better than give them in his own words. In both the attack commences with a cold stage, but who would compare that "of cholera to that of ague. In the former there is no feeling of coldness on the part of the patient, though with death-like coldness of the skin, whilst in the ague patient there is the most distressing sense of it, with little or no coldness of the surface, and whilst one desires to have external heat applied, the other is oppressed by it. In the paroxysm of ague, the perspiration succeeds the fever as this does the cold stage, but the moisture on the surface is a part of the cold stage of cholera, and not its sequence. Ague is essentially a febrile complaint, and so rarely stopped at its first paroxysm, that we may predicate of it, that an individual attacked by it will have a succession of paroxysms before he is fully cured; but of the cholera, whether mild or malignant, one cold stage suffices, and if he recovers from the first cold stage, he has no second attack of it." The laws, which govern the origin and march of cholera, we may say also of other epidemics, are still hidden from us by a veil through which science has as yet obtained but a few dim and obscure indications, the glimmerings of light, which we may hope under God's providence may burst forth into a brilliant dawn. That these glimmerings of light indicate an electric agency, the whole tendency of later observations goes far to prove; but to secure the full advantages derivable from these, it is almost essential that they should be carried on simultaneously, and as nearly as may be in the same manner, over large portions of the earth's surface. Theories founded upon a few isolated facts are notoriously false in the vast majority of cases; it is only when a considerable number are collected and compared, that any thing like legitimate deductions can be drawn; these, notwithstanding the folios which have been written on the subject, are yet wanting in cholera; each author has taken up his own theory, and rejecting unwittingly all that did not, has exaggerated all that did harmonize with it, till there are almost as many true theories as there are certain modes of cure; and yet alas! cholera is equally fatal in the present day as when on its first appearance it carried havoc and dismay throughout the globe.

We purposed making a few remarks on the treatment recommended by Dr. Mosgrove, which, as stated by Dr. Morehead, is as follows:—

The treatment, as explained to me by the assistants in the Infirmary, consisted of,

on the patient's admission, the administration of three or four pints of cold water ; after the free vomiting caused by the water had ceased, one or two ten grain doses of calomel were given, with an interval of four hours between the doses, when two were exhibited ; ammonia was also given more or less frequently, according to the state of collapse. Three or four persons, either the friends of the patient or the attendants in the Infirmary, sat upon the bed, and while the state of collapse continued, assiduously applied heat by means of hot bricks moved about over the trunk and extremities, and outside of the blanket with which the patient was carefully covered. After the first copious draughts of water had been taken and rejected, then iced water was given in smaller quantities, according to the desire of the patient, and after a time sago with wine was occasionally given. No part of the treatment seemed to be directed towards checking the serous purging. It was allowed to go on till it stopped in the natural course of the disease.

The results do not seem to have been more favorable than those attending other modes of treatment. Of eighty-two admissions, thirty died and fifty-two were discharged ; but of the thirty fatal cases, Dr. Larkworthy, the officer in charge of the hospital, discards ten, six on account of their having already been treated by opium, four from their having proved fatal before the treatment could be brought to bear ; but even with these deductions, which would leave a mortality of forty per cent., the mode of treatment would hardly warrant the conclusion with which Dr. Larkworthy winds up his report :—

Taking all the foregoing circumstances into consideration, I have no hesitation in saying that I believe the plan of treatment recommended by Assistant Surgeon Mosgrove to be the most efficacious that has come under my observation ; simple, but requiring great and immediate assiduity, recovering a greater number and more advanced cases of collapse than I have before been witness to, and apparently certain of curing all cases that have not reached that state, however nearly approximating to it ; and in this opinion I think that I am fully borne out by my analysis of the Register I have had the honor of sending in to the Medical Board.

We are more disposed to concur with Dr. Morehead in his estimate of the efficacy of this treatment :—

If, however, it be expected that in this mode of treatment, as compared with others, we have been provided with a means of materially lessening the mortality of cholera, I have no hesitation in stating it to be my belief that such expectations will not be realized.

Having expressed myself thus so far favourably to the mode of treating the collapsed state of cholera witnessed by me in the Infirmary, it is necessary that I should explain myself a little more fully. If the plentiful draughts of cold water he had recourse to, with a view of bringing about a distinct and more rapid reaction, I would remark that it does not seem to me that this object is, in general, effected by them. The result of my observation is distinctly, that in the large majority of cases in which collapse is fairly present, the draughts of water and the vomiting are not followed by any sensible effect on the pulse ; and I have witnessed many cases in which the issue was in recovery, in which the state of pulseless collapse continued from six to twenty-four hours after the commencement of the exhibition of the cold water. I would, moreover, observe, that in some instances the frequent draughts of water seemed to me to keep up an irritable state of the stomach, which it was afterwards troublesome to subdue. From all this I infer that whatever good may accrue from allaying the sufferings of thirst, or from giving the opportunity for replacement of watery constituents of the blood by the free exhibition of cold water, this good is altogether hidden. We have not in the kind of cases of which I

speaking any sensible evidence of it : yet I agree with those who would give diluents in cholera according to the desire of the patients ; and I cannot but think that they are of advantage ; but the exhibition of cold water did not seem to me the most influential part of the treatment in the Cholera Infirmary. I would attach much more importance to the praiseworthy assiduity with which external heat was continuously applied throughout the period of collapse, then to the judicious use of ammonia, and the abstinence from the use of opium. I cannot but think that Dr. Mosgrove, in giving almost undivided prominence to the use of cold water, has withdrawn attention from the strong points in his system of management of collapsed cholera. These I take to be an assiduous watchfulness and care, and an avoidance of officious medical interference.

We add a statement as to the results of the homœopathic treatment of cholera as practised at the Hospital Salpêtrière in Paris.

Dr. Guillot, attached to the Hospital Salpêtrière, annoyed at the ill success his treatment of cholera was meeting with, and staggered by the high-sounding promises of the adherents of Homœopathy, lately gave one of the latter six beds in the above-named establishment, the patients to be treated homœopathically. Hahnemann's follower immediately set to work, and began to exhibit, first globules of Arsenic, then globules of Bryony, and lastly of Charcoal. Out of seven thus treated, not one recovered. Similar trials have been made at the Hospital St. Louis, with pretty nearly the same results.*

We take our leave of this Volume, with our cordial good wishes for the continued prosperity of the Society to which we owe its publication, and a hope that year after year may add another number to the "*Transactions*," presenting as heretofore to the medical world, papers containing so much valuable and useful information.

* *Lancet*, 1849.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—*A Lady's Voyage round the World. A Selected Translation from the German of Ida Pfeiffer. By Mrs. Percy Sinnett. London, 1851.*

IT were to do as much injustice to our readers as to Mrs. Pfeiffer to suppose that they are unacquainted with her name, or with the fact that she is a very remarkable woman, who, leaving the beaten tracks of fair tourists, and abandoning the courses pricked out on satin-paper charts by delicate yacht voyagers, adventured boldly forth on the stern realities of foreign travel, and unescorted, save by those whom casual meetings and their natural good nature or gallantry enlisted as her escort from time to time, and unprotected, save by her own matronly propriety and good sense, (aided by a pair of double-barrelled pistols), traversed as large a portion of our globe as it has ever fallen to the lot of a single person, with very few exceptions, to peregrinate. It is with no little respect that, in these days of Berlin wool and *the accomplishments*, we are disposed to regard such a lady; and with no little indulgence should we be disposed to pass over any slight inaccuracies that her book might contain. Truly gratifying would it be to our instincts of gallantry, were we able to hold up the record of her adventures as a model to be studied by all future travellers, and to say to them, "In proportion as you approach to the accuracy of her observations, and to the vividness of her descriptions, you will gain the commendation of those whose commendation is desirable, and the no less desirable censure of those whose tastes are depraved." Stern truth will not allow us thus to gratify these instincts. But still the little volumes before us contain much that is interesting, and not a little from which students, albeit not gifted with the alchemical lore necessary to perform the problem of extracting sunbeams from cucumbers, may derive instruction.

With Mrs. Pfeiffer's history we are not acquainted, further than as it is developed in the volumes before us. It appears that she was born in the last century;—that in her childhood she had a great love of seeing all that was visible;—that in her youth she made the ordinary tours in company with her parents;—that she was married, and lived a domestic life; that after she was,

by the removal of her sons to public schools, relieved from the charge of watching over them, the desire of seeing the world came back upon her with increased strength;—that she visited Palestine and other countries,—and at last adventured upon this great *periplus*, which forms the subject of the volumes now before us.

A journey round the world may mean almost any thing, inasmuch as upon a globe any circle, larger or smaller, may be traced; and every such circle may strictly be said to be traced round the globe. The circle round which a mill-horse paces his weary round is a circle traced upon the sphere—"a girdle placed round the earth," no less than the equator, or a meridian, or any great circle of the sphere. In one sense therefore every person who departs from his home for a constitutional walk, and returns by a different road from that by which he set forth, may be truly said to go round the world. But it is not in this sense that Mrs. Pfeiffer performed *her* journey round the world; as will appear when we indicate her route. She sailed from Hamburgh to Rio Janeiro—rounded Cape Horn and arrived at Valparaiso. Sailed thence to Tahiti—thence to China, Singapore, Ceylon, Calcutta. Made an overland journey to Delhi, and from Delhi to Bombay; from Bombay by sea to Muscat, from Muscat to Bagdad; visited the ruins of Babylon, Mossul and Nineveh; passed over into Persia; passed through Armenia and Georgia to Odessa—thence to Constantinople—thence to Greece—and back to Fatherland. Thus it appears that it was in no jocular sense, but in sound downright earnest that this voyage round the world was accomplished. The journey occupied exactly sixteen months, viz., from the 29th June, 1846, to the 29th October, 1847; during which time our wanderer truly

Mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes;—

was in various circumstances that might have tried masculine nerves, and retained throughout a calm subdued enthusiasm, sustained apparently by no very earnest desire after any of the pursuits that generally urge on men to travel, but simply by the desire to see with her own eyes, and to be able to say with her own tongue, and write with her own pen, "I have seen."

We intend to confine our notice of this book to that part of it which relates to India; but we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of extracting the record of Mrs. Pfeiffer's prowess in very trying circumstances that befel her in Brazil. We have already stated that our authoress began her sojourn in this world during the currency of the last century, and that she began this

voyage *round* it on the 29th of June, 1846; she was therefore as old as the century at the least, and how much more we have no means of ascertaining. Having two months to spend in Brazil, she resolved to pay a visit to a colony of her countrymen, established at a place called Petropolis, within a short distance of Rio de Janeiro. A Count Berchtold, who had been her shipmate from Hamburgh, agreed to accompany her. In seven hours from Rio they reached Porto d' Estrella: and now we must let her tell her own story:—

From Porto d'Estrella to Petropolis we had still seven leagues. The distance is usually done on mules, for which you pay four *milreis* a piece; but since we had been told in Rio de Janeiro that there was a most beautiful walk to it through the woods, quite frequented and safe, as it formed the principal communication with Minas Geraes, we resolved to travel it on foot, and for this we had also another inducement, as the Count wanted to botanise, and I to collect insects. The two first leagues led through a broad valley, for the most part covered with thick underwood and young trees, and surrounded by lofty mountains. The path was beautifully adorned on either side by wild pine-apples, not yet quite ripe, but of a glowing rose colour; but unluckily they are not quite so good as they look, and are therefore very seldom plucked. I was delighted too with the humming birds, of which I saw several of the smallest species. Nothing can be imagined more delicate and graceful than these little creatures. They get their food out of the cups of flowers, hovering about them like butterflies, for which, indeed, they may be easily mistaken. The trees rather disappointed me, for I had expected to find those of a primeval forest with thick and lofty trunks, but this was not at all the case. Probably the vegetation is too strong, and the large trunks are choked and rotted beneath the mass of smaller trees, shrubs, climbing and parasite plants. The two latter are so numerous and exuberant that they often completely cover the trees, hiding not only the trunks but the very leaves. We had made a rich harvest of flowers, plants, and insects, and were quietly pursuing our way, enchanted by the rich woods and the glorious prospects that opened to us from time to time over mountain and valley, sea and bay, even to the very capital itself; and the frequent troops of negroes, as well as other pedestrians, which we now met, freed us from any fear respecting the safety of the road, so that we took little notice of a Negro who had been for some time following us, when, all at once, as we reached a rather lonely spot, he sprang upon us. He had in one hand a long knife, and in the other a lasso, and he signified, by sufficiently expressive gestures, that it was his intention to murder us and drag us into the wood.

We had no weapon with us, as it had not been thought necessary, and had nothing to defend ourselves with but our umbrellas. In my pocket, however, I had a penknife, which I managed to draw, firmly resolved to sell my life as dearly as possible. We parried a few of his blows with the umbrellas, but they were not strong enough, and besides, the Negro seized hold of mine; we struggled and it broke, leaving only a bit of the handle in my hand, but during the struggle he happened to let fall his knife, which rolled away a few steps. I darted after it, but he was quicker, and got hold of it again, striking me as he did so with both hand and foot, and giving me two deep cuts in the fleshy part of the left arm. I now gave myself up for lost, and only despair gave me courage still to make use of my knife; I made two stabs at the breast of my assailant, but only wounded

him in the hand ; but in the mean time the Count sprang towards him and seized him from behind, so that I had time to get up again from the ground. All this had happened in less than a minute, and the wounds he had received now made the Negro quite furious ; he gnashed his teeth, flew at us like a wild beast, and wielded his knife with terrible rapidity : but God sent us help at this last moment ; for we heard the steps of horses on the road, and the negro immediately left us and escaped into the wood ; and directly afterwards two horsemen made their appearance round the turning. We hastened towards them, and our cut umbrellas, as well as our bleeding wounds, explained our situation : they enquired after the direction the fugitive had taken, sprang again on their horses, and endeavoured to overtake him ; but their exertions would probably have been in vain, had not two Negroes come by and offered their assistance. He was soon brought back, tied fast, and when he refused to walk, he received such a shower of blows, especially over the head, that I feared the poor creature's skull would have been fractured. He uttered no sound, however, but remained lying on the ground, and the two Negroes had to carry him, along—biting like an enraged beast—to the next house. The Count and I got our wounds bound up, and then continued our ramble, not without fear, however, especially when we met any Negroes, but unmolested and in constant admiration of the lovely landscape.

* * * * *

At Petropolis, as well as afterwards on our return to Rio de Janeiro, people wondered so much at the attack made upon us, that if we had not had our wounds to show, they would certainly not have believed us. It was said, the fellow must have been drunk or mad, but we learned afterwards that his master had shortly before inflicted punishment upon him on account of some offence, and when he met us in the wood, he probably thought it would be a good opportunity of revenging himself on the whites.

We will not be so ungallant as the people of Petropolis and Rio, but will constrain ourselves implicitly to believe that the adventure occurred precisely as it is here related, although we have not the wounds of Mrs. Pfeiffer and the Count for our vouchers. We should like to adorn our armoury with that pen-knife with which two lounges were made at the monster's breast.

Undeterred by this adventure, our authoress set off for an excursion into the interior of the country, to visit a tribe of Indians, and to spend a night in one of their villages. She was accompanied at the outset by Count Berchtold ; but ere the journey was well begun, he was laid up by the inflammation consequent on his wounds, and she undauntedly pursued the journey alone, having received "a sort of half-and-half assurance" as to the probable safety of the road, and taken the precaution to add "a pair of good double-barrelled pistols" to her equipment. It does not appear that she ever had occasion to use these formidable weapons, although we have repeated intimations that she did not henceforth relinquish them and trust to the pen-knife alone. But it were from our purpose to

linger with our authoress in the Western Hemisphere. Our readers must therefore consider that she has doubled Cape Horn, seen what was to be seen in Chili, paid a flying visit to Tahiti—seen the lions of Macao, Hong-Kong and Canton, and expatiated on the hills and valleys of Ceylon; and once more we beg to introduce them to her on board one of the P. and O. Co.'s Steamers, approaching the City of Palaces. As it is good for us occasionally to “see ourselves as others see us,” we shall hope to be excused if we should dwell at disproportionate length on that part of our author's narrative which relates to Calcutta. Here is the account of her first arrival:—

About fifteen miles below Calcutta, a palace-like building made its appearance, with a pleasant dwelling-house beside it; this was a cotton factory; and from this point many most elegant mansions in the Greek-Italian style, and richly ornamented with columns, terraces, &c., presented themselves on both sides of the river; but we flew too quickly past to catch more than a glimpse of them. Many ships of the largest size sailed by,—steamers dashed up and down, taking them in tow, and the strange and animating bustle constantly increased, and made it easy for us to see that we were approaching the metropolis of Asia. We anchored at *Gardrick* [*Garden-Reach*,] some miles below Calcutta, and our engineer took compassion on the difficulty I found in making the natives understand where they were to take me, as signs would not always answer the purpose, and took me ashore, engaged a palanquin for me, and gave the bearers proper instructions.

We should not have thought of applying the epithet “palace-like” to Fort-Gloster Mills; but as we have seen very few palaces, our idea of what is essential to such an edifice is very contracted, and therefore probably very erroneous. The mistake as to the name of *Garden-Reach* is very excusable in a foreigner; but we wonder that it was not corrected by the translator. In one of the *Garden-Reach* “palaces,” the residence of Mr. Heiliger, a German merchant, Mrs. Pfeiffer stayed during her residence in Calcutta. She was of course “quartered with true Indian luxury—having a bed-chamber, a reception room, a bath-room, and a dressing-room placed at her disposal.” We have next the usual dissertation on native servants, and the other details of Indian house-keeping:—

Every family inhabits a palace, and keeps from twenty-five to thirty servants;—two cooks, a dish-washer, two water-carriers, four to wait at table, four room-cleaners, a lamp-lighter, half-a-dozen stable men (for there are at least six horses, and every horse must have his own attendant), a pair of coachmen, ditto of gardeners, a waiting maid for the lady, a nurse for every child, and a maid to wait upon the nurses; two tailors, two punkah pullers, and a porter. I have visited families that kept as many as sixty or seventy servants. Their wages run from four to eleven rupees a month; but they receive no food, and only a few sleep in the house; board and lodging are reckoned in the wages. Most of them are married, and go

home daily to eat and sleep ; they also buy their own clothing, except turbans and girdles, and provide for their own washing. The linen of the family is put out to wash, notwithstanding the crowd of servants ; and a common rate for this is three rupees for a hundred pieces ; but the quantity of linen required is extraordinary, for every thing is worn white, and the entire dress is usually changed twice a day.

Provisions are not dear, but horses, carriages, furniture, and clothes excessively so ; the three last come from Europe, the horses frequently from Australia or Java, though sometimes from Europe ; and I have known people keep twenty of them.

In my opinion, all this inordinate expenditure is, in a great measure, the fault of the Europeans themselves. They see the rajahs, and great people of the country with these swarms of idle attendants, and they will not be outdone by them ; by degrees the custom becomes established, and now, I believe, it would be difficult to break through it ; I was told that it could not be otherwise, as long as the Hindoos were divided into castes. The Hindoo who cleans the rooms would, on no account, wait at table ; the child's nurse would scorn to clean the basin that the little one is washed in ; yet, nevertheless, even allowing for this, the number of attendants is needlessly great. Even in China and Singapore I was struck by the same circumstance, but here the number is double or treble what it is there.

We do not think that residents in Calcutta usually have their washing "done" at so much for the hundred pieces ; but as this would be the way in which Mrs. Pfeiffer, on her arrival from a sea-voyage, was accommodated, the mistake is a very pardonable one. We should say, that of the thousands of carriages in Calcutta, very few have been brought from Europe, also very little furniture ; we do not think that clothes are excessively dear, and we never heard of any importation of horses from Java. We presume Burmah is intended. As to families in Calcutta keeping from sixty to seventy servants, that is, properly domestic servants, not employed in any work connected with their master's profession, we should suspect that it is a mistake. The following short extract will surprise our Calcutta readers, and show them how little they know of the city in which they dwell :—

The notorious "Black Hole," in which, in the year 1756, the Rajah Suraja Dowla, when he took Calcutta, shut up and suffocated 150 of the most distinguished prisoners, is now turned into a warehouse ; but before the entrance stands an obelisk about fifty feet high, on which the names of the unfortunate men are inscribed.

We are really sorry for the occurrence of this passage ; as it tends, whether we will or not, to shake our confidence in our author's veracity. Little inaccuracies, of which there are multitudes in the book, are very excusable, and frequently very amusing ; but this is a statement intended to make us believe that the author saw what she certainly did not see. We cannot even believe that it is the result of the "tricks upon

travellers" which some people love to display their ingenuity in perpetrating; for there is not a single building in Calcutta with an obelisk fifty feet high before it, which any mischievous youth acting as her *cicerone* might have told her was the Black Hole. The only explanation that we can give of the matter, and it is one on which we fall back very unwillingly, is that Mrs. Pfeiffer, all the time she was in India, forgot all about the Black Hole; but that when she was preparing the work for the press, it struck her that this was one of the things that she ought to have seen, and that she had recourse to some book for information as to its present state, but unfortunately referred to some one of an earlier date than 1820. At all events no trace of the Black Hole, or of the monumental obelisk, has existed since that date.

Our author went to visit a native gentleman, "whose property, with that of his brother, is estimated at £150,000 sterling." Unless we mistake the person alluded to here, she might have stated his property at a very much higher "figure" than this. Indeed, if native rumour is at all to be depended upon as to the havings of the two brothers whom we suppose alluded to, one of whom is now dead, she would have been much nearer the mark if she had added an additional cypher:—

The great man sent for his two sons, handsome boys of four and seven years of age, to present to me, and I inquired after his wife and daughters, though aware that I was a little out of order in so doing. Our poor sex stands so low in the opinion of a Hindu, that even a question about them is half an insult; he forgave me for it however, as I was a European, and ordered his girls also to be summoned: the youngest was a lovely baby of six months old, tolerably white and with splendid eyes; the eldest a rather common-looking little girl of *nine*, whom her father presented to me as a bride, and invited me to the wedding, which was to take place in six weeks; I was so surprised, that I said I supposed of course he meant not wedding but betrothal, but he assured me that the child was to be really married and given over to her husband.

When I asked whether she liked the bridegroom, I was told that they were to see each other for the first time on the wedding day; and he assured me further, that among his people a father must make all possible haste to provide husbands for his girls, as an unmarried daughter would be the disgrace of the father, who would be regarded as wanting in natural affection. When he has found a son-in-law whom he approves, he describes to his wife his qualities, person, property, and so forth, and with his description she must be content, for neither as bridegroom nor husband does she ever see the man to whom her daughter is given. He is never considered as belonging to the family of the bride—but the young wife goes over entirely into the family of her husband.

Bad as the condition of Hindu females is, this picture seems to us considerably over-coloured. There is no reason whatever why a Hindu lady should not see her son-in-law either before

or after marriage, if she has any desire to do so; and in point of fact all ladies do occasionally see their sons-in-law if they live within reach.

Before I left the house, I went to see an apartment in the lower story, in which, once a year, a domestic religious service is performed, called the *Natsch*. This festival—the greatest of the Hindus—falls at the beginning of October, and lasts fourteen days, and during that time both rich and poor carefully refrain from every kind of work. The merchant closes his shops and warehouses, the servant procures himself a deputy to do his work, and master and man pass their time, if not in praying and fasting, at least in doing nothing else. The Babu related to me that during the festival his saloon was richly ornamented, and the ten-armed goddess Durga set up in the middle of it. She is made of clay or wood, painted in the gaudiest colours, and decorated with flowers, ribbons, gold and silver spangles, and often real jewels. The saloon, the court-yard, and the outside of the house glitter with hundreds of lamps and lights intermixed with vases and garlands of flowers. Many animals are sacrificed, though they are killed not in the sight of the goddess, but in some remote corner of the house. Priests come to wait upon the divinity, and dancing-girls display their art to the sound of loud music: there are among these women, I was told, Indian Elslers and Taglionis who, like them, obtain large sums for their performances; at the time I was there, there was a Persian dancer, who never came for an evening under 500 rupees.

During the *Natsch*, crowds of visitors, amongst whom are many Europeans, go from temple to temple, and the more distinguished guests are entertained with sweetmeats and fruit.

The supposition, that the term *natch*, which has almost been naturalized as an English word, is synonymous with the *Durga Puja*, is one of those amusing little mistakes to which we previously alluded. We are happy to say that not many Europeans of respectability now attend the *natches* given on occasion of this *puja*. Would that there were none, who so far forget what is due to themselves, their country, and that religion to which they owe so much! Our authoress seems to have been rather industrious in her enquiries into the idolatry of the Hindus:—

Festivals in honour of the four-armed goddess Kally take place several times a year, and there were two while I was in Calcutta. Before every hut I saw a crowd of little idols, formed of clay, and gaily painted, but representing the most horrible figures. The goddess Kally is of the size of life, and stretches her tongue as far as possible out of widely opened jaws; but she is adorned with garlands of flowers. Her temple is a wretched building, or rather a dark hole, with a few turrets at the top of it: the statues in it are distinguished by most enormous heads and long tongues; their faces are painted red, yellow, and sky-blue.

This I saw through the door; for as I belonged to the feminine gender, I was not deemed worthy to enter so great a sanctuary as the temple of Kally, but I was quite resigned to the prohibition.

The latter paragraph is very rich, as a specimen of theorizing upon false data, and is worthy of being placed side by side

with the question wherewithal Charles the Second is said to have puzzled the philosophers of his day :—"What is the reason why a living fish put into a vessel of water does not increase its weight, while the same fish, if dead, would make it weigh more by the whole amount of its own weight?"—"What is the reason why a European woman is not allowed to enter a Hindu temple, while a European man may enter freely?" This specimen of griffinish theorising recalls to us an amusing anecdote, which was related to us only a few days ago by the lady to whom it occurred. A gentleman newly imported was listening to a conversation between her and a durzi, who becoming very earnest, repeatedly assured her with folded hands that she was his father and mother. The gentleman asked what it was that he had so eagerly said, and on being informed, replied that he supposed that must be owing to the Hindu notions of transmigration!! Of course the hoary-bearded son of our informant was a Mussulman; but that was a trifle.

After the visit to Kali's temple, Mrs. Pfeiffer went to the Nimtola Ghat, the place in Calcutta where the Hindus burn their dead. We presume she is the first European lady that ever passed the limits of this enclosure, and we may safely predict that her example will not be extensively followed :—

In this place I saw one dead and one *dying* man, and on six funeral piles six corpses, which the high darting flames were rapidly consuming. Birds of the stork kind, larger than turkeys, small vultures, and ravens were sitting round in great numbers on the neighbouring roofs and trees, and eagerly waiting for the half-burnt bodies. I hastened shuddering from the spot, and could for a long time not banish its painful image from my memory.

Such is the whole amount of Mrs. Pfeiffer's gleanings during a residence of five weeks in Calcutta. It is true there is not much to be seen or remarked on in our city; but surely she might have found a few more matters of interest.

Mrs. Pfeiffer's next movement was through the Sunderbunds, and up the Ganges to Benares, on board the Steamer *General Macleod*. Nothing strikes us particularly in her account of this voyage, except her strange mistakes as to the names of places, Katscherie for Kedgerree, Gulna for Coolneah, Bealeah for Rampore Bealeah, and Gur for Gour. On stopping at Rajmahal, our authoress set out in search of the ruins of this once famous capital. But she did not succeed, or at least all the ruins that she found, "certainly did not occupy a space of two 'English square miles.'" From this she seems to conclude that

the existence of Gour, as a city that occupied twenty square miles, is very apocryphal. Our Indian readers will not be surprised at her not finding the ruins of Gour at Rajmahal, since their site is a good dozen of miles from that station! She made the discovery, that Monghyr "is considered one of 'the unhealthiest places in all India, and whoever is ordered 'here for a few years, may generally take a final farewell of 'his friends.'" This, we think, will be news for our medical statisticians. Her description of Benares is very meagre, but so far as we are able to judge, not inaccurate. The principal event recorded is a visit to the titular raja, who treated her with great kindness, got up an extempore match for her gratification, and mounting her on his own elephant, sent her off to visit his garden.

From Benares, she proceeded to Allahabad in a "*post-dock*;" a conveyance whose nature it is not easy to understand, the latter word being Pfeifferian for *dâk*; and the former being English for the same! Here also her romanizing is amusingly at fault, converting the native name of the city *Práyâg* into *Brog*. From Allahabad, she went to Cannipoor, (Cawnpore) and thence to Agra. The following is her account of the far-famed Taj:—

The last sight I went to see in Agra was the admired and world-renowned Taj-Mahal, a monument erected by the Sultan Jehan to the memory of his favourite lady, Narj-Mahal: but the sultan's own memory has been more indebted to it: for every one who sees it naturally asks after the name of the monarch whose word of power called such a structure into being. The names of the architect and builder have unfortunately been lost: many have ascribed it to Italian masters; but when we see so many magnificent works of Mahomedan artists, we should either deny them all, or be willing to acknowledge this.

On an open terrace of red sandstone twelve feet high, standing in the middle of a garden, is reared an octangular mosque of white marble, with high arcades and minarets at the four corners. The principal cupola rises to a height of 260 feet, and is surrounded by smaller ones. All round the outside of the mosque are sentences from the Koran in letters of black marble, inlaid. In the principal apartment stand two sarcophagi, in one of which repose the remains of the sultan, and in the other those of his favourite, and they, as well as the lower half of the walls, are of the richest mosaic, inlaid with semi-precious stones. One of the most beautiful things about it is the trellis-work of marble by which the sarcophagi are surrounded, and which is so delicately and exquisitely wrought that it looks like carved ivory: it is also enriched at top and bottom with semi-precious stones, and among them one was pointed out to me called the "gold stone," and which has perfectly the fine colour of that metal: it is very costly, more so than lapis-lazuli.

Two other mosques stand at a short distance from the *Taj-Mahal*, which anywhere else would be much admired, but they are little noticed in the

presence of a structure, of which a traveller says, not without reason, that "it seems too pure—too holy to be the work of human hands. Angels," he adds, "must have brought it from Heaven;" and a glass case should be thrown over it to preserve it even from every breath of air; yet this mausoleum has already stood 250 years, but it is as perfect as if it were just finished. Many travellers have asserted that its effect is peculiarly enchanting by moonlight, and accordingly I paid it a visit when the moon was shining gloriously, but I did not at all agree with them that the effect was improved, and almost regretted to have weakened thus my first impression. Amidst ancient ruins or Gothic buildings, moonlight exercises a magic power, but not so on a monument of polished white marble, for that only falls into vague undefined masses like heaps of snow. I cannot but suspect that the first traveller who visited it by moonlight, did so in company that made everything charming, and that the subsequent ones have only repeated after him.

We quite agree with Mrs. Pfeiffer on this point in æsthetics. The light that is suitable for "fair Melrose" cannot be the light in which to see the Taj-Mahal aright.

Through Futteypore to Delhi was her next stage; in her ignorance, she sadly libels the fair children of the Hindu community:—

The prettiest girlish faces peep modestly out of these curtained bails; and did not one know that in India an unveiled face is never an innocent one, the fact certainly could not be divined from their looks or behaviour. Unhappily there is no country in the world where there are more of this class than in India; and in a great measure on account of an absurd and unnatural law: the girls of every family are betrothed when they are only a few months old; and should the bridegroom die, even immediately after, the child is considered as a widow, and cannot marry again. The estate of widowhood is regarded as a great misfortune, for it is supposed that only those women are placed in it who have, in some preceding life, deserved such a punishment. Most of the young women so situated become dancing-girls.

We yield to none, in our estimate of the evils arising from the practice of early marriages; but it is too much to suppose that the children in Delhi sent out to take the air in an evening are all prostitutes, and that *most* of the young widows throughout India become dancing-girls! Upon the whole, however, we find more information, and fewer mis-statements respecting Delhi, than generally occur in our traveller's description of places and things; which is probably due to her having been the guest of Dr. Sprenger, who showed her great kindness, knew what he had to describe, and could describe it in her own language. That in Calcutta she had fallen amongst wags willing to play on her griffinism, is evident from the strain of many of her remarks; and not least from the fact that she was strongly impressed while here with a sense

of the danger of proceeding beyond Delhi, on account of the country being positively over-run with Thugs! Although this impression was dissipated at Delhi, she still could not proceed to Simla, on account of the season; and therefore took the nearer road to Bombay through Central India. Her first main station, after leaving Delhi, was Kotah, where she did not find the Resident, Captain Burdon, but was kindly entertained by the Surgeon, Dr. Roland. Her next stage was Indore, where she was hospitably received by the Resident, Mr. Hamilton, who treated her with princely hospitality, and made arrangements for forwarding her to Ajunta. On her way to the fortress of Dowlutabad and the temples of Ellora, she made a digression to take part in a tiger-hunt. We must give the account in her own words:—

When Captain Gill understood that I wished to visit the renowned fortress of Dowlutabad, he told me that no one was admitted to it without an order from the commandant of Aurnunjabad; but he added, that he would immediately send a messenger thither for one, and he could at the same time bring me a card of admission for Ellora. There and back the messenger would have a distance of 140 miles to go, and all this courtesy was shown by Englishmen to me, a German woman, without rank or distinction of any kind.

At four o'clock in the morning the captain favoured me with his company at the coffee-table, and half an hour afterwards I was sitting in my baidi pursuing my journey.

March 9.—Early in the morning I mounted my horse, to visit the rocky temple of Ellora; but, as it often happens in life, I was reminded of the proverbial saying, "Man proposes and God disposes," and instead of the temple I saw a tiger-hunt.

I had scarcely turned my back on the town where I had passed the night, when I saw advancing towards me from the bongolo several Europeans, sitting upon elephants. We stopped on coming up with each other, and began a conversation, from which it appeared that the gentlemen were out on a tiger-hunt, as they had had information of some being in the neighbourhood, and they invited me, if such sport did not terrify me too much, to join them. I was very glad of the invitation, and soon found myself in company with two of the gentlemen and one native, seated in a box about two feet high, which was placed on the back of a very large elephant. The native was to load the guns; and they gave me a large knife to defend myself with in case the tiger should spring up to the edge of the box.

Thus prepared, we set off for the hills, and after the lapse of some hours, thought we had come, probably, pretty close to the tiger's den, when suddenly one of our servants exclaimed, "*Back, back,** that is 'Tiger!'" Glaring eyes were seen through the bushes, and at the same moment several shots were fired. The animal was soon pierced by several bullets, and now dashed at us full of fury. He made such tremendous springs that I thought he must infallibly soon reach our box, and choose himself a victim out of our party. This spectacle was terrible enough to me, and my fear was presently increased by the sight of a second tiger. I behaved myself, however, so

* Pfeifferian for *Bhàg, Bhàg*.

valiantly, that no one of the gentlemen suspected what a coward I was. Shot followed shot. The elephants defended themselves very cleverly with their trunks, and after a hot fight of half an hour's duration, we remained victors, and the dead animals were in triumph robbed of their beautiful skins. The gentlemen were so courteous as to offer me one of them, but I declined accepting it, as I could not have delayed my journey long enough to have it dried and put into a proper state.

I got a good deal of praise for my courageous behaviour, and I was told tiger-hunting was really extremely dangerous where the elephants were not very well trained. If they were afraid of the tigers, and ran away, one would be very likely to be dashed off by the branches of the trees, or perhaps left hanging upon them, and then would infallibly become the prey of the enraged animal. It was of course too late for my visit to the temples this day, so I had to put it off till the following morning.

In seven weeks from Delhi our traveller reached Bombay, where she cultivated an acquaintance with the Parsi doctrines and ritual, visited Elephanta and Salsette, and saw all that is to be seen in the metropolis of the Western Presidency. She then left India, in a small steamer bound for Bussora; and here we must take our leave of her.

From all that we have said, and especially from the extracts we have introduced, our readers will form their own judgment as to the merits and demerits of this book. It is certainly a curiosity in its way, and is pleasant to read; but for any purpose of information or instruction its value is not great, on account of the inaccuracies with which it abounds. In fact, whatever gratification Mrs. Pfeiffer herself may have received in the course of her voyages and travels, we do not think that her narrative is particularly valuable. In the course of our perusal we have frequently put the question *Cui bono*, and echo in reply, has faintly whispered "*No.*",

ART. II.—*The Life of Taou-Kwang, late Emperor of China, with Memoirs of the Court of Peking; including a Sketch of the principal events in the History of the Chinese Empire during the last fifty years. By the late Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, author of the "History of China," "China Opened," &c. London, 1852.*

ALTHOUGH this volume was probably not put to press till after the death of its author, and was not published till after the tidings of his death had reached England, yet it does not labor under the disadvantages usually incident to posthumous publications; since it was fully prepared for the press, and transmitted for publication to England, by the author himself. We cannot but regard it as matter of thankfulness, that he had completed this work before his summons came; for although the account that it contains, both of the late emperor's life, and of the events of his reign, is but meagre, yet we believe we may safely assert that Dr. Gutzlaff has not left any man behind him who could give even so complete and so accurate an account both of the one and the other. Accustomed as he was for so many years to live on terms of familiar intercourse with thousands of Chinese of all ranks and classes—acquainted with the language and habits of thought of the people, to an extent to which no European ever was before—he was able to bring the discriminative powers of a shrewd and intelligent mind to bear upon the sentiments of the Chinese, respecting the character of their sovereign, and the important events that occurred in the course of his reign: while the position that he occupied during and since the war between Britain and China, and the important part that he had to take, as principal interpreter, in all the negotiations carried on between the representatives of the two nations, gave him better opportunities than any other man enjoyed, to trace the tortuous windings of Chinese policy and diplomacy, as exhibited in that most important crisis of China's history. As it would have been deeply to be regretted that Dr. Gutzlaff's knowledge of these things should have died with him, so it is a matter of corresponding satisfaction that he lived long enough to prepare the work before us for publication.

We are at issue with Dr. Gutzlaff respecting the sentiment contained in his opening paragraph:—"To be an emperor of China is perhaps the highest dignity to which a mortal can aspire. Leaving out all that superstition has added to the exalted rank the monarch holds, there remains still very much which would fill minds like those of Alexander and Napoleon,

even at the acmé of their glory, with envy. It is not necessary to talk about the great emperor as the prince of princes, the vice-gerent of heaven upon earth, the very representative of all living beings, to give a sublime idea of his position; the simple fact of being sovereign over three hundred and sixty-five millions of human beings, is enough to raise the autocrat in worldly estimation." When we say that we are at issue with our author respecting this sentiment, we do not mean it merely on the high ground, that there is a dignity to which mortals may aspire—and which mortals may attain—above that of any earthly sovereignty whatsoever. We speak merely of the comparative dignities of earthly thrones; and we know of at least one which we would far rather occupy—we trust there is no treason involved in thus permitting the thought to glance through our mind—than that of China. We will not allow Alexander and Napoleon to be the best judges on such a question; and without doubting that *their* sentiments would have been akin to those that our author imputes to them, we can say for ourselves, and for all right-thinking and sound-judging men, that it were far better, and a far higher dignity, to be the constitutional ruler of a free, happy, and loyal people, than to be the nominal sovereign of a third part of the human race. And that no emperor of China can be more than the nominal sovereign of his vast dominions, the work before us seems to us indisputably to evince. We deny not that the character of the emperor will exert a considerable influence on the condition of a portion of the people, nor that a man of goodness and energy combined might do much good were he placed on the throne of China—as indeed where in the wide world will a good and energetic man not find or make the means of doing much good? Neither do we deny that such an emperor might derive some degree of happiness and satisfaction from the consciousness of diffusing blessings around him. But for all that, we are very certain that the throne of China is not the seat on which a wisely ambitious man would seek to sit.

We have all along known that the power of the emperor is scarcely felt in the remote provinces of his dominions; that in fact the Mandarins, as a body, are the supreme rulers; that while they are individually responsible, the supercession of one only makes room for the appointment of another, so that the authority of the body is still maintained; and that the emperor's power extends no further than to the choice of those who are to exercise a virtually irresponsible authority. But while we have long known this in the general, we do not remember that the impression that so it is, and that so it must be,

was ever so vividly produced on our mind, as it has been by the perusal of this plain and straight-forward narrative. The author has no theory to maintain—no point of political doctrine to establish; he simply relates events as they occurred, and represents the state of things as he saw it daily before his eyes. But simple as is the relation, and plain as is the representation, it clearly indicates that the mis-government of the country, even under a good emperor, is greater even than we had imagined, and that the emperor has almost nothing in his power, either for the prevention of evil, or the accomplishment of good.

We leave out of view the tyranny of custom by which the occupant of the imperial throne is swayed and shackled; the necessity of his acting according to empiric rules, and the absolute impossibility of his exercising independent judgment on any occasion. True, it may be said that any emperor may break through these rules, and refuse to be for ever wrapped in the swaddling clothes of tyrannous custom. True, he may do this, but can he do this and continue emperor? We suspect that this is an impossibility; and that the first symptom of an emperor's independence of thought and judgment would be the signal for a revolution. At present it seems to us that the emperor of China has but one thing to depend upon for the stability of his throne—that is the mutual jealousy and hatred of the nobles and Mandarins. *Divide et impera* is the maxim, on the adherence to which his safety must depend; but let any emperor attempt an innovation which it would be the interest of the whole of this body to resist, and his downfall would be sure.

Meen-ning, who on ascending the throne took the name of Taou-Kwang, was born in 1781. His succession to the imperial dignity resulted from a combination of unlooked-for occurrences. His grand-father, Keenlung, in the exercise of that right which allows the emperor to choose any one of his sons as his successor, had designated several of his sons in succession; but those designated had either died, or had forfeited the affection of their father. His final choice fell upon Keaking, his fifteenth child, the son of a concubine. Keaking was the father of Meen-ning, who also was the son of a concubine, and who had attained the age of maturity when Keenlung abdicated the throne. The reign of Keaking was distinguished by nothing more than by licentiousness and mis-rule. His court was a scene of endless debauchery, the people were fleeced unmercifully in order to furnish to the monarch and his dissolute courtiers the means of riot and excess; and various attempts, in which some of his own sons were engaged, were made upon the life of the emperor. On one of these occasions, Meen-ning (Taou-Kwang) saved his father's life,

and was in consequence nominated his successor. Thus it was contrary to all reasonable expectation, that Taou-Kwang became emperor; his father having been chosen only after several of his brothers, and he in like manner having been chosen by his father in consequence of a single act of intrepidity.

It was fortunate for Taou-Kwang that his grandfather lived so long, and that his tastes were formed in *his* court, and not in that of his own father. In that court he had acquired a taste for athletic and manly exercises, which preserved him from the debauchery and effeminacy that disgraced the court of Kea-king. The following brief account of his character is given by our author:—

Meen-ning could not fail to be occasionally present at the parties given by his father, and to behold the abandoned characters of those who constituted his bosom friends; and that he, in such a hot bed of vice, should have breathed a pure atmosphere, and left this den of all that was vile, unsullied, is matter of admiration, and speaks volumes in favor of his character. He avoided, on the other hand, all interference, and never remonstrated, whatever might happen. Nor did he come forward, as the appointed heir of the crown, to arrogate those honors which in that character would fall to his share. Had he shown the least inclination to exhibit himself as the future ruler of the vast empire, he would, with many of his best contemporaries, have soon ceased to behold the light of the sun. It was his assuming character that pleased his father most; for he gave no rise to suspicion, and betrayed no emotion amongst the most trying scenes, when his kindred and acquaintances were hurried to execution; and he lived without making any party for himself. When he had his bow and arrows, his match-lock and horse, Meen-ning was satisfied, and cared very little for the affairs of the State, which were beyond his reach. Being totally devoid of the talent for plotting, none of the grandees ever made him a confidant of their plans; and even slander could not accuse him of having meddled with politics.

Such was Meen-ning, when the death of his father in 1820 raised him to the throne. If we had reason to believe that it was purely the love of field-sports, and indifference to politics, or disgust at his father's licentious and tyrannical proceedings, that induced him so steadfastly to stand aloof from public affairs, we should sympathize, somewhat more cordially than we actually feel ourselves able to do, with the eulogium just quoted from the work before us. But we confess that we can see but little in his character save selfish caution, nothing in his refraining from taking part in the plots of the day, but a deeper plot to retain the position in the emperor's favor, which by a fortunate accident, he had won. However, even in this view of the matter, we must remember that caution and deep plotting are qualities more in esteem among the Chinese than amongst us.

Be this as it may; it required a man of mature judgment (Taou-Kwang was in his thirty-ninth year) and of cool and cautious pru-

dence, to succeed an emperor like Keaking, under whose bad reign the kingdom had fallen into a state bordering upon anarchy; disorder and misrule having obtained the unchecked ascendancy in all departments of the Government. His first act, after being fairly seated on the throne, was to clear the Augean stable of his father's harem and court. "The silent, the pensive 'Taou-Kwang'" (says our author) "whom every one believed to be unfit for holding such a high station, began to look about in order to effect the necessary reforms. The Harem had been made a place of abomination, and the vilest of woman-kind reigned there supreme. Thither, therefore, the attention of 'Taou-Kwang' was first directed: he dismissed the women, allowing each to return to her parents and relatives: there were few that had not secured large sums by the most nefarious traffic. The comedians, buffoons, and all that class were also discharged, and the whole establishment was cleared." * * "And now Taou-Kwang's care was directed to the Government. The cabinet claimed his first care; and the removal of ministers, partly on account of their age, partly for having been the creatures of his father, took place successively. But in these proceedings no violence or injustice was done. It had been customary, on the accession of a new emperor, to mulct the richest among them, and having done so, to draw up a register of their crimes, in order to condemn them to the utmost penalty. Now, the changes took place gradually, without the slightest vituperation."

So far all well. But the work of destruction is proverbially easier than that of construction; and Taou-Kwang was not the first monarch who found it easier to remove a bad cabinet than to replace it by a good one. At no time have good, unselfish, and patriotic men abounded amongst the Chinese nobles; and the dissolute reign of Keaking had well nigh rendered the breed extinct. The emperor therefore tried the hazardous experiment of being his own minister; but the experiment did not succeed, or at least but partially. By degrees, therefore, he took to his counsels the best men that he could find; and the descriptions which our author gives of these men seem to us to be masterly sketches, with an air of reality about them that indicates that they are drawn from the life, and with no apprentice's pencil. We cannot give a more favorable specimen of the work before us than by extracting one or two of these accounts of the counsellors of Taou-Kwang. We begin with Lung, whose name is not unknown to Europeans.

The people, however, hoped that the famous Lung, once so celebrated as a statesman, and now banished from the court, would again be called

into power. This did not take place immediately; Taou-Kwang disliked the man on account of his boisterous, imperious manner. When he was upbraided for neglecting such an excellent statesman, he simply remarked that he was willing to receive advice, but would not in this case leave the intermeddler unpunished. Lung remained a month at the court, and was then sent in charge of the pleasure grounds of Gehol.

There are few adventurers who have lived such a chequered life as this courtier. He was always happy, always buoyant; no punishment could cast him down entirely, no promotion or good fortune make him proud and overbearing. Profuse in his expenditure, always poor and harassed, he never took a farthing from the poor; nor did he in any manner encroach upon the rights of the people. This gave him great popularity; and whenever any calamity afflicted the country, it was Lung to whom the people looked. He remained for some time at the pleasure-garden; perceiving however very soon that mere merit never proved sufficient to retain the imperial favor, he managed to get a daughter into the Harem; and having succeeded in this, he had a very strong advocate at Court.

In a short time he was made Governor-General of the province of Chih-le, a very high post, as Peking is situated within its jurisdiction. He obtained quite the ascendancy in the cabinet, talked a good deal, and wrote still more. Being given to hard drinking, he often appeared in the council-chamber with a napkin dipped in water round his head, to cool his cranium. He then was the soul of the ministry, discussing all the points with great volubility, giving much good advice, and proving of some avail to Taou-Kwang. But the emperor wished to be free from vain interlocutors, and therefore availed himself of an opportunity to send this too powerful grandee to Ko-lo to settle some quarrels there. Thus he was freed from Lung's presence, and began to breathe again.

The blustering, swaggering, reckless Lung, does not at all harmonize with the current ideas respecting a Chinese grandee; and we suspect that he was not a type of a large class. Much more in accordance with the general ideas respecting the class to which they belonged, are the characters of Keying and Hegan, the former being a better than average specimen, and the latter perhaps a little worse; but both possessing the generic characteristics, flexibility, sycophancy, and undiluted selfishness. Another pair equally displaying the characteristics of the order, were Muhchangal and Keshen. But we pass all these and others over; and extract with pleasure the sketch of Elepoo, of whom we do not now hear for the first time; and our good opinion of whom we are glad to have confirmed by Dr. Gutzlaff.

The very opposite of this great statesman was Elepoo, a man older than Taou-Kwang, and in early life attached to his person. His whole character was that of straight-forwardness, without blandishment; he had little talent, but great honesty of purpose: whenever this was wanted, he was the man. As he often spoke his mind freely, he gave frequent offence, and was repeatedly exiled to the provinces; where however, he held high offices. Yet his master never took off his eye from his faithful servant; and when every one thought that he was forgotten, a summons was all at once issued to call him to the capital. There he was again treated with great respect, until his unconquerable uprightness brought on another rupture.

It is truly refreshing to meet with such an honest John-Bull-like old fellow amongst such a squad. Truly a sturdy, brave, heroic man, a truth-loving and faith-keeping man, in the midst of a nation of liars and covenant-breakers. With all the fearlessness of Lung, and without his boisterousness and immorality, a man of the hedge-hog* breed—happier, we dare say, in his exile than in his recal—liking better to “hear the lark sing than the mouse chirp,” having a constitution better attuned to the atmosphere of the country than to that of the court. Such a man was worthy of a better fate than to be subject to the malice of Keshen and the caprice of Taou-Kwang. We set out by stating that our ambition does not point to the occupancy of the Chinese throne as an object intensely to be desired; neither does it lead us to wish for a place at its foot. We will not spoil the effect of the description of this fine fellow by extracting any more of our

* On the *Suum cuique tribuito* principle, we ought to acknowledge our obligation to Mr. Douglas Jerrold for the idea that leads to this comparison. As many of our readers may be ignorant of the peculiar merits of the hedge-hog, it is altogether due to Elepoot, that we should quote the passage at length, in order to vindicate the claims to be regarded as a compliment, of an epithet that will not, perhaps, be generally acknowledged in that quality.

“Give me all bosom friends like him,” (says Mr. Jerrold in the person of Mr. Capstick), for then there’d be no deceit in ‘em: you’d see the worst of ‘em at the beginning. Now look at this fine honest fellow. What plain, straightforward truths he bears about him! You see at once that he is a living pin-cushion with the pins’ points upwards, and instantly you treat him after his open nature. You know he’s not to be played at ball with: you take in with a glance all that his exterior signifies, and ought to love him for his frankness. Poor wretch! ‘tis a thousand and a thousand times the ruin of him. He has, it is true, an outside of thorns—heaven made him with them—but a heart of honey. * * * He bears a plain exterior; he shews so many pricking truths to the world, that the world, in revenge, couples every outside point with an interior devil. He is made a martyr for this iniquity—he hides nothing. Poor Velvet!”

“‘Tis a pity,” said King-Cup, “that all hedge-hogs are not translated after your fashion.”

“What a better world ‘twould make of it!” answered the Cynic. “But no, Sir, no: *that’s* the sort of thing the world loves;” and Capstick pointed to a handsome tortoise-shell cat, stretched at her fullest length upon the hearth. “What a meek, cosy face she has; a placid, quiet sort of grandmother-look—may all grandmothers forgive me! Then, to see her lap milk; why, you’d think a drop of blood of any sort would poison her. The wretch! ‘twas only last week she killed and ate one of my doves, and afterwards sat wiping her whiskers with her left paw, as comfortably as any dowager at a tea party. I nursed her before she had any eyes to look at her benefactor, and she has sat and purred upon my knee, as though she knew all she owed me, and was trying to pay the debt with her best singing. And for all this, look here—this is what she did only yesterday;” and Capstick shewed three long fine scratches on his right hand.

“That’s nothing,” said Mr. King-Cup. “You know that cats will scratch.”

“To be sure I do,” replied Capstick; “and all the world knows it; but the world don’t think the worse of ‘em for it, and for this reason; they can when they like, so well hide their claws. Now poor little Velvet here—poor vermin martyr!—he can’t disguise what he has, and so he’s hunted and worried for being, as I may say, plain-spoken; while puss is petted, and may sleep all day long at the fire, because she’s so glossy, and looks so innocent; and all the while, has she not murderous teeth and talons?”—*St. Giles and St. James.*

author's sketches. Such a jewel does not require a foil. We shall meet with Elepoo again.

The first four years of Taou-Kwang's reign passed over in peace and unexampled prosperity; the emperor had little to do, but that little he did well. His ruling passion was the love of money; but that passion was gratified in a decent old-gentlemanly fashion. The people were indifferently well pleased with him, and he had no special fault to find with them. He had no qualities fitted to call forth admiration; but he was tolerably just, and no doubt sought the good of his people, and was willing to secure it, if that could be done without much trouble, or any expense. "It does not seem" (says our author) "that the emperor engaged in any particular pursuit; his mind needed not to be constantly occupied, and required relaxation rather than incessant application. The eunuchs were the principal men who appeared before him, and they received his behests in a few words, often very unintelligible." A good easy man, such as you meet with in many an English manor, enjoying of a morning his new-laid eggs and his newspaper, and then sauntering out with a gun on his shoulder and a pointer at his heels, not so much from a desire of doing execution amongst the partridges, as with a view to check a hereditary tendency to corpulency.

But these halcyon days, these "piping times of peace" could not last always. The first interruption was from a revolt of the Turkomans, whose country had been added to the Chinese empire in the days of Keenlung. These men, goaded to madness by the oppression to which they were subjected, and having their national animosities inflamed by religious enthusiasm, were organized and led on by Jehangir, a man of dauntless courage, but little skill in strategetic arts. A great army was raised and sent against him, and the balance of victory vibrated for a considerable time. There was every probability that it would finally settle in favor of the Turkomans, until silver was brought to the aid of steel. The followers of Jehangir, even those that he had considered the most faithful, could not resist the soft persuasion of the Sycee. They deserted him one after another, gave up the cities that he had taken, and at last one of them betrayed himself into the hands of his enemies. The fate of this Oriental Wallace was not unlike that of his Caledonian prototype. He was taken to Peking, and there his body was hacked to pieces, Taou-Kwang the while looking on, and taking such pleasure as he might in the spectacle! The Turkomans were now at the mercy of the Chinese, and their tender mercies were cruel. Turkistan was

turned into a desert; thus Taou-Kwang took what some men call a noble revenge!

This rising took place in 1826 and 1827. The effect was to drain the treasury of the empire, and thereby to entail difficulties upon the emperor, from which he seems never afterwards to have been wholly extricated. For one thing it led to the virtual sale of all offices. That is to say, patriotic gifts were solicited. These were given with the tacit understanding that the donors should be recompensed for their gifts by official appointments. These they no sooner received, than they set themselves to fleece the people for their own re-imbursement; and they did not of course keep very accurate accounts, or cease the operation of fleecing when they had realized the sum that their offices had cost them.

The next disturbance of the emperor's peace of mind arose from an earthquake which occurred in the province of Honan, by which thousands of lives were lost; and from an inundation of the river Yang-tze-keang, which overflowed the whole country around Nankin, drowned many persons, and by destroying the crops, introduced all the miseries of famine. Taou-Kwang seems to have been deeply affected by these calamities, and to have really exerted himself to relieve the distress.

In 1830 fresh disturbances broke out in Turkistan; but the emperor, profiting by his former experience, managed to put them down by judicious applications of money. But while peace was thus established, domestic calamities pressed heavily on the emperor. The detail of these we must give in our author's words:—

The emperor had several children born to him; amongst others a son who had now (1831) reached his twentieth year. He was the heir-presumptive, as many believed; and proud, perhaps, of his high destiny, he gave offence to his father. A quarrel ensued, in which it is said the emperor lost his temper, and gave personally, with his own hand, chastisement to the prince. The young man was infected with the vice of opium smoking, at that time very common in the Harem, and died from the consequences of it. This occasioned many evil rumours, and Taou-Kwang was himself accused of being the murderer of his child; though there is certain evidence to prove that he was almost inconsolable at his death. * * * The shock, however, was too great for the emperor: he fell sick of a very serious disorder, his life was despaired of, and his brother, Hwuy-wang, fixed upon as his successor, the very prince who at his accession was too young to be entrusted with the cares of the State. A strong faction was formed at the court in favor of this prince, who had a great name for sagacity and moderation; but the spell was soon dissolved by the recovery of the sovereign, who hence conceived a great dislike towards the competitor, and repeatedly degraded him. This was not, however, the only misfortune that befel Taou Kwang; one much more deeply felt by him, was the loss of his spouse, in whom all his affections were centred. He had loved and esteemed her while still a prince, and he

shared with her all the imperial pomp. This event happened not long after the celebration of his fiftieth birth-day, when he was just recovering from his malady. He seemed to be stupified by this bereavement, and withdrew for some time from public business, and indulged his grief. When he was at length roused from his lethargy by the ministers, he was so indignant at their intrusion, that he disgraced them all.

The emperor's grief at the loss of his son would not be received by a judge and jury as in itself affording proof positive that he had no hand in his death. But yet we think it is exceedingly improbable that he had. Although he might so far forget himself as to strike a hasty blow, it would have been inconsistent with the whole current of his character, that he should have contrived the death of his son. The passage we have quoted is somewhat obscure, but we do not suppose it is intended to express that the rumours referred to, imputed the prince's death to the chastisement he received at the hand of his father; but rather that the fact of that chastisement inflicted so shortly before his death, gave rise to the suspicion that the enraged father carried his resentment so far as to compass the death of his son by other and less violent means; and this, we think, is unlikely to an extreme degree.

As to the emperor's concentration of his affection upon his wife, there are several passages in the book which we find it difficult to reconcile. Take for example the following: "To give an example of continence, Taou-Kwang confined himself, in his intercourse with the sex, to the woman of his choice, whom he had long before married; and he raised her to the dignity of empress."—P. 51. Compare this with the following:—"Thither (to a country-seat near Peking) the emperor retired, to spend the time with his friends and some concubines; and there he was seen to glide solitarily through glades of trees; or in company of some women, proceed in a boat along the miniature rivers. He was then lost to all the world; eunuchs guarding carefully the entrance, and all business being banished from these sacred precincts."—P. 74. This is represented as the life that he habitually led, and we confess that it does not in our opinion indicate a very strict continence. Take another extract.—"His mind was partly relieved by the report that two Chinese concubines had borne him two sons, (one, the present emperor, Hien-Fung, born in September, 1831,) to be a support to his declining years."—P. 102. We confess our inability to reconcile these statements, and strongly suspect that they are irreconcilable.

Several years seem to have passed in a sort of disturbed peace, or petty warlike operations against sundry rebellious provinces; the armies that the emperor sent against them, were,

generally, as it appears, unsuccessful; and then he had recourse to the means that had stood him in so good stead in Turkistan. The insurgents were bribed to give up their leaders. These were sent to Peking and cut in pieces, and a famous victory was gazetted. This is a singular feature in the Chinese character. The emperor is perpetually issuing proclamations which he knows to be utterly false; the people know them to be false; but they profess to believe them. The emperor probably knows that they do not believe them; and they probably know that he knows that they do not believe them; but the surface is kept smooth; and that is a great matter in China,—and elsewhere!

In the midst of these distractions, Taou-Kwang solaced himself by a second marriage. The object of his choice seems to have been a paragon of excellence. Let us give Dr. Gutzlaff's account of her:—

Taou Kwang was still mourning on account of the death of his consort, with whom he had enjoyed for twenty six years connubial bliss, when a beautiful woman, with the highest accomplishments, drew upon herself his choice as second empress. She was a Manchoo maiden, who, instead of whiling away her time in frivolous pursuits, had betaken herself to literature, and studied statistics. Being acquainted with all the details of Government, she filled her now exalted sphere with much dignity. She knew how little judgment her husband possessed, how unable he was to sway the empire; and she resolved forthwith to become his proxy without appearing so.

So then it appears that *bas bleus* can be made to fit the smallest feet; and certain other garments to fit other Chinese female limbs! We continue our quotation:—

The Chinese look upon the government of women as the worst slavery, and would never allow any to assume supreme authority. The lady therefore, instead of ostensibly meddling in politics, lived in the innermost recesses of the Harem, and directed the whole machinery with consummate skill. There was not a single important measure in contemplation, of which she did not previously receive notice. The attachment of her husband to her was unbounded, and she used this power for the weal of the country, to guide his steps. The most distinguished statesmen were recommended by her to his choice; and all proceedings was so arranged that they answered this end.

No period during his whole reign showed so much vigor and activity. The new men she chose, and the measures which she put into operation, proved efficient; and from one end of the empire to the other her beneficial yet invisible power was felt. She was for years the guardian angel of the empire; the faithful, affectionate counsellor of the emperor, and the mother of the country; for in works of benevolence she shone conspicuous. Yet she never usurped power; never obtruded herself; never kept favorites to promote them to high offices. Thus she was a powerful aid to her august spouse for almost six years, incessantly occupied with the welfare of the nation, and never giving any occasion for slander to say that she held the reins of Government.

Unfortunately, she had no children, and another woman more beautiful than she herself, being put in the way of her husband, he fell in love, neg-

lected his faithful and affectionate wife, and caused her death by his indifference.

A good, likeable, sensible woman this, and well worthy of a better fate. With these details before us we can scarcely endorse our author's certificate of Taou-Kwang's exemplary conduct in his domestic relations. He might be much better in these respects than many others—his own father for example; but it was one of the first lessons that we learned,—and we have never since unlearned it—that “two blacks do not make a white.” But in judging of Taou-Kwang, it is only fair to consider the circumstances of his birth and education. He was a Manchoo, brought up in the court of a tyrannical grandfather, and afterwards in that of a monstrously licentious father. He was not a man of much mind or character, and it is surprising that he resisted so well as he did the evil influences to which he was exposed. These considerations, while they must not lead us to approve much of his conduct, may well incline us to charity in our judgment of the man. He was good for an emperor of China, at the very top of his class; but that class is a low one in the scale of morality and intelligence.

We may safely presume that our readers are in general well acquainted with the relations that subsisted between China and Great Britain during the existence of the East India Company's monopoly of the China trade, and with the constant bickerings that ensued between the agents of the Company on the one hand, and the Hong merchants and authorities of Canton on the other. The abolition of that monopoly on the granting of the present Charter, and the appointment of a British nobleman to protect the interests of our commerce, then thrown open to public competition, was the beginning of that series of events, which eventually, in 1840, brought matters to a crisis. It was a great grievance to the Chinese authorities, that Lord Napier, the appointed guardian of British trade, insisted on remaining at Canton. They insisted upon his residing at Macao, and visiting Canton only on permission granted, when he had business to transact. They refused to receive his letters, and directed the Hong merchants to stop the trade. The following is a fair specimen of the tone that they adopted. It is an official despatch from the governor of Canton to the emperor :—

The disposition of the English barbarians is ferocious. They trust in the strength of their ships, and the effectiveness of their guns; but the inner seas having but shallow water, with many banks and rocks, the said barbarian ships, though they should discharge their guns, cannot do it

with full effect. The barbarian eye having placed himself in the central flowery land, we are in the state relatively of host and guest. If he should madly think to overleap the bounds, our troops may composedly wait to do their work; and he will be found powerless.

These utterances were given forth, as we believe, in perfect sincerity and good faith. The Chinese were perfectly ignorant of our resources, and of the power of our ships, guns and troops. In the very first number of the *Calcutta Review*, it is humorously, but sadly, shown, that this ignorance was mutual, and that it was the cause of many sad events. The English had been accustomed to regard the Chinese with a degree of contempt, quite equal to that with which the Chinese regarded the English; and the idea that they could make any head against a British army, never entered into any sane mind. But we are anticipating the order of events. The emperor and his advisers did not at this time expect that war would ever befall, or that the "outside barbarians" would ever dare to incur the severe displeasure of the prince of princes. No preparations were made for war. The army was sadly disorganized; the navy was little better than a nullity; the forts at the mouths of the rivers were supposed to be amply sufficient to keep the foreigners at a distance. When, therefore, two British frigates passed the Bogue forts, heedless of the fire that was opened upon them, and moved up to the anchorage at Canton, the emperor fulminated a tremendous despatch against those who had so far forgotten their duty as to permit them to pass. He also suggested that the army and navy should be improved; but nothing was really done; and Lord Napier's death, and the settlement of the difficulties between the traders and the Hong merchants, put a stop for that time to any further proceedings. The trade went on; opium became an indispensable necessary to hundreds of thousands of the Chinese people of all ranks; and notwithstanding the prohibition of its importation, was actually imported to so great an extent, that the price of it not only swallowed up the whole price of the tea exported, but besides drained the country of silver to a great extent. This alarmed the emperor, who put forth all the severity of those penal enactments with which the Chinese code abounds, in order to stop the importation of the drug. The Commissioner Lin was appointed, as the most unrelenting functionary in the whole empire, with full powers by every means to repress the evil. The history of this anxious time, and especially of the conduct of the British Commissioner Elliott, in giving up the whole of the opium then in the ships off the coast for destruction, must be

fresh in the remembrance of all our readers. It was now evident, however, even to the emperor, that the English were not disposed any longer to submit to his arbitrary measures; and in 1840, when a small British squadron appeared off the coast, they did not find the Chinese wholly unprepared to receive them.

The whole events of the war are so fully sketched in the article to which we have already alluded in the first number of the *Calcutta Review*, that we need not repeat any of the details here. As to the efforts that were industriously made, in India and in England, to vindicate the war from the character ascribed to it of an "opium war," we must say that in our estimation they were unsuccessful. It might be called a war in defence of free trade, and so it was; but only in defence of free trade *in opium*. It might be called a war of vengeance for the injuries done to British subjects and their property—but that property was opium, and these persons were injured solely in consequence of their violating the Chinese laws in their capacity of opium-traders. As to the abstract right of a nation to interfere with the freedom of trade, we shall say nothing; but it is a right that is claimed and exercised by every nation under heaven that engages in foreign commerce; and by the English no less than the Chinese. Our opinion therefore is that the war on our part was wholly unjustifiable. This is a humiliating confession; but we cannot help it. We believe that good has come out of the war, ultimate good to China; but this is to be ascribed to the all-ruling providence of Him, whose sublime attribute it is to be "from seeming evil still educing good,"—aye, and from real evil too.

We are not sure that the amount of the despair to which our victories reduced the Chinese has ever been so fully stated as it is in the work before us. It is well known that every defeat sustained by the Chinese was reported to Peking, and blazoned forth in official gazettes, as a glorious victory. But our old hedge-hog friend Elepoo had courage to tell the truth; and when there was every appearance to indicate that our army would advance upon Peking, he dared to tell the emperor so. Such was the effect of this intelligence upon the mind of the emperor, that he actually "gave orders that his effects should 'be packed up, that he might fly to some of the interior provinces.'" This fine fellow had previously been disgraced, because he had fulfilled an engagement to give up some English prisoners; but his master knew that, despite that honesty which was in his eye the greatest fault, he had qualities which made his services too valuable to be dispensed with; and it is

to him that the termination of the war is doubtless to be ascribed. He died just after the conclusion of the negotiations,—clearly the saviour of his country.

The British war was the last event of any importance in the life of Taou-Kwang. His old age was not spent in peace. Insurrections in various parts of the empire, and the low state of his treasury, were constant sources of grief and anxiety. Above all he was made to feel that the *prestige* of invincibility had departed from him. Although the gazettes represented matters as if the result of the war had been a complete victory on the part of the Chinese, yet every man in the empire knew that this was not the case, although they might not know the full extent of the humiliation to which the emperor had been subjected, and of the concessions that he had been compelled to make. The effect of this knowledge was doubtless a diminution of his authority over his own subjects, and an increase of the frequency of insurrections, which even in the early part of his reign were of frequent occurrence. To the insurgents he was obliged to make concessions; and of course their demands rose gradually as they discovered their own power, till at length many parts of the country were in a state bordering upon anarchy. He now made a bold stroke for popularity by espousing the cause of the people, as against the nobles and Mandarins—a course of policy not unknown amongst despotic rulers. This course of proceeding gained only in a very trifling degree the affections of the people, with whom he never came into immediate contact, while it alienated from him those of the nobles with whom he associated—if affection indeed they had; other than the one master-passion of self-interest. Amidst those distresses he had but one satisfaction, a wretched one truly—but fitted to the calibre of his mind. “Whilst the national treasury was empty, Taou-Kwang’s was full. Even during the war, he had been accumulating large sums of money from the confiscated property of unsuccessful grandees; who were, without distinction, sentenced to heavy penalties, or who lost their all by a single stroke of the vermilion pencil. With increasing years the avarice of Taou-Kwang increased: he would not part with a single ounce of silver, which lay then in an immense heap, useless to himself and others: his heart was entirely in his treasure, and he felt wretched if he could not constantly survey the glittering baubles spread before him.” An attack of severe illness in 1845 gave occasion to a re-production of the same discussion respecting the succession, that had vexed him so much in 1831. On his recovery, he entered into a compromise with his brother,

to the effect that Hwuy-Wang should succeed, but that he should adopt the son of Taou-Kwang, and ensure to him the next succession. Six long and weary years did the old man wear out,—years of distraction and anxiety, relieved only by the contemplation of his well-filled coffers.

At length that death, in whose “warfare there is no discharge,” removed him, at once from the anxieties of empire, and from the delights of wealth, on the 25th February, 1851. He died in the seventieth year of his age, and the thirty-first of his reign.

An eventful reign it was for China, beyond any that had gone before, and fraught with results which will only be developed in the distant future. The future! China's future! What is destined to be its complexion? It is a solemn question; and the full answer to it is hid in the counsels of Him who alone “knoweth the end from the beginning.” But this we may safely say, that things cannot very long remain in their present state. Even now China no longer stands quite apart from the world; her people have been, to a small but a real extent, constrained to acknowledge the brotherhood of humanity. Commerce is exerting its civilizing influence upon them to a degree unknown before. The Gospel, which ever makes progress, however imperceptibly, has been introduced amongst the teeming millions, and it will work upon them a sure ultimate effect—that effect which it has ever produced upon the nations amongst whom it has been diffused in its purity; the growth of the highest order of civilization, the gradual development of free political institutions, the diminution of human sufferings, and the augmentation of rational enjoyment.

Whether China is destined to continue an undivided empire, is a question beyond our power to solve. Certainly it appears, that under its present form of Government, it cannot long hang together. But whether the Government shall be modified, or whether the empire shall be broken up, it is impossible to predict. Equally beyond our reach it is to answer the question, whether, in the event of a disruption, the fragments will consolidate into independent kingdoms or republics under native rule, or whether some of them will become provinces of foreign powers; whether some section of the Anglo-Saxon race is destined to rule over portions of this mighty empire, and Japhet to dwell in the tents of his brethren, or whether they are to dwell together in amity and peace, united by the ties of a mutually beneficial commerce, a common civilization, and a common faith. That the one or the other of these events will be yet realized, we do not hesitate to affirm with confidence; and although, a

long time may yet have to clapse, and many sad and deplorable events may be appointed to occur, we have no doubt as to the ultimate issue.

And now to return to the work before us; we have freely expressed our dissent from our author's opinions on some points, but we have great confidence in the truth of his statements, and the general correctness of his views. The volume will well repay perusal, and we have much pleasure in cordially recommending it to our readers, both as the life of a somewhat remarkable man, sketched with judgment and discrimination, and one casting much light on the condition of a large portion of the human family.

As to the character of Taou-Kwang himself, intellectual and moral, we must, as we have already said, judge him as a Tartar prince. We have been struck in the course of reading his life with the resemblance of his mental character and habitudes to those of a late English monarch. "He would have shone," says Dr. Gutzlaff, "as an honest farmer; and in any position of life where solid qualities, but not a bright understanding, were required." Economical to a degree bordering upon penuriousness; kindly and gentle in his own feelings, and affable to an unusual extent, yet stern to excess in the maintenance of the severity of a barbarous penal code. Devotedly attached to a religion, not in its genius intolerant, yet personally intolerant from a mistaken notion of what that religion required of him. Fond of the quiet of retirement, yet unhappy in his own family to whom he was devoted; a lover of peace, yet engaged in an endless succession of wars, and in his latter days in the most important warfare that ever employed the arms of his country—all this might be said indifferently of Taou-Kwang or of George the Third. And as the latter prince was a worthy man, and not upon the whole a bad king, so was the former perhaps as good a man as the religion and morality of China could be expected to produce, and as good an emperor as the political system and constitution of the empire would admit.

ART. III.—*Saunders's Monthly Magazine*, Nos. V. and VI.—
Article “*Vedantism ; or, the Religion of the Vedanta.*”

IN noticing Mr. Mullens's Prize Essay on Vedantism, in our last number, we refrained from entering into a full discussion on the subject, having already frequently alluded to its character and dogmas in prior numbers of the *Review*. But the simultaneous appearance of an essay on Vedantism in *Saunders's Delhi Magazine* directs our attention to the theme once more; and we embrace this opportunity of contrasting Vedantism with Christianity, not with respect to their origin, but with respect to their quality. We shall not ask whence the rival systems severally come, but only what they are. We shall leave the question of revelation altogether apart for the present, and examine the rivals only in an utilitarian light. The world is getting more and more utilitarian every day. Let Utility then answer if she prefers Vedantism to Christianity.

Vedantism declares that God is one, one without a second; absolutely, and by necessity of nature, one. This is also the Christian's faith—yea, it is the very fundamental article of his creed. “Hear, O Israel! the Lord our God is one God.” But the monotheism of the Bible means only to deny the existence of other gods. Vedantism goes further, for it also denies the distinct existence of all other creatures. God alone exists, alone in all the universe, and nothing exists but He. Every other apparent thing, that lives, moves, or hath a being, is only a part of His eternal and uncreated spirit, and destined, when purified from the pollution it has derived from its connection with matter, to be absorbed into Him again. This is the orthodox Vedantic opinion. Some regard it as overwhelmingly grand. An absolute unity—one without a second, displaying itself in diverse characters, through the medium of illusions, is perhaps a magnificent idea, that overwhelms us with a vengeance! It is certainly one well calculated to amuse the genius of speculation, of fancy, and of dogmatism. But it brings with it no conviction; for it is too far removed from the sphere of reason and common sense. Our own faculties rebel against the hypothesis, and reject it as sublimely fantastical. The Christian feels that he cannot subscribe to it. His God too, he believes, is every where, filling heaven and earth with His immensity, and present alike in beings animate and inanimate. Yes, He is the beauty of the stars, the brightness of the sun, the purity of the heavens; from Him the politician derives his sagacity, the philosopher his wisdom, the soldier his coolness

and undaunted courage: we all breathe His air, His spirit animates us, His power upholds us, His guidance directs us; in short, "in Him we live and move, and have our being!" But this idea of the divine nature is independent of the existence of the things and lives thus pervaded by the Deity, and the spirit of God is never confounded into sameness with the spirit of man. The Christian believes that all life has been created by, and is distinct from, God. Nothing approaches him either in nature or in magnitude, and no virtue can render the spirit of man absorbable into that of his Maker. Nay more, he believes that not only is the human soul distinct from God, but distinct in each individual. As many men, so many souls. The Hindu farmer has not a common soul with the czar of Russia, no, nor with the wandering Esquimaux of the Arctic regions.

Now, we ask not which of these doctrines is true, but we ask which is more useful; whether it is more for the advantage of men that they should receive a doctrine which is in accordance with the consciousness and judgment, and common sense of all mankind, or that they should strive to persuade themselves into a belief that they do in some way believe a doctrine which is contradictory of all the dictates of consciousness and common sense.

The God of the Vedanta is again represented as apathetic to the concerns of the world—inhabiting, in a state of profound abstraction and infinite blessedness, his own eternity. This too is a strange idea, and must have originated in the mistaken notion, that the conduct of the world would be an employment sufficiently irksome to disturb his felicity. It leaves us exposed to the buffetings of a cruel world, without a single prop to support us, deprives us of every hope of assistance, and throws us, infirm as we are, altogether on our own imbecile resources. It too militates strongly against the Christian's belief, who recognizes the Divine Providence exercising a constant superintendence over the affairs of life, and continually interested in the well-being of His creatures. The God of the Bible sleeps not; and nothing happens in all the universe but what He has designed and foreknown. He is represented as standing to us in the nearest relations, as our "father," by whom we are protected every moment of our lives; as our "counsellor," by whom we are instructed in the duties of our station; as our trust and stay in danger, and our solace and comfort in affliction. If God were indeed "like one asleep," as the Vedanta represents Him, and unmindful of our ways and doings, there could be no utility of such a being, as far as we are concerned, and the necessity of paying him any sort of

adoration or homage would altogether cease; for he that cares not for his creatures, of course cares little whether they exalt or neglect him. The necessity of acting well in life would necessarily cease also.

The Christian again clothes his God in a radiant panoply of moral attributes, but the Vedanta allows no such perfection to Brahma. He is omnipotent and he is eternal, self-existent and unchangeable; in a word, the greatest of beings. But the qualities that could alone make such a nature attractive to man are not allowed to him. He is merely a great being. Not a single feature in his character is calculated to win for him the affections of the human heart. He does not love, and he does not hate—he is neither merciful nor benevolent, neither jealous nor capable of wrath. Even the fundamental point, that God conceived a desire to create worlds, is hotly contested by subtle disputants, on the ground, that it is impracticable for a simple being like Brahma to feel any feeling, and that it would be a reproach on his immutable nature to suppose that he should cherish any desire. He is *nirgun*, or devoid of qualities. Christianity, on the contrary, speaks explicitly, not only of the love and mercy, the goodness and truth of God, but, also, of His jealousy and wrath; and almost seems to assert, that to deny Him these attributes is to deny, so far as human nature is concerned, that there is a God at all. He is wrathful because of His bitter hatred of sin, and He is jealous because He will not relinquish His glory, nor His praise, in favor of graven images; for beside Him there is no other God.

The notion of God, as inculcated by the Vedanta, is also too metaphysical to answer any useful purpose. All classes of men alike require religious instruction. The unlettered workman stands in as much need of it, as the learned sage; the poorest man wants it as urgently as the richest. But all have not the same mental powers. The intellects of all are not equally strong. Hence the need of a religion, simple in all its principal bearings, adapted to every understanding, and competent to guide all men to one peaceful haven. And this need the Vedanta does not supply. It is not only beyond the appreciation of the vulgar, as it itself very candidly presumes, but, we should say, it is unsuited to the apprehension of all. At every step the enquirer finds himself lost as in the intricacies of a labyrinth, for even its most essential doctrines partake more of the character of metaphysical and enigmatical problems to puzzle the wise, than of admitted religious truths for all to accept. The very Upanishads themselves bear testimony how some of the subtlest philosophers were perplexed in endeavouring to

appreciate the religion. As an instance, we need cite only the queries of Ushwaputi, in the Ch'handagya Upanishad, to the six enquirers after divine knowledge, who came to him for instruction, together with their answers. "Whom dost thou worship?" he asks of each of them individually; and one answers that he worships "heaven," another "the sun," the third "air," the fourth "ether," the fifth "water," and the sixth "the earth." These were the answers, not of ignorant men unlearned in the Scriptures, but of sages who were, to quote the language of the Upanishad, "deeply conversant with holy writ." In another place, in the same Upanishad, Narúda, soliciting instruction from Sanutcumar, says of his previous studies, "I have learnt the Rig Ved, the Yajur Ved, the Sam Ved, the Atharvan, the fourth, the Itihasa and Puran," &c. * * * "All these have I studied, yet do I only know the text, and have no knowledge of the soul." Few enquirers ever come so prepared to the search after truth; and if even those who do this can err so widely, the fault must be in the system, and not in the men. How far the Vedanta would have been sufficient to meet the wants of the human race, if all men had been philosophers, is not the question; though its success even in that case may well be doubted. We must take men as we find them, and not as we might wish they had been; and we find them ignorant and wretched, poor victims of their passions and prejudices, the best sullied with sin, the worst wallowing in iniquity. For such a multitude, a religion so obscure can have no charms, and people might well prefer, as they have done, rather to bow to stocks and stones, and images created by themselves, than approach the pale of its mysteries. Christianity is wholly free from such obscurity. It is open to the comprehension of all, the learned and the unlearned, the sage philosopher, and the illiterate peasant. The fundamental truths of the religion lie within reach of people of the meanest capacities. To the lowly in spirit, and the humble in heart, was it originally preached, and, though more than eighteen hundred years have elapsed since its first promulgation, the lowly in spirit and the humble in judgment are still its staunchest followers. It does not appeal to philosophy in addressing the ignorant, for philosophy mistrusts herself, and has never yet succeeded in curing a distracted mind. It appeals to its own pure doctrines, and to the heart of the sinner who approaches it. Hence, has such triumphant success attended its footsteps, hence have men of every variety of temper, rank and circumstance acknowledged its influence.

Vedantism believes also in the perfection of the human spirit. The soul is a spark of the Deity, and can never err. "As a crystal may receive on its surface the reflection of the colours of a flower, itself remaining clear and undergoing no change," even so the soul is unaffected by sin. All that is wrong is its connection with matter, or rather with illusion; and it is this only that renders it liable to rewards and punishments, to neither of which, as pure spirit, it would otherwise have been subject. Christianity, on the contrary, is founded upon the fact of the soul's depravity, and points to all its doctrines, as forming together one great scheme to redeem it. The one says, "think on God wholly and exclusively, and you will be re-united to Him;"—the other,—“kneel and pray, and repent of your wickedness, and do what is lawful and right, that you may be saved from destruction.” The one, like Satan in the Bible history, says, do this and ye shall be gods—the other avers that the highest virtue will not cover all the transgressions of our sinful nature, and that the holiest of men must be indebted to the mercy of God for final salvation. Of the two, the belief of the Christian is surely far better calculated to teach us humility, and our immeasurable distance from the Deity. Man, oppressed by the weight of his iniquity, can find neither comfort nor consolation in the idea of being consubstantial with his Maker. It does not satisfy the longings of the soul. It is a vain chimaera of philosophy, and as pernicious as it is vain; for it not only deludes the understanding, but also corrupts the heart; unsettling the very foundations of virtue and religion. The mortifying fact that we are sinners all, cannot be repeated to us too often.

Again, while Christianity requires us to purify and elevate our passions and affections, Vedantism reckons them a reproach, and directs us to extirpate them altogether. While the one enjoins on us the practice of piety and moral rectitude, the other upholds apathy as our only duty on earth. Spiritual and secular occupations, the Vedantic system presumes, cannot be pursued together. Heaven, or rather absorption, is to be won only by eschewing the earth, and by completely withdrawing ourselves from it; and the beau-ideal of a human character is represented to consist in the absence alike of love and antipathy, of joy and sorrow, of good and evil desires, or, in one word, in total self-unconsciousness. On the plea of seeking the knowledge of God, one may ease himself altogether, if he likes, of the yoke of works. You need not love your neighbours, nor relieve the poor, you need not admit even the claims of your family on your affection and assistance. If you endeavour to make yourself profitable to others, it will

be a drawback to your attainment of final beatitude ; for social feelings are all unrealities, the workings of nature within the heart are indicative of sheer ignorance ; and while ignorance continues, there is no hope of salvation. Virtues have their rewards, but the rewards of virtue are impediments to absorption. Be indifferent therefore to the affairs of life, and alive only to the misery you are born to—the misery of being connected with matter. The object of life is only to get free from the trammels of an individuated existence, and all its duties therefore consist simply in thoughtless abstraction, which alone can secure to the soul her freedom. Christianity, on the other hand, considers perfect indifference a monster in morality, and enjoins on all a life of constant well-doing. The glory of the great God, whom the Christian recognizes, is intimately allied with the good of His created millions, and the noblest duty of those who look forward to a future world, is stated to consist in the endeavour to realize to the whole human species the greatest amount of happiness in this.

Vedantism again has no moral code to define good from evil actions. A general and vague recommendation of virtue it may boast of indeed, in common with all other religions ; but in what that virtue consists it does not clearly lay down. Scattered passages in the Vedas are referred to, in order to show that this should be done, that not ; but these precepts too often diametrically contradict each other, and the declarations of duty are enforced by no moral suasion. He that does not perform what he is required to perform, is liable not to any punishment for his disobedience, but only to a loss of the reward attendant upon compliance. The Bible throughout, on the other hand, is perfect as a code of moral precepts, defining clearly and authoritatively the duties of man to God, to himself, and to his fellow-creatures. Not content with a vague recommendation of virtue, it minutely lays down the details of our obligations, and these precepts are not only taught but also exemplified. Christ tells us what we ought to do, and at the same time shows us how it is to be done—while his lessons inform us of the duties which ought to be practised, his conduct convinces us that they are all practicable. And the performance of these obligations is enforced both by promises and threats—promises to the obedient, and threats to the uncomplying. We are surely not hazarding anything outrageously extravagant in maintaining, that the superiority of Christian ethics over those of the Vedanta, is in itself a sufficient argument to establish the point, that, as a religion adapted to the necessities and instruction of mankind, Christianity is far superior to her rival.

Vedantism further attaches too much importance to shadows, leaving the substance unheeded, to be of much real utility. "All rites ordained in the Vedas," says Manu, "oblations to fire, and other sacrifices, pass away; but that which passes not away is the *syllable* OM, the symbol of God; and, with reference to the same term, says the Cutho Upanishad, "Man having recourse to this *word* shall either be absorbed in God, or be revered like Brahma;" as if the repetition of a single word, whatever may be its supposed sanctity, were sufficient to purify one from crimes. Mark what counterpart Christianity presents to this—"When the wicked man turneth away from the wickedness which he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive." It is not sufficient to utter the name of God repeatedly over and over, and tire our lips—it is not enough even to reiterate our prayer, but we must bring our contrite hearts as a sacrifice to the Lord, and in words—or without words, but in unutterable agony, with groanings of the spirit, ask for forgiveness.

So also Vedantism *speaks* of God always in the highest tone. We frequently meet with lofty conceptions of his attributes, expressed in striking and beautiful language, in many of the commentaries and strictures which treat of the subject. But when these glowing descriptions are analysed, when the perfection and sufficiency allowed to the Deity are attempted to be reconciled with the dogmas of the faith, alas! there is nothing at bottom but "words, words, words." He is *omnipotent*, but, except in the simple wish which gave birth to *maya*, his omnipotence appears never to have exerted its energy. The world he created through the agency of that wish is an illusive world, because even he cannot create matter out of nothing. He is *omniscient*, but totally unencumbered with the cares of the world, and absorbed in his own unity;—*all-perfect*, but having no positive moral qualities;—*supremely happy*, but insensible as a clod of earth! How correct and consistent, compared with this, is the representation of God in the pages of the Bible! His absolute and supreme authority is therein everywhere asserted, and nowhere compromised; His infinite knowledge and wisdom are everywhere exalted; His paternal solicitude is described in terms the best calculated to make it endearing; and the perfection of His character is vindicated by the admission of the noblest qualities in their highest and inconceivable purity.

The adoration of God, as enjoined by the Vedanta, also, seems to us to be nothing more than a recognition of the existence

of the Deity, and a meditation upon Him in some such sense, we believe, as some grand metaphysical problems are meditated upon. He is directed to be sought by profound contemplation; but there is no religious or moral worship for Brahma. By devotion and virtuous practices, says the Mundaca, the Supreme Being is not to be conceived. A dreamy and passive meditation is everywhere pointed out as the only way of knowing Him. What this sort of worship, in a sound rational point of view can be conducive to, we see not. Controversies, writings and disputations can never reconcile it to the human heart. And hence, in the absence of other beliefs, has the Hindu mind so completely sold itself to a debasing superstition, thus virtually recognizing the claims of heroes and other earthly benefactors to their gratitude, in preference to those of an Almighty Creator, who is to be worshipped only by apathetic abstraction. Christianity, on the contrary, directs us to love God with all our heart, with all our soul, with all our strength; and this constitutes the basis of the worship enjoined by Christian ethics—a worship simple enough for the most illiterate mind, and at the same time satisfying the mightiest intellects.*

This world, again, according to the Vedanta, is all an illusion—this world, where man is placed to act, hedged with so many faculties, is nothing but a show—a picture—a dream, not metaphorically, but actually an illusion. This, as a theological speculation, is, to say the least of it, too mystical and refined, and followed out to its logical consequences, is more calculated to plunge us into scepticism than confirm us in religion. It is with reference to just such a hypothesis, that M. Cousin so very pertinently observes, that, “A God without a world is as false as a world without a God.” Christianity, too, speaks of the nothingness of this life, but quite in another sense. It points out to an eternal future, compared to which this is indeed a fleeting existence, and to be prepared for which is the consummation it upholds. But Vedantism holds out no individuated future existence to the knower of God. As a separate being he lives in this life alone, and this life is an illusion! Alas, for humanity!

But why is this world an illusion? What are your proofs that it is so? asks common sense of the Vedantist. And what

* The Brahma Subha maintains that, according to the Vedanta also, God should be worshipped with gratitude, veneration and love. To this we can only answer, in the words of Colonel Vans Kennedy, that “such expressions as love and fear of God never occur in those sacred books, (the Vedas,) nor in any Vedanta treatise, although the terms themselves are frequently used” to express a different meaning.

is his answer? From spirit, says the subtle metaphysician, actual matter cannot be educed, and, as nothing else existed from everlasting but the spiritual first cause, nothing else exists at this moment but he. He could not have created the world without materials:—the world—the universe is therefore a delusion! The Bible, in noble contrast to these little subterfuges, maintains that God created the heavens and the earth, summoned them out of nothing by His Omnipotent mandate, and hung them out as witnesses of His power!

The idea of immortality, also, as inculcated by the Vedanta, even were it reconcilable with reason, is too speculative, superfine, and curious to suit the nature of mankind. Dissolution of individual existence, “with faculties transcendent for enjoyment, but not for action,” is the greatest reward held out to man. The enfranchised spirit is for ever identified with the divine nature. “As rivers flowing merge into the sea, losing both name and form, so the knower of God, freed from name and form, merges in Him who is the excellence of all excellencies”—as bubbles bursting are lost on the parent stream, so is the spirit of man after death resolved in the immensity of God. This assuredly is very unsatisfactory. We agree with Jumudugni, who observed, that “the idea of losing a distinct existence, as a drop lost in the ocean, is abhorrent:” for after all, this much coveted absorption is but a sort of annihilation. The futurity preached by Christ, though not so arrogantly high, is far more attractive. It is, in fact, what Prithu, the grandson of Suayambhuba, is stated to have preferred, when he rejected both the sorts of blessedness which the Vedanta offers, both absorption into Brahma, and pleasure with the minor deities in their paradise. “I neither want the one nor the other,” said he, “but give me a place where I may hear and learn the glories of God.”—“O God! I desire not absorption,” said also Vilwu-mungulu, the poet; “I ask for a distinct existence, and to be always near thee, my lord and master.” That men endowed with intellects—philosophers, poets and sages—should have preferred any other condition, and that through successive ages, is indeed very strange. The Bible holds out just the sort of felicity which Prithu and Vilwu-mungulu had longed for—a felicity satisfying the most exalted and enlarged desires of the heart, without partaking in nature with the Vedantist’s impious aspiration. “Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him.”

The idea of transmigration, also, which the Vedanta consi-

ders so well calculated to expiate guilt and wipe away sin, and which the Brahma Subha exultingly upholds as offering "a better view of our prospect in future, and one more in 'accordance with our notions of justice and mercy acting in 'unison with each other," than the Christian idea of eternal rewards and punishments, judged prejudice apart, must be pronounced as exceedingly absurd. It teaches man to believe that he is born under the influence of actions performed in 'a prior state of existence. If his circumstances in life are wretched, he is required to believe that it is a visitation of sins, committed when he was perhaps a Kalmuck Tartar, or a Mohican Indian, or may be a bird, or perchance a fish, or perhaps a horse. If he prosper, he is rewarded for the virtues he had done in like forms and conditions. But he retains no sense of his identity with the Kalmuck or the Mohican, nor with the bird, fish, or horse; and to all real purposes the Kalmuck, or the Mohican, the bird, fish, or horse is therefore neither rewarded nor punished, for they know nothing about the matter. It also encourages a spirit of procrastination in matters of religion, to which the human heart is all too prone. There can be no urgent necessity for making the most of our time, if besides this birth there be other opportunities of cultivating religion. "Let 'us enjoy our pleasures while we can," the sensualist will urge; "let me be ignorant for a season," will be the sluggard's excuse, "some other time we will make up our defection by our piety." Lastly, its dispensations are unjust. It suggests no solid hope of felicity to the good man after death. As a punishment for misdeeds done, transmigration holds out to the offender another opportunity for repeating them, and as a reward for virtuous actions, a repeated trial to the probationer, wherein one false step may annul past merit, and remand him to the abodes of pain. It cannot but surprise us that this perpetual transition from bliss to pain, from good to evil—this endless round of births under the influence of merit and demerit, this long-drawn string of exits and entrances, whereby the human soul is made a dependent agent—dependent on the influence of the works of a former birth—that even this has been by some professedly preferred to the Bible account of the destiny of man, so congenial to his nature as an accountable and moral agent, that after death comes the judgment!

Then again, the exclusiveness of the Vedanta renders it constitutionally unfit, as an universal religion. The Vedas are for the twice-born classes alone. The lower tribes are all debarred from the sacred books; and not only these, but along with them,

the whole female sex, or one-half of the human race. And the Vedanta cannot receive such to her bosom. Christianity, on the contrary, is for all men and women without exception.

"Beneath the open sky she spreads the feast ;
 'Tis free to all——"

But we need not continue the contrast further. We have said enough to establish the position that Christianity is in every respect better suited to humanize the mind, and better calculated to improve it, than the Vedanta ; which, though containing glimpses of the sublimest truths, and retaining terms and ideas expressive of high moral elevation, appears to us to be altogether inadequate, as a religion, to meet the wants and necessities, the hopes and aspirations, of mankind. If all the arguments we have used be insufficient to shake the strong prejudices of our Neo-Vedantists, we would ask them only to examine the practical success of the Gospel, which is traced in characters too broad to be unnoticed, or misread, and to answer what counter-part the Vedanta has to offer to that. Christianity has vindicated the rights of nature, upset customs and practices which in former ages were a disgrace to the human character, mitigated the horrors of war, assuaged the evils of slavery, and put a stop to barbarous amusements and public licentiousness. Even where existing in its worst form, corrupted and abused, it has raised the standard of public morals far beyond what heathen philosophy, in its highest perfection, ever did there before. Never, in the days of Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato were the Grecians,—low as they are at this moment,—so high as a moral people as now, though Christianity amongst them is like a withered trunk—a rotten tree. Never, in the days of Brutus, Cato, and Cincinnatus, were the Romans,—dark as their present corruption is,—more practically moral as a nation than now, even though perverted doctrines have marred amongst them all the sublimer features of Bible religion. All this has Christianity achieved, and all this has never been achieved by the Vedanta.

ART. IV.—1. *Instructions to Settlement Officers.*

2. *Report on the Settlement of Cawnpore.*

3. *Parliamentary Papers on the Renewal of the Charter.*

It will be in the memory of most of our readers, that after the land customs and transit duties of Bengal were abolished, a long interval occurred, before a similar boon was conferred upon the Presidency of Madras. The principal cause of this delay was, the extent of revenue at stake. That is to say, the fact that the land customs at Madras were more numerous, more burdensome, and, consequently, more destructive of the internal commerce of the country, was one of the principal circumstances which deprived Madras of that relief, which this very fact proved the Presidency more particularly to stand in need of. Another equally important circumstance was, doubtless, the position of Madras, as a subordinate Presidency, the result being one which is scarcely separable from the extreme centralization of power which now prevails in the Government of India.

Tardy justice on these points has now been awarded to Madras; but similar results, from precisely the same causes, pervade, we believe, other branches of the administration; and our object in the following pages will be, to point out some instances in which they affect the settlement of land revenue. We hope to do so in no captious spirit. If the Presidency which enjoys the presence of the head of the Government is the first to benefit by the enlightened views of a Governor-General, or of those who have access to him, it is only natural that it should be so. If more distant provinces are neglected, it is not because any unfair partiality is intentionally shown, but because a written report is of less interest than a personal discussion, and a personal discussion than an actual knowledge of a country and its people.

But if it can be clearly shown, that while reforms have been carried out in the North Western Provinces, those reforms are still more emergently called for in the older and more heavily assessed possessions of the South;—that while the cultivators of the North Western division of the empire have been relieved from a portion of their burdens, those of the South still bear a greater weight of taxation than was ever yet imposed upon the North West;—that while more enlightened principles of taxation are applied in the former division, the latter still groans under the weight of a land assessment, inherited from

the most oppressive of native governments;—if this is fairly and fully shown, we have perfect confidence, that neither the amount of revenue at stake, nor the difficulties in which the subject is supposed to be involved, will long deprive the industrious cultivators of some of our most valuable districts, of that consideration which is due to those whose industry may be almost said, during our early struggles, to have fought the battles which gained us the Carnatic, and thus laid the foundation of our magnificent empire.

With a view to this result, we are desirous of placing, in juxtaposition, the assessment as it now prevails, under the new settlement of the North Western Provinces, and in a Ryotwari district under the Madras Presidency, giving a slight sketch of the origin of the Ryotwari settlement, as prevailing at Madras, and of the revised settlement of the North Western Provinces, the principles laid down by the Government for the guidance of the settlement officers, and the manner in which those principles have been carried out. If we then take a single district under each system, and endeavour to approximate to a comparison of the amount of taxation borne by the land, we shall have a tolerably correct criterion, by which to ascertain, whether the just claims of the people, and the interests of Government, inseparable from those of the people, require that some such measures as have been adopted in the North West, should be applied to the heavily assessed lands of the Madras Presidency.

In following this course, we believe we shall show, that the measures, which have now given to the North West an improved system of revenue administration, differ but little from those which have been advocated, for a long series of years, by the ablest officers of the Madras Presidency, and urged upon the Government, with a force of truth and earnestness, which nothing but the pressure of financial difficulty could have resisted;—that if the same amount of relief should now be extended to Madras, as has been conferred upon the North Western Provinces, the system of Ryotwari settlement would then be fully carried out, and amply prove the wisdom and forethought of the able and excellent man, who may be considered to have been its author, and of the eminent statesman, who was its constant advocate and unwearied supporter.

Among the districts of Madras, we should naturally choose our illustration from that of Salem and Baramahl, as it was in this district the Ryotwari system was first established, and, perhaps, most fully carried out. But there are also certain peculiarities in the financial history of the province, as we shall have occasion to notice hereafter, which render it remarkably

suitable to the purpose we have in view, of illustrating the effects of the Ryotwari settlement, when aided by a light or impeded by a heavy assessment. We have also in this district, the experiment of Ryotwari and Zemindari settlement equally under trial, with their several results; and we have the interesting opportunity of comparing the speculations of men of remarkable philanthropy and talent, at a time when Indian revenue was comparatively little known, with the result of their labour, after the lapse of more than half a century.

Of the settlement of the North Western Provinces, we only propose to speak in very general terms, taking, as our guide, the printed papers whose titles we have placed at the head of the present article. We shall merely give an abstract of the principles laid down for the guidance of the settlement officers; and then, selecting one of the districts as an example, shall endeavor to show the amount of assessment, which was then deemed to be excessive and to require modification, the amount of remission which was conceded, and the amount of assessment which the land now bears. If we then place the result of our enquiries in these two districts in juxtaposition, we shall have established the comparison we desire. A fuller detail of the settlement of the North Western Provinces, its progress and results, would be extremely interesting, but at present does not come within the scope of this article.

The Ryotwari system of land settlement, prevalent throughout the greater portion of the Madras Presidency, originated in the labours of Colonel Read and his assistants, in the district of Salem.

The district of Salem and Baramahl was ceded to the Company, by the Government of Mysore, in 1792, and with some small additions subsequently acquired, now forms the Collectorate of Salem. The admirable letters of Sir Thomas Munro will have made most of our readers familiar with the country, in which his administrative talents were first fully exercised, which, through his long and glorious career, held so large a place in his affections, and in which his name is still held in the deepest veneration. It is a mountainous country, situated partly in the Ghats, which form the boundary of the Mysore territory, and partly in the fertile plains, which stretch from the mountains to the river Cavary. Several chains of hills run southward, nearly to the river, and only the south-western portion of the district affords any continuous plain. The Sherwaroy hills, and those of Shendamungalum, reach to a height of about 5,000 feet, and are now found to afford a delicious retreat from the extreme heat of the plains, in the months of April and May.

The whole district, exclusive of the Balaghat, since added, was computed to contain 6,448 square miles, of which one-eighth was classed as hills, the rest as plains, being, properly speaking, cultivable table-land at various elevations, or fertile valleys situated more immediately among the mountain ranges, as well as the flat country bordering on the Cavary, in the talúks of Salem Proper. At the time of the conquest, it was bounded on the north by the kingdom of Mysore, from which it had just been wrested; on the west and south-west, by the Cavary river, separating it from the province of Coimbatore, which was, at that period, also a portion of Mysore; on the east and south-east, by the disorderd and ruined territories of the unfortunate Nabob of Arcot. The province itself had suffered its full share of the evils of protracted warfare and despotic misrule; but the state in which it was handed over to our care, will be best described in a later page, in the words of Munro. As we are not attempting a full description of the country, we shall only add, that a surface so varied, necessarily implies an equal variety of products and modes of culture: In the jungles of the hilly districts, amidst their abundant pasture, herds of cattle are reared for the supply of the enclosed talúks of the south, as well as for export to foreign markets; sheep are abundant throughout the district, and the system of penning them on the land, is universally practised; the fields produce almost every kind of tropical grain, as well as cotton, sugar, and indigo; the mountains and higher flats yield wheat; and the coffee of the Sherwaroy hills bears a high price in the English market. When to this we add, that the inhabitants belong to both the manufacturing and agricultural classes,—that the looms of the weavers give employment to the females of the ryots' families, on whose wheels their thread is prepared,—that iron and saltpetre are among the products of the soil,—that numerous weekly markets, and occasional fairs, give constant opportunities for the free interchange of commodities,—that many large towns and holy shrines attract the merchant and the devotee;—when it is remembered that its principal towns are situated on the high road from Bangalore to Trichinopoly, and from Madras to Coimbatore,—we think it would be almost impossible to select any country in which it would be more interesting to trace the effects of a new administration through half a century of peace subsequent to ages of war.

This portion of our conquests was intrusted to the management of Colonel Read, an officer of experience, with three younger officers, Munro, Macleod, and Graham, as his assistants. To appreciate the labours of these officers, it must be remembered that, up to this time, no accurate system of revenue

administration was known at Madras. The assessment levied upon the zemindar of the Northern Circars was merely a feudal tribute, paid or withheld, as feudal tributes generally are, in proportion to the influence of the zemindar, or the strength of his country. In the management of the Haveli lands, or those belonging directly to the Government, the native system of farming had been generally adopted, that is to say, the cultivators were handed over *en masse* to be pillaged by a Governor's dubash or other adventurer. Every attempt at reform had signally failed, because it was sought to ascertain the state of the country from the curnum's accounts, or the evidence of the heads of villages, instead of deducing it from the land. It was reserved for Colonel Read, to lay the foundation of that system, which ensures, at the same time, the just dues of the Government, and the just rights, not of a new made zemindar, but of an industrious peasantry, and of such landlords as may be found to exist, and of those who must spring up by the necessary progress of events, in proportion to the amount of rent which the Government may see fit to renounce, in order to ensure the prosperity of the country.

Of Colonel Read, it would be injustice to speak in any other words than those of his illustrious pupil. In writing to his father of his new appointment, Munro says, "Read is no ordinary character: he might, in Mysore, have amassed as much money as he chose, and by fair means too; but he was so far from taking advantage of his situation for this purpose, that he even gave up his bazar, and many other perquisites of his military command, and received nothing but his prize money and commission, which, altogether, I believe, amounted to about six thousand pounds. Whatever I might have done, had I been left to myself, I could get no pickings under such a master, whose conduct is invariably regulated by private honor, and the public interest. These, and unwearied zeal in whatever he undertakes, constitute the great features of his character. The enthusiasm in the pursuit of national objects, which seizes others by fits and starts, is in him constant and uniform. These qualities, joined to an intimate knowledge of the language and manners of the people, and a happy talent for the investigation of every thing connected with revenue, eminently qualify him for the station which he now fills with so much credit to himself and benefit to the public." To this high character must be added the testimony of Colonel Wilkes, in whose work on Southern India, we find the following note:—

"It is known that the local institutions of Salem and Baramahl do not materially differ, and have been entirely

‘ assimilated by Colonel Read, who, in spite of a speculative tendency, which is too often the associate of genius, and the acknowledged error of over-assessing the lands, may be considered as the *founder* of all correct knowledge of the revenue of the South, and, perhaps, of a more correct and detailed knowledge than had previously existed in any part of India.”

If any further testimony were necessary to the indefatigable zeal and pure unaffected philanthropy of this excellent man, the whole of the public records, and the traditions of the district, afford it in ample abundance; and there is something peculiarly interesting, in comparing, in these local records, the speculative views, the imperfect sentences, and even the imperfect spelling of this pioneer in Indian revenue, with the clear and decisive views, the transparent style, and the strong practical decision of the pupil then rising into fame, and who was destined for so many years to carry out and improve his master's views. If ever a *Biographia Indica* shall be compiled,—and a more interesting work could scarcely be proposed,—the name of Alexander Read will hold an honored place by the side of a De Haviland. We should then be able to trace the excellent man through the walks of private life, and into his well-earned, and, we feel sure, peaceful retirement. At present all we know is, that he lived to retire, and in his retreat had the satisfaction of looking back with pleasure on his valuable and valued service, and remembered to the last, even the native friends who had been associated with him in his labours. A codicil of his will directed that the sum of £100 should be laid out in the purchase of a gold snuff-box, to be presented to one of his tahsildars, to whose faithful services, the codicil stated that he owed much of any success he had obtained.

Under such a chief, the three officers to whom three several divisions of the district were entrusted, laboured with unwearied zeal, and conquered the greatest difficulties. A body of revenue servants had to be created, instructed and overlooked; and in the scarcity of persons acquainted with the English language, even the mechanical duties of a writer or copyist devolved upon the superintendents themselves. But, notwithstanding these disadvantages, within four years, the whole subject of landed tenures had been completely investigated; the rights of every party examined and registered; every cultivated field measured and assessed; the currency, the weights and measures, even the computation of time, explored; the customs and transit duties, to a certain degree, regulated; roads constructed; commerce facilitated; and a mass of statistical informa-

tion prepared and arranged, which rendered the final settlement of the land revenue a matter of pure reasoning, on premises more correct than had, perhaps, ever before been submitted to the decision of a Government.

These labours, however, were looked upon by Colonel Read as merely preparatory to a decision by higher authority than his own, of the important questions which then occupied the attention of Indian statesmen. The collections, in the meanwhile, were made in each division upon the assessment formed by the respective superintendents, and varied in a remarkable degree, according to the estimate formed by those officers of the produce of the land, as well as according to their views of the effects of assessment on agriculture. To this variation, we wish to call particular attention. We shall, however, first extract somewhat largely, from a letter of Captain Munro, descriptive of the state of the country when ceded to our Government, and of the labours of himself, his colleagues, and his chief. It is addressed to Captain Allen, and published in his life, vol. 1, page 174.

To CAPTAIN ALLEN, explanatory of the Revenue System pursued in Baramahl, 8th June, 1794.

“You seem to think that I have a great stock of hidden knowledge of revenue, and other matters, which I am unwilling to part with; I have already given you the little I had, and your own experience of the ceded countries will supply the rest. I have more than once endeavoured to convince you, that we have no mysteries, that we have made no new discoveries, and that our only system is plain hard labour. Whatever success may have hitherto attended the management of these districts, is to be ascribed to this talent alone; and it must be unremittingly exerted, not so much to make collections as to prevent them, by detecting and punishing the authors of private assessments, which are made in almost every village in India. We have only to guard the ryots from oppression, and they will create the revenue for us. Captain Read, in order to be enabled to turn his attention to general arrangements, has divided the ceded countries among his assistants into three divisions. These are again sub-divided into tahsildaries, few of which are under ten or above thirty thousand pagodas. The tahsildars, who have charge of them, are mere receivers of the revenue, for they cannot either raise or lower the rent of a single individual. They are not permitted to give any decision, unless on matters of the most trifling nature, —to refer all disputes respecting property to a Court of Arbitration, to order the members of such Courts to assemble, to

receive the kists from the head farmers of the villages, and the accounts from the village accountants, and to transmit them to the collector of the division, is the whole of their duty. Every tahsildari is farmed out in villages to the gours, or head farmers, who, having the management of the details of cultivation, may be considered as renters of the country, though they are, in fact (unless in some particular cases), answerable only for the amount of their own particular lands, for the whole inhabitants are jointly answerable for the revenue of the village, which is seldom less than ten pagodas or more than one thousand. Every man, who pays a single rupee to Government, has the rent of his land fixed by the division collector, for which he has a roll, signed by him, specifying the nature and quantity of it, and the periods of payment. As the gour can demand no more than the stipulated rent, he can, of course, gain nothing by the ryots, and as every man enjoys the profits of his own land, it is for these reasons, that the whole are made jointly responsible for any deficiency. The gour, in consideration of the troubles of his office, has a small piece of ground rent free. By farming the country in such detail, every division contains near twenty-one thousand renters, the greatest part of whom, having been always accustomed to be plundered by their gours, in league with an army of revenue officers under the Mysore Government, still (notwithstanding constant exhortations to pay no more than their fixed rent, and to give no money without receipts,) submit to private levies without complaining. It is the most difficult part of the collector's business, to discover these impositions; but in the present state of things, it is impossible wholly to prevent them. If he is vigilant, he may reduce them, perhaps, to five per cent. ; if he is remiss, they will soon rise to fifty : nothing will effectually put an end to them, but a long lease, which for this, and many other reasons, ought to be hastened as much as possible. From many circumstances which have come to my knowledge, I am convinced, that the Brahmans of the different katcherris in the ceded districts, collect privately above fifty thousand rupees a year, for favoring certain individuals in the valuation of their lands at their annual settlements ; and this may be estimated as the cause of the loss of more than a lakh to the public, because the sum of rents excused, must be more than the sum paid, otherwise no advantage would arise to the payers from the transaction, and because every ryot must keep a little money in hand to bribe the Brahmans, which ought to have been laid out for the purpose of cultivation."

* * * * *

“ The gross revenue of the présent year, which ends in July, is five hundred and eleven thousand pagodas. The expenses of collection will, I imagine, be about seven and a half per cent., surveyors one and a half, and commissioners five per cent. The land rent is about four hundred and sixty thousand, the remaining fifty thousand are customs, which are composed of road duties, taxes on ploughs, houses, and particular castes. The last has been in part abolished, and ought to be wholly so, as well as the first, with the exception, perhaps, of one or two articles, which might affect our own manufactures; but all duties ought long ago to have been taken off cotton. Almost the whole of the land rent arises from grain, of which raggy, rice, and bajera are grown from the end of June to the end of August; if later, they will hardly cover the expense of cultivation. Reckoning back to the beginning of May, the earlier they are sown, the more abundant the produce; but sowing is uncommon in May, for rain is hardly in sufficient abundance till the end of June. Of these grains, the two first remain six months in the ground. Dall and the oil-nut are sown with raggy, and pulled a month later. There are several kinds of rice which remain only four months in the ground, and are grown at all seasons of the year when there is water; but two crops from them do not yield so much as one of other rice. The time of collection is from January to June, in order to give the ryots time to convert their grain into money. Cotton and sugar are grown in such small quantities that they cannot be called sources of revenue. The remainder of the land produce consists chiefly of different kinds of dall, and the nut and small grain from which oil is made. The ceded countries have very little trade—the jealousy of Tippú’s government prevents much intercourse with Mysore—his possession of Coimbatore cuts them off from the Malabar coast, to which they used formerly to send great quantities of cloth, and the heavy duties check the communication with the Carnatic; there being no less than sixteen stages where customs are exacted between the Baramahl and Madras. The imports from above the Ghats are cotton from the Nizam’s country, and beetle-nut and dyeing woods from Tippú’s dominions. The exports to the westward are a small quantity of cloth and bajera. To the eastward, little cloth goes, but that of the Company’s investment; dall and oil-nut are the principal articles sent there; they amounted, last year, to about a lakh and a half of pagodas, and the demand appears to be increasing. The imports from the Carnatic are only salt, and a few trifling European articles. The inhabitants of this country, from the long series of oppression they have undergone, are, in general, very poor;

‘ few of the farmers are, I believe, worth a thousand pagodas,
‘ and scarcely one merchant worth a thousand pounds. The
‘ exertions of industry have always been restrained by the
‘ demands of Government keeping pace with their profits, and
‘ often outrunning them. The tanks are few, and having been
‘ neglected ever since Hyder made himself master of Mysore,
‘ are in so ruinous a condition, that it will require a considerable
‘ sum to save the present produce of the land beneath them from
‘ being lost altogether. The ceded countries have, however,
‘ many natural advantages, and are capable of great improve-
‘ ments. The first step for the attainment of this object, must
‘ be the settlement of the lease at a moderate rent, for all at-
‘ tempts to better their situation will be in vain, as long as the
‘ land tax is not only high but arbitrary; let it be low and
‘ fixed, and it will be soon seen that the prosperity of the for-
‘ mer will extend to every source of revenue. By the lease
‘ every man will become sole master of his own land; when
‘ he pays his rent, there will be no farther claims against him,
‘ unless when it may be necessary, which will rarely be the case,
‘ to contribute, jointly with the other inhabitants, to make up the
‘ deficiency in the village. Every man will have as much ground
‘ as he can cultivate; the waste will be reserved by Government,
‘ to be disposed of as population and cultivation increase. The
‘ gradual but certain progress of the country in wealth and
‘ industry will, in a few years, make ample amends for any
‘ little sacrifice of land rent; we shall have no long arrears of
‘ balances, no calls for remission; the collection of the revenue
‘ will become easy and regular, and the present shameful system,
‘ if such it may be called, of a continual struggle between the
‘ inhabitants to elude, and the collector to enforce, payment,
‘ will be done away. The former, when convinced by the
‘ experience of two or three years, that he has not been deceived,
‘ as formerly, by false promises, but is, in reality, the proprietor
‘ of his land, and that all its produce, beyond the rent, is his
‘ own, will begin to exert himself, and, where he now cultivates
‘ grain for a bare subsistence, will raise cotton and sugar-cane.
‘ The road duties must be abolished, to enable these articles
‘ to go to market to advantage, and it were to be wished, that
‘ the Nabob could be prevailed on to do the same in his country.
‘ The weavers should be left at liberty to work when they
‘ please—and not forced or inveigled into the Company’s service,
‘ and when once engaged, never allowed to quit it. The fear of
‘ this treatment deters many from coming from Tippu’s country,
‘ who wish to settle here; no restraint of any kind should be
‘ used, if it is wished that manufactures should thrive. The

abolishing of road duties, the giving liberty to weavers to work whenever they find it most for their advantage, and the fixing the land rent, would soon change the face of the country. The people, as they advanced in wealth, would become more expensive in their modes of life, and their luxuries becoming, in the course of time, articles of taxation, would amply compensate for the loss of road customs.

“Hyder’s system of finance was much the same as under all other native governments; he rented the country in large districts to amildars, who were pretty regular in their payments, because the terms were favorable; but besides collecting the public revenue, they amassed large sums for themselves. Hyder having information of this from the numerous spies he employed, ordered them to the durbar, stripped them of their money, gave them a small present, and sent them to another district, to renew the same operations. Tippú began his reign with changing every civil and military arrangement of his father; and he changed his almost every year, and always, on these occasions, framed new codes of regulations to send to different provinces; his last was much the same as we have now in the ceded country; only that he endeavoured to excite the warfare between the civil and military powers, after the manner in which it has been so long and so successfully carried on in the northern chiefships. The two lines were entirely distinct. The military was under an officer called the Suddúr, and the civil under another called the Assoph. One of each was stationed at Kistnagherry and Lukledrúg. The Baramahl formed one government, and Darampúr, Pinagre, and Tengercottah, with the country below Toppúr, another. Though all killadars were under the Suddúr, he could neither remove nor appoint without orders from Tippú, and in the same manner, though the Assoph had the superintendence of the revenue, his power over the tahsildars, who were at every district, as at present, was equally confined: he could not interfere in the detail of the revenue; every tahsildar settled the amount of his own district, and rented the villages separately to the gours or head farmers. The tahsildar received a small monthly pay, and was supposed to derive no other advantage from his situation; he remitted his collections to the Assoph, by whom they were forwarded to Seringapatam. The Suddúr and the Assoph were directed to hold their katcherries in the same hall, in order that all the transactions of the two departments might be public and known to both; but all these checks served only to diminish the revenue; all parties soon found that it was wiser to agree and divide the public money than to quarrel and send their complaints to the Sultan; the

‘ Assoph and the Suddúr, with their katcherries, the tahsildars
 ‘ and their katcherries, and the land farmer and accountant of
 ‘ the village, all had their respective shares, which were as
 ‘ well ascertained as their pay. The whole amounted, on an
 ‘ average, throughout the extent of Tippú’s dominions, to above
 ‘ thirty per cent., being in some provinces more, and in some
 ‘ less, according to their distance from the seat of Government.
 ‘ Then, as well as now, the farmers were the only renters. The
 ‘ total collections were nearly the same, and the difference be-
 ‘ tween the sums carried to account of the Company, and those
 ‘ which found their way to Tippú’s treasury, is to be entirely
 ‘ ascribed to the difference between the personal character of
 ‘ Captain Read and of Tippú’s Assophs.”

We have stated above, that at the end of four years, the statistics of the district had been completely examined; the result was submitted to the Board of Revenue, in 1796, in the form of a statistical table, accompanied by a paper of explanations, by Colonel Read, embodying the result of his investigations, and replete with curious facts and speculations. From this we shall have occasion to quote largely, when we speak of the actual assessment of the district. The future system of management, however, was still undecided, and the great question of the zemindari, ryotwari, or lease settlements, was still to be discussed, and we quote the following letter from Colonel Read to his assistants, as illustrative of the style and opinions of the writer, as well as of the perplexing questions which then occupied the care and forethought of those who first sought to reduce to order and system so confused and perplexing a mass.

“ TO ASSISTANT COLLECTORS,

“ *Baramahl and Salem districts.*

“ GENTLEMEN,—1. You had reason, from my letter of the 8th July, to expect the whole detail of the mode of management, which I therein gave you only a sketch of; but revenue being so comprehensive, that the numerous items of it only occurring, as one brings another to recollection, the entering each in its place has occasioned so many revisals, as with other causes, to retard my progress much beyond what I expected; so that I am able to furnish you yet, with only a part of it, and being now obliged to turn entirely from it to the business of another line, it is very uncertain when I may be able to supply the rest.

“ 2. The desire to understand the business of my civil department, and the vast importance of devising something like a system in revenue, suggested, as soon as I became a collector, the idea of reducing it to definite and fixed principles, and had it been in my power to have devoted the whole, instead of a

‘ part of my time, to that pursuit, I doubt not, that ere this, I should have been able to effect it. I feel, however, such advantage from having directed all my enquiries, these five or six years past, to the same object, that I reject now hypotheses, the original of our present system, and am able to build upon facts; the source from which alone regulations can be formed to answer the various purposes of political economy which are comprised in the revenue management of this country. Nevertheless, the first draft of it must have many defects, which can be only remedied as they may be discovered in the carrying them into practice.

“ 3. Whether I, by a superintendence of the whole and daily enquiry, or you, as assistants occupied in carrying on the service, making settlements and afterwards realizing them, can be best judges of revenue regulations, may be made a question. It may be that we have each our advantages; you, from transactions with individuals; I, from enquiry into modes and effects; and that both have our disadvantages, proceeding from the means of information, which, whether from the mouths of the parties themselves, or of corrupt agents, often are perverted to deceive. Whatever is beyond the power of prevention, cannot, in respect to *self*, be a matter of solicitude with me.

“ 4. At all events different men in the same pursuit, and with the same opportunities, would acquire many points of information, and form ideas differing from those of their contemporaries, colleagues, or rivals. On that account, and no rivalry subsisting among us, I hope, (unless it be, that of who shall do most for the public good), I submit what I have done to your consideration, and request your sentiments upon every article, for the purpose of forming a code fitting in all respects for general adoption.

“ 5. This being a final attempt to bring forward a complete knowledge of revenue matters, from that obscurity in which it appears they have always been in these countries, the sense I have of every assistance I receive in so arduous an undertaking, demands in this place an acknowledgement to Mr. Munro, for his having favored me with his opinions in regard to the reform proposed, as requested in my letter of the 8th June.

“ 6. From what I now send, you may observe, that it is more calculated for the management of a zagir, than such an extensive country as the ceded districts, and that the carrying it into practice, with the desired particularity, requires that the ryots shall all be able to read, and the village curnums as expert writers and accountants as our own katcherri mūtāsūadies. The same, however, may be said of the rules you have each

‘ given out for the interior management of your respective divisions ; for as superintendent, I can inform you, how inadequately they have been followed up, and the more your observations will apply to these regulations, the better they are adapted to our purpose, which, as may be easily shown, is more properly the collection of what should be *private* than *public* revenue. While that is our object, it must be kept in view, and it is only to be attained by such a mode as that proposed, which I would therefore hold up as the standard of imitation in management. Pursuant of this design, I intend to circulate the cowlenamah, generally, over the districts in which the reform may be introduced, to furnish every curnum with a copy of it, and the directions to the *village servants*, every tahsildar with both, and directions now making out for *district servants* ; and every collector with copies of the whole, and directions for *division servants*. Thus the servants of every class will be furnished with whatever is necessary to themselves, and all below them, and the whole may, when improved by our several amendments and additions, form a code for *effective management*. While we endeavour to establish that, making our own katcherri do what the village servants cannot, till fully instructed, we may carry as much of it into practice, as the time on hand or other means may render convenient or practicable.

“ 7. Correspondent with my original design, you will find my grand objects are these, ‘ The securing the revenue its dues ; to the industrious their fair advantages, and to all the inhabitants every accommodation consistent with good policy.’ If our present system were not defective, there would be no room for the reform I am desirous of introducing by the regulations.

“ 8. It was intended to add notes, showing the room for each ; several of them, like those providing for joint security, being in my opinion oppressive, but justified by necessity, to obviate enquiry into the affairs of every defaulter (which is not in the power of collectors) and to secure the collections. All these regulations resulting from my experience, some are, of course, the same as already obtained in all your districts, others, though evidently proper, may require amendments, and you may think a few altogether objectionable. Whatever amendments, additions, or abrogations you recommend, I request your utmost endeavour at simplicity, for heretofore our communications have been too diffuse and abstracted, for others to understand and apply them.

“ 9. Many things in revenue, naturally branching out from affinity in such a manner, to make discrimination often difficult and induce digression, I have, you may observe, in my endeav-

‘ vours at perspicuity, made every point I am anxious the ryots
 ‘ should comprehend, the distinct subject of a paragraph in my
 ‘ cowlenamah, and to ensure the keeping close to the subject in
 ‘ hand, I request you to observe the same rule, furnishing articles
 ‘ entire, whether amendments of those, or proposed additions,
 ‘ and if necessary, referring to forms; for our aim must be, to
 ‘ give every thing hitherto but vaguely and imperfectly conceiv-
 ‘ ed, such shape and subsistence, as to be evident to the senses,
 ‘ and, if possible, to minds the most uncultivated.

“ 10. If either of you have drawn up regulations, or will
 ‘ please to draw up such, as you think would answer better
 ‘ than these, all the purposes desired,—I shall be happy, if you
 ‘ will bring them forward, and cheerfully submit them to the
 ‘ Board’s consideration, that whatever may seem to it the most
 ‘ eligible, may be preferred.

“ 11. I shall hope, by thus collecting and digesting all our
 ‘ knowledge and experience into practical rules, we shall, very
 ‘ shortly, be able to form such a code as may be generally adopt-
 ‘ ed. I see nothing proceeding from customs, prejudices, or lo-
 ‘ calities, against the same rules obtaining in every district, and
 ‘ till then, it cannot be said that any system is established.
 ‘ You will find that I even propose to extend the same regula-
 ‘ tions to every village, in such manner, as that the affairs of each
 ‘ may be wholly conducted within itself, after the settlements
 ‘ are concluded, and all disputes about property, *public* or *private*,
 ‘ settled without reference to the collector or his katcherri; to
 ‘ render which practicable, separate and definite objections be-
 ‘ tween the circar and the ryots, and the ryots with one another,
 ‘ appear all that is necessary. This is required to make it prac-
 ‘ ticable for Courts of Judicature to exercise their functions,
 ‘ without interruption to the collections, and with benefit to the
 ‘ inhabitants; and the preparing the way for them, is my anxious
 ‘ endeavour.

“ 12. This intimation of the main objects proposed by these
 ‘ regulations, though general, being written in haste, will, I hope,
 ‘ enable you to follow me in the pursuit of them.

“ 13. Though I have thus invited you, severally, to contribute
 ‘ your stock of knowledge and experience in revenue, for the
 ‘ completion of our system, such is my dependence on the
 ‘ propriety of the regulations I have drawn up, and so firmly
 ‘ am I of opinion, that the lease settlements are not only ruinous
 ‘ to the inhabitants, and impracticable for any length of time,
 ‘ where so great a portion of the produce is required for Go-
 ‘ vernment, that I hesitate not as to the expediency of immediate-
 ‘ ly adopting the reform, and desire that you follow my example;

‘ in one district, at least, of your respective divisions, the current year. That no time may be lost in making so valuable an experiment, and that I may have every opportunity, myself, of ascertaining all its effects by personal investigations, I have already adopted it in the Salem district, and intend, if practicable by my katcherri, within the period for concluding settlements, to take two other districts, one in the centre, and one in the northern division, under my own immediate management, for the same purposes. As circumstances admit, I shall address you, severally, on the subject of this district.

“ 14. As already mentioned, these regulations being calculated for what I have styled an *effective management*, they appear to require abler assistants than we have in the village curnums, and what is intended for the business of the whole year, must be performed in the few months that remain, of those which compose the period for settlement ;—but these objections are already answered, the requisition made of you being, to carry only as many of them into practice, and to such extent as the time on hand, or other means, may render convenient and practicable. To facilitate the measure, these regulations are translating into Hindustani for circulation, and though the forms will be delayed by reason of my present interruption, I hope to furnish you with copies of the forms, both for the village detail, and the district abstracts, in a few days, which last, of the districts in which you may introduce the form, I shall expect with your jumma bundies for the current year.

“ I am, &c.”

This letter was accompanied by a hūkammamah and cowle-namah, consisting of rules drawn up for the guidance of each revenue officer in succession, from the head of a district, to the head of a village, upon which the opinions of the several superintendents were invited. From Munro it elicited an admirable reply. But Colonel Read, still anxious for further information, still theorizing and speculating, submitted again, to his superintendents, a series of propositions, regarding the state of the district, dictated partly by the demand then so prevalent, for a fixed unfluctuating revenue ; partly, evidently, by the speculations of Arthur Young, whose writings were most attractive to a man of Read’s turn of mind, on the relative merits of large and small farms ; but chiefly by his own earnest desire to moderate the demands of the Government, and to ensure the prosperity of his district.

This second demand elicited, from Munro, a letter so full, so able, so admirably descriptive of the state of the country, and so just in the views, which at that early stage of political sciences,

he had either discovered or adopted, that nothing but its great length prevents our inserting it entire. We believe it has never yet been printed; it lies buried among the voluminous records of the district, in the hand-writing of its author, as much a monument of the clearness of his views, as of his indefatigable industry. In this letter, the principles of Ryotwari settlement are fully laid down and admirably illustrated, and, with a few concessions in favour of a lease settlement under certain modifications, that system is distinctly described, which, through the rest of his public service, Sir Thomas Munro invariably advocated.

The principles of the Ryotwari system, thus commenced by Read and Munro, we may say, are simply these, that the land assessment should be fixed on each plot of land, being deduced from a measurement of the land and an approximate estimate of its produce;—that it should be limited to something less than the rent of land, so as to leave a portion of the rent in the hands of the people;—that each holder of land, small or great, should be entitled to pay his rent direct to the Government, and should not be placed at the mercy of any intermediate party;—that in this way the Government should await the silent progress of improvement, to give a saleable value to the land, and to create a body of large landholders, who must, necessarily, spring up as population increases and cultivation extends to the poorer lands;—that no attempt should be made to create such a class, by assigning a portion of the existing revenue, or all its prospective increase, to a factitious aristocracy, or by attempting to interfere to regulate the size of farms;—but that where the means of Government admit of a sacrifice of revenue, the rise of a class of superior farmers should be hastened by the simple means of a reduction of the assessment.

This admirable letter ends with the following paragraph:—

“ I have now fully stated my sentiments on your different queries, and shall proceed, by combining the results of them with what I have said in my letter of the 18th of July last, to deliver my opinion, as to the best mode of forming a permanent settlement of the revenue of this country. The lease founded upon this survey, having been abandoned, cannot, possibly, for many reasons, (para. 10) be re-established. Its duration of only one year in most districts, and two in a few, was of too short a date to admit of any accurate estimate being formed of its probable consequences;—it appeared most likely, however, (para. 11) that though the settlements might always have been realized, yet the condition of the inhabitants would have been little bettered without a considerable reduction of them.

' The great point in making a settlement, is the rate of assessment; all other regulations connected with it, are of very inferior importance. It needs no argument to show that the lower it is, the better for the farmers. I have proposed such an abatement, as when the cheapness of cultivation and the great return from the seed are taken into consideration, will be found to leave them in possession of as great advantages as any race of husbandmen in the world. It must not, however, from this, be inferred, that land will become saleable on a sudden, for the frontier situation of these districts, and other reasons (para. 7) must long prevent it from generally attaining any value at all, and, perhaps, for ever from attaining that value which it bears in Europe. The plan which, it appears to me, would be best calculated to secure to the people the fruits of their industry, and to Government a permanent revenue, is comprised under the following heads, in which references are made to the paragraphs in which the particular reasons for each are given at length—

" ' 1. A reduction of 15 per cent. to be made on the lease settlement. (para. 6).

" ' 2. The country to be rented immediately of Government by small farms as at present, every one receiving just as much land as he demands. (paras. 8, 15 and 17).

" ' 3. Settlements to be annual, that is to say, every man to be permitted to give up or take whatever land he pleases every year. (para. 10).

" ' 4. Every man to have a part, or the whole of his lands in lease, who wishes it; and in order to encourage the application for leases, all lands held under annual tenures, to be taken from the occupants and given to such other farmers as may demand them in lease, on their paying to Government, as purchase-money, one year's rent, for any particular field, or one-half year's, for the whole farm. (para. 10).

" ' 5. Villages and districts to be responsible for all individual failures. (para. 14).'

" The following regulations are from my letter of the 18th July last:—

" ' 6. All lands included in the lease, should remain invariably at the rent then fixed after the proposed reduction of 15 per cent.

" ' 7. All lands not included in the lease, should be rented at the average of the village to which they belong.

" ' 8. Lands included in the lease, being given up and allowed to lie waste, for any number of years, should, when again occupied, pay the very first year the full rent as before.

“ ‘ 9. All castes, whether natives or aliens, to pay the same rent for the same land.

“ ‘ 10. No additional rent ever to be demanded for improvements—the farmer who, by digging a well or building a tank, converts dry land into garden or rice fields, to pay no more than the original rent of the ground.

“ ‘ 11. No reduction of the established rent ever to be allowed, except where the cochineal plant, mulberry, &c., are cultivated.”

Such was the rise of the Ryotwari system, and in thus alluding to its early history, we are aware that we may be thought by those who are familiar with the Madras records, to have unnecessarily entered upon a discussion, exhausted, and long ago set at rest; but we have so constantly heard the question, even now, misrepresented, that we have been most desirous to use our endeavours to free the principle of Ryotwari settlement from a load that sinks it; and we think that in stating the views of its authors, and thus tracing the early progress of the settlement, and showing its adaptation to the state of the country as they found it, we place it in the fairest light. But our chief object is, to show that the system, as proposed by its authors, contained within itself a principle of reform, and is free from many of the objections often urged against it. We have heard it attacked by some as discouraging improvement, because the assessment rises with the change of culture;—by others, because the Government, by taking the whole of the rent, constitutes itself an universal landlord, while it is utterly incompetent to discharge the duties of one;—by others as being subversive of all existing rights, and as reducing all parties to one low standard of mere competency. Now we assert that this is mixing up two distinct questions, that of Ryotwari settlement, and that of over-assessment. The over-assessment has arisen from the fact, that the necessities of the Government have never yet allowed of that alleviation of the burdens of the people, which has, from the first, been so strenuously advocated in Madras, and has now been granted to the North Western Provinces. It has nothing to do with the principles of collection. That Government never should be the landlord properly so called, that is, that Government should never take the whole of the rent, has been repeated from the time when the above admirable letter was written, in every form of remonstrance, up to the present day. The extreme sub-division of land does not arise from Ryotwari settlement, but from the Hindu law of inheritance, and from the fact that waste lands are still available to every person who can procure a plough and pair of bullocks, and prefers the

situation of a small proprietor to that of a hired labourer; and so far from destroying proprietary rights, a Ryotwari settlement discovers, protects, records, and creates them.

That improvements are, in many instances, taxed, that Government frequently takes the whole landlord's share, that the remissions declared indispensable to the prosperity of the country have never, in the last half century, been granted, is most undoubted; and this it is our wish most distinctly to show. But we wish also to show, that this is so far from being a part of the revenue system, that only let the remissions be conceded, and we have not even to seek the machinery for carrying them out. They are, as it were, a part of the original plan of the settlement.

To return from this digression, we proceed to sketch, as shortly as we can, the subsequent history of the revenue settlement of the district. We shall, perhaps, render this most clear, by going back a step to 1796, and stating at once that the amount of assessment fixed by the superintendents of the three divisions has, from that time to this, formed the demand upon the land. We have stated above, that while Read pursued his investigations, the collections were, in the mean time, made according to the assessments of the superintendents; and when we find that Macleod and Munro differed so much in opinion, that while Munro was writing the above letter, Macleod was arguing that a high rental promoted cultivation and industry, we shall not be surprised to find how vastly their several assessments varied. But besides this, Munro's own assessment varied considerably; and when, after settling the talúks of Trichengode and Senkerrydrúg below the Ghats, he proceeded to that of Darampúry, he satisfied himself that his first settlement was much higher in proportion than the relative produce of land would warrant. Graham's and Read's settlements were still more favorable than that of Munro's Balaghat talúks.

Thus when Read came to collect and compare the statistics of the three divisions, they presented the following enormous inequality.

The dry lands were estimated to yield in the southern, centre and northern divisions, in the proportion of seven, four, and three rupees per acre. The wet lands in the proportion of twenty-eight, eighteen and fourteen.

Southn. Centre. Northn.

The average assessment per acre was in the same

divisions on the dry land	2	1½	1
On the wet land	11	6½	5½

The individual contributions varied also in the following proportions :—

Contribution per head in rupees 4-15-9 3-5-2 2-9-6

That an assessment so obviously unequal, would, for half-a-century, be considered as a *settlement* of the land revenue, Colonel Read never could, for a moment, have anticipated. His report was sent in to Government, not as showing that he had settled the revenue, but to enable the Government to do so; and in the strong and earnest hope that a Government, which had thus the happiness and prosperity of a fertile province actually at its disposal, would take those measures, by which alone those blessings could be ensured.

This report of Colonel Read's is one of extreme interest. The result which he drew from the statistics which he had collected, and from the careful analysis which he instituted, was, that in the district upon which he was reporting, "the company" was literally the farmer of the circar lands, or five-sixths of those actually in cultivation; and if the lands alienated in fee were included, it was the farmer of nineteen-twentieths, which is, probably, what no Government ever was before." By this Colonel Read distinctly meant that the Government was receiving the whole of the landlord's rent. He showed, that while in the rich plains of Bengal, the Government received forty-seven pagodas per square mile, in Salem they were collecting seventy.

"The difference between forty-seven and seventy," he observed, "may appear extraordinary, and the more so when it is considered, that a quarter of the district is barren mountains and jungles, that its only trade is with the Carnatic; and that Bengal is a level country, extremely fertile, and the greatest source of wealth and commerce in India. Here Government receives the rent of the land, and there only a tax or part of that rent."

Taking this fact then as established, viz., that throughout the whole of the district, the Government appeared to be taking the whole of the produce, beyond what was necessary for the mere subsistence of the actual cultivator, Colonel Read proceeded to discuss the question, which was then, in the early stages of political science, still an obscure one, whether high rents promoted or impeded agriculture. We need not follow him through this curious discussion. If he did not anticipate the discoveries of Malthus and Jones, as to the true theory of rent, still the result he arrived at was worthy of his talent and philanthropy. He described, in forcible language, the state to which a people must be reduced, if Government constituted itself the universal landlord. "It is easy," he said, "for the

‘ proprietor or renter of a village, or small district, to supply the
 ‘ wants of all his servants, and accommodate them in all respects;
 ‘ but it is impossible for a collector to hear all the representations,
 ‘ to inform himself of all the affairs, to guard against all
 ‘ the impositions, and to adjust every thing necessary, concerning
 ‘ 40,000 or 50,000 tenants. It cannot be doubted that, under
 ‘ the circumstances which occur in ordinary (years), many
 ‘ of them, and their progeny, perish for want of food, and the
 ‘ inference is but too plain, that the effects of such a high rental
 ‘ would be extreme poverty and desolation. Exclusive of the
 ‘ gradual decline of agriculture and revenue under this mode of
 ‘ arrangement, it seems probable that three-quarters of the rents
 ‘ of such a multitude of poor could not be collected without a
 ‘ contribution from those who might pay up their own, which is
 ‘ always extortion, and that the cruelties which the tahsildars,
 ‘ to gain credit with their principals, would exercise to collect
 ‘ the last instalments, would drive the inhabitants into other
 ‘ districts, while the collector, ignorant of their condition or
 ‘ insensible to their distress, might remain inexorable in his
 ‘ demands, or, overwhelmed with complaints from every quarter,
 ‘ and desirous of granting relief, he would find the task of
 ‘ informing himself as to individual capacity, totally impracticable,
 ‘ and a reduction of the rental, or the abolition of such
 ‘ a parsimonious and ruinous system, the only remedy.”

“ It is hoped,” he emphatically adds in another passage, “ that
 ‘ these will not be thought fancy pictures; for they are drawn
 ‘ from example and experience, and to show the futility of any
 ‘ Government, or its officers, attempting to conduct the affairs of
 ‘ the common people, and the necessity of permitting that to be
 ‘ done by a middle rank of them, which is to be found in every
 ‘ country, unless among savage nations, *where, like ryots under
 ‘ such a management, all are equal, because equality is the offspring
 ‘ of poverty and wretchedness, inequality the effect of wealth and
 ‘ happiness.*”

This able reasoner then proceeds to draw a contrast to this picture, on the supposition of a liberal reduction of the Government demand. He pictures a class of small landlords gradually springing up between the Government and the people, a saleable value imparted to the land, and capital applied to its purchase and improvement;—the labourer, with a friend at hand, whose interest it is to assist him in his difficulties;—the revenue easily collected, and the time of the collector left free for the duties of administering justice;—cultivation extending to the poorer lands, and manufactures encouraged by the enhanced comforts of the agricultural classes.

The prevailing opinion, "that an high rental promotes agriculture and, of consequence, national wealth," he next more directly discusses; and his object is to show that a high rental in the hands of local landlords, and a high rental appropriated by the Government, are two very different things. The abandonment of rent might, he observed, render the cultivation of less land necessary; "but as already shown, it is the part of the farmer, not of Government or its officers, to assess the cultivators. If the farmer do it, he may leave them just sufficient to supply their wants, and, without loss, by making them pay their debts when they have the means; but if the Government do it, it must be satisfied with less, and, however moderate it may be, it never can depend upon their industry and prudence, nor can it expect to receive all their rent, but by an act of oppression and injustice, that of making others pay the balances of the defaulters by an extra assessment. *The disposition of all descriptions of men, to get as much as possible for themselves, is sufficiently prevalent to ensure the farmers taxing their tenants as highly as circumstances will admit. In other words, by supplanting the farmers, they involve the necessity of attending to the duties and functions of private persons, which are equally below their dignity, and beyond their ability, to perform.*

"It is owing to this system, that the Government in this country are not only under the necessity of constructing tanks and other buildings, and of keeping them in repair, but of supplying the wretched cultivators with the means of purchasing the implements of labour, and even of subsistence."*

After stating that, even under the native government, a remission of rent was made in favour of Brahmins and Mussulmans, in order to induce those to become farmers, who could not or would not be cultivators, Colonel Read adds, "this is a parsimony disgraceful to Government. *The indulgence should be extended to all descriptions, by such a general remission as would make the lands saleable for at least two or three years' purchase.*"

The writer then proceeds to compare the distribution of the produce of land between the landlord, the farmer and the labourer, as prevailing in England, with the state of things he has described above, and after quoting the authority of writers on political economy in proof, that the profit left to the farmer,

* The system of making advances to the ryots, under the name of Tuckary, was continued till within a few years, but was then abandoned, as it was found, that it became, as may readily be supposed, a mere means in the hands of the tahsildars of postponing a certain amount of collection, which they found it difficult to realize. It is said that the palliative should have been discontinued, before the over-assessment in which it took its rise was corrected.

is the principal source of agricultural improvement, he continues:—"Many quotations might be made from Stewart, Smith, Anderson and others, who have written on the subject, to the very same effect. If the opinion of such eminent men be so decidedly for allowing the farmers a liberal share of the produce, because they make so much better use of it than the landlords, though the greatest part of their income certainly contributes to the increase of productive labour, who can doubt what it would be, on a motion for absorbing both in the share of the sovereign? And if 800,000 landlords, the estimated number in England and Wales, do so little good compared with the farmers in promoting agriculture, what would they expect from one? The difference is not so great between the people, soil, or the climate in Europe and India, to suppose that the same causes would not, in the course of time, produce the same effects in one country as the other. The supineness that is said to prevail among the natives of India, is wholly ascribed to the climate; but whoever has lived among them, and reflects on the examples he may have seen of their activity and courage in the field, and of the spirit of industry he may have observed, where manufactures and trade are encouraged, will more easily suppose it the effect of our system of Government and finance, so different in every respect to that of countries so much more prosperous and happy."

This valuable and interesting record is concluded in the following remarkable words:—"In the foregoing report, the errors and consequent evils of a parsimonious management have been exposed, and the contrasts of one more liberal exemplified. The object is to hold up both systems as in a mirror, demonstrating that what brings most immediate advantage to Government, gradually produces poverty and desolation: and that what brings the least present advantage to it, is productive of plenty and happiness to the community, and proportionate increase of the public revenue."

The peculiar aptness of a passage in the *Esprit Des Lois*, to the present subject, will excuse, it is hoped, another quotation. "If the Government," (says Montesquieu,) "proportions its fortune to that of individuals, the use or convenience of the latter will soon make its fortune rise." The whole depends upon a critical moment. Shall the State begin with impoverishing the subject to enrich itself? Or had it better wait to be enriched by its subjects? Is it more advisable for it to have the former or the latter advantage? Which shall it choose, to begin or to end with opulence? No sovereign, unless one that may have had the same knowledge of the resources of the country and the same:

power to command them, ever had the same option. The worst and best policy being understood, it will be easy to judge of what has been done, and the whole detail of revenue being laid down, there will be no difficulty found in devising any system that may be deemed the most eligible, either with regard to particular interests, or the facility with which it may be carried on, under every change of administration.

Such were the views which Colonel Read submitted to the Government. The report from which we quote, is of a date prior to that of Munro, and in some of their views, Read and Munro will be found to differ. They did so, as will be seen, by comparing their letters, as to the proportion of rent demanded by the Government; but only in so much that Munro thought that the Government took too much—Read, that it took all. Both agreed that the Government demand was too high. Munro admitted this even in the Baramahl, and Read had before him, not Munro's division only, but Macleod's. Graham coincided fully with Read. One of the propositions, which Read submitted to his superintendents, was as follows:—

“ Increase of the public revenue, which is a lakh (of pagodas) more than Tippú's village rental of 1788-89, when it was higher than it ever was before, and, probably, is double of what was ever brought into the public treasury, an increase which must be a proportionate reduction of private income, and not only a consequent diminution of the capital formerly employed in agriculture, but equally a loss to trade and manufactures.”

Upon this proposition, Graham recorded the following comments:—

“ The increase to the public revenue of these districts, has been obtained, in consequence of Government having added thereto, that portion of the produce which is the life of future exertions in husbandry, and as a compensation for a variety of disasters, peculiar to the country, ought, undoubtedly, to go to the farmer. Upon this view of the subject, although it may be deemed unusual official language, yet I hesitate not to regret every pagoda which has been thus added to the jumma, because I am sensible of its evil tendency, and because I have ever been taught to believe, that the affairs of Government flourish in proportion to the prosperity of its subjects.”

But, unfortunately, the subject then so warmly discussed, was not a high or low assessment, so much as Ryotwari or Zemindari tenures, and in the latter question, the former was almost completely lost. The fatal resolve was at last taken, that the Zemindari system should be extended to Madras, and pe-

remptory orders were received from Bengal, that this measure should be immediately carried out. The remonstrances of local experience, the difficulties of local circumstances, were overborne by the sweeping order, that those who were unwilling or unable to introduce the new system, should make way for those who could and would.

The district was accordingly parcelled out into zemindaries of varying size ; and schedules were prepared, showing the present and prospective resources of each. Some remission of revenue was provided for ; but, unfortunately, exactly in the way which, Colonel Read had shown, was least likely to be advantageous. The permanent assessment was fixed at something below the collections of the year Dúrmúty (1807), but that remission was conceded, not to the farmers, but to the new-made landlord. The original settlement formed the limit of the demand upon each field, and the extent of the available resources of each zemindari was shown from the original survey, under the heads of cultivated, fallow, and cultivable lands. The permanent assessment was fixed, with reference to the previous Government collections and those capabilities, and with this liability, the zemindari or múttah (as it is there called) was offered for sale. It will be easily imagined, that a measure so commanded and so carried out, has left a legacy of confusion and difficulty, which half a century of litigation has not sufficed to adjust.

From what has been above stated, it will be seen, that the marked difference in the relative estimate of the produce of land and of the Government rights, according to the varying views of the respective superintendents, continue up to the present time to affect their several divisions, and as far as financial arrangements affect the prosperity of a people, should be perceptible in the present state of those divisions. And it is a curious fact, that a heavy assessment may yet prove a blessing to the people, in a way little foreseen. In the most heavily assessed portion, the múttadars soon broke down, and the happiness and prosperity of the people, is again, for good or for ill, in the hands of the Government.

First, in large numbers, and, subsequently, one by one, the múttadars failed, and the district is now divided into Ryotwari and Zemindari estates, the lapsed múttahs being managed by the collector, under the orders of the Board of Revenue, on the original Ryotwari principles ; that is to say, the holder of the land pays the assessment upon the land he holds, whatever may be its extent, directly to the Government. Whether under the zemindar or under the Government, the original survey

assessment forms the limit of the demand against the ryot; but there is this difference, that the zemindar is enabled to modify the demand as his supposed interest may require, whereas, under the collector, the assessment is rigidly adhered to.*

The lapse of the *múttahs*, has, in many instances, been due to other causes than to over-assessment, but generally the most highly assessed were the first to fail, and thus the worst estates have come under Ryotwari settlement, while such *múttahs* as remain, comprise some of the finest portions of the district. It will thus be seen, that the two systems of Ryotwari and Zemindari settlement are now on trial, side by side, but under circumstances the most favorable to zemindari. Many lands, which have lapsed to the Government, bear an assessment, which the zemindar found to be ruinous; on the other hand, the zemindars hold the more favorably assessed lands; and what is particularly valuable, they are compelled to adopt a degree of liberality not natural to their characters, by the fear of their tenants emigrating to the Ryotwari lands. o

Under the circumstances above described, it would naturally be supposed, that the first measure of Government, on the failure of the zemindari system, would be, to order an enquiry into the condition of the *múttahs*, which lapsed into their hands in a ruined and exhausted condition, with the view of ascertaining how far the failure of the system, and the defalcation in their revenue, were due to the amount of assessment originally imposed, and how far to the introduction of a system repugnant to the habits and feelings of the people. That many of the lapses were due to over-assessment, and that the assessment required to be modified, was proved by the fact, that a very considerable portion of the lands found to be under cultivation, when the *múttahs* lapsed, were held by the ryots on lease from the *múttahdar*, at a rent below the survey assessment. Some of the proprietors only held out as long as they did, by the wise and judicious plan of cultivating more land at a lower rent. That this was not done unnecessarily, was clearly shown by the fact, that on the collector being forbidden to allow these leases to run for more than a year, and being directed to revert to the survey assessment, the cultivation was immediately and greatly contracted, and, in some instances, the rental, even now, after a long series of years, stands below what it was under the zemindars' leases.

So obvious a measure, as that above supposed, was not neg-

* It is true that a system of leases (or cowles) has been established, but these are only instalments of the *full assessment*, to which the rent rises in seven years at the outside.

lected, and in 1818, such an enquiry was actually instituted. But it will scarcely be credited that, from that time to the present day, the assessment, unrevised except in one small instance, remains as it was originally fixed by the three superintendents; and this, notwithstanding the clearest and most convincing proof of so vast a difference in the Government demand in the different portions of the district, as rendered it impossible that it should be founded on any proportionate variation in the fertility of the soil. The subject was forcibly brought to the notice of the Board of Revenue, by Mr. Hargrave, the collector, from whose reports we extract the following passages:—

“7. Accompanying my report to your Board, under date the 14th December, 1813, I had the honor to transmit the different sorts of assessment in Salem and Baramahl, and your Board cannot fail to have observed the difference in favor of the latter; and I have now the pleasure to forward the scale of assessment in Balaghat,* which in Nunjah is lower and in Púnjah higher than the Baramahl.

“8. I had a calculation made in my katcherri, of the estimated value of an acre of land, both Nunjah and Púnjah, in the Salem division, and also in the Baramahl and Balaghat, which I deem it right to forward for your Board's inspection, and if this calculation be near correct, I can see no reason why the tírvaḥ should be so much higher in the Salem division than in the two others. I had it therefore in contemplation, to average each of the talúks in Salem with the Baramahl, and fix the tírvaḥ accordingly; but as this arrangement would cause so large an immediate reduction of revenue, it has occurred to me that it would be better to let the reduction be more gradual.

“9. In order to enable your Board to form a more accurate judgment of what is mentioned in the preceding para., statement No. 3, accompanying this letter, will exhibit to your Board what would be the actual reduction on the settlement of Fusly, 1223, if the tírvaḥ was to be fixed upon an average of the Baramahl and Balaghat, and the respective talúks in the Salem division. If the amount of reduction in the several talúks were added together, it would show a total net reduction of no less than Star Pagodas 11,131-22-63 on Star Pagodas 49,155-17-5, the settlement of 1223, or Star Pagodas per cent. 22-29-4.

“10. Presuming, therefore, that your Board will not be disposed to make so large an immediate sacrifice, I considered,

* The Balaghat talúks were added in 1799 to the Salem district.

‘ that if a reduction in the tīrvah, to the extent of one-half
 ‘ of the above sum, Star Pagodas 11,131-22-63, was conceded,
 ‘ it would greatly encourage the inhabitants; but as the reduction
 ‘ or otherwise is different in every talúk,—in statement num-
 ‘ ber (3) before referred to, I have shown what, I propose, shall
 ‘ be the average tīrvah in the Amaní estates in the Salem
 ‘ division, and if your Board approve of the same and confirm
 ‘ it by your authority, I shall introduce the new rates in the
 ‘ approaching season for cultivation, for Fusly 1225, when of
 ‘ course some notion can be formed of the effect of the
 ‘ concession. I therefore take the liberty to express a hope,
 ‘ that your Board’s answer to this letter may reach me by the
 ‘ 20th of next month.”

In answer to this, the Board called for a more minute investigation and a more detailed report, which led to the enquiry we have just alluded to; and a remission of assessment, to the extent of Rupees 1,09,434, was actually made by Mr. Hargrave.

Unhappily, however, this measure was marred by the usual impediment to all improvements in India,—the villany and rascality of the native servants of Government. Suspicions of fraud arose, and enquiry showed that they were well-founded; and, unfortunately, the collector who succeeded Mr. Hargrave commenced with the impression that any reductions were unnecessary; and *all* that had been done was cancelled, with one trifling exception, in which Mr. Hargrave’s remissions held good. This unfortunate step has never been retrieved. In the very next year, Mr. Cockburn begged to retract his opinion, and to recommend a general reduction of 18 per cent. Adopting the views of Munro, he observed, that “the stability of a Ryotwari settlement arises from the lands being so easily assessed as to render them saleable; and until they shall be saleable, cultivation will never be carried to any high point of perfection, nor will revenue be permanent, unless with more good care than can generally be expected from collectors.” This general reduction was never conceded, but Mr. Cockburn made partial and local reductions, by giving the highly assessed lands on monasib cowle, (discretionary leases): but even this has been disapproved of, as too lax a system, and it has been ordered that these concessions shall cease with the life of the holder. The result is, that the abandonment of two-thirds of the land has been added to the overwhelming proofs of over-assessment.

Mr. Orr succeeded; and a long residence in the district, and a perfect acquaintance with its condition, enabled him to appeal emphatically to the Government for an alleviation of its burdens.

“The fact is, however, unquestionable,” Mr. Orr observes, “that the portion of the district assessed by Captain Macleod, is made higher than it ought to be, and at least 30 per cent. higher than the rest of the district. This over-assessment, I think, is sufficiently proved, by the circumstance of its being in Macleod’s division, that the mūtals first reverted to Government, and from its being in his division only, that lands of the first quality, and bearing the highest rate of assessment, frequently immediately under the tanks, and, consequently, always sure of a supply of water, are left uncultivated on account of their extravagant assessment, and lands of an inferior description, but having a less assessment, cultivated in preference. That Captain Macleod’s assessment was much too high, was also the opinion of Colonel Read himself, as I learn from a letter of his to Captain Macleod, in which he mentions, that he considered his assessment much too high, and that it was upwards of 30 per cent. above what he (Colonel Read) would have made it from the same data. I regret I have not the letter by me, to extract the passage, but will revert to it when I resume this subject.”

Nor was the Government deaf to the appeal. The following passage was recorded in the minutes of consultation, by Lord Elphinstone, who then presided in the Councils of Madras:—

“The Board of Revenue do not appear to have noticed that part of para. 37, of the principal collector’s report, in which he adverts to the over-assessment of the lands in part of his district. Although in the minutes of consultation, under date the 29th of June, 1836, the Government were disposed to concur with the Board of Revenue, in considering the over-assessment here alluded to, as rather apparent than real, yet the tone of confidence in which the collector, whose long experience in the district must have furnished him with ample materials for forming an accurate judgment on these points, speaks of it as a fact, and his allusion to Colonel Read’s letter to Captain Macleod, by whom the assessment was made, in corroboration of it, require that the subject should be further and fully investigated, and a revision of the assessment, if found necessary, effected without delay. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the evil and impolicy of over-assessment. These have often been pointed out, and are, indeed, almost self-evident. It is sufficient here to observe, that this appears to be the main circumstance, which has given rise to the various restrictions on, and interference with, cultivation, so coercive of the freedom of the ryot; and that where it is removed, therefore, all ground or occasion for

‘ those restrictions, and that interference will be removed with it.’

Still the revenue remains unaltered, and we are yearly collecting the revenue inherited, as we have said above, from the most oppressive of native governments. And more than this; for there is distinct and conclusive proof, that there has been a gradual decline of prices since we first took the country, that is, that the assessment in money has been virtually raised.

Such of our readers as have followed us through this sketch, will be prepared, we think, to enter with interest into the enquiry, as to what effect of circumstances so remarkable can be discovered in the present aspect of the district. But our limits warn us not to enter into detail. The zemindari system has so completely deranged the accounts, (for of the cultivation of the existing zemindars, we can learn but little,) that we could not enter minutely into the subject without trespassing on the patience of our readers. A general view of the lapsed mūtahs is all we can give; but this is sufficient for our purpose.

Let it be borne in mind, that the southern division is considered to contain the most fertile lands of the district, that it possesses great advantages of irrigation, excellent roads, and populous towns;—that it came into our hands in a comparatively prosperous state, while the Baramahl was comparatively waste; let it be remembered, that a permanent assessment was fixed at a standard below the collections made in the year Dúrmúty, (1801), and that as the field assessment has not varied, the amount of collection represents the state of cultivation. Bearing these points in mind, let it be asked, what is the present state of those mūtahs, the assessment of which is under the control of the Government; and the answer is, that the amount of cultivation was, at the end of fifty-five years’ peace, in some instances twenty, thirty, forty and even fifty per cent. below the permanent assessment, which was below the cultivation which the country could support when just emerging from ages of war, and of what we call oppression!

The effect of the system has been exactly to reverse the ordinary course of things. Salem, with its fertile soil and heavy assessment, has declined; the Baramahl, with its poorer soil and lighter assessment, has advanced.

This result is recorded in the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, in 1847, on a review of the lapsed mūtahs, when, after showing that in the southern talúks, the collections fall short of the permanent assessment by as much as 23 per cent.

on an average of a whole talúk, they thus describe the more favorable state of those of the Baramahl:—

“The four Baramahl talúks are lightly assessed, possess a ready market for their product, and a saleable property has been imparted to the land. The revenue from these talúks is accordingly proportionately favorable. The average of the last nine years exceeds the permanent assessment in three talúks, and in the remaining talúk (Tengercottah) the decrease is only Rs. 1,978 or $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., partly ascribable to the remissions which it was found necessary to give to meet the unfavorable character of the seasons.”

The table of the talúks we give below, for the year 1255:—

Comparative statement of the permanent and present Beriz of Amany múttahs, in the district of Salem, for Fusly, 1255.

Names of talúks.		No. of múttahs.	Total of permanent beriz of múttahs now under circular management.	Land revenue of Fusly, 1255.	COMPARISON BETWEEN COLUMNS 4 & 5.		
					Increase.	Decrease.	Per Centage.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1	Ahtúr	17	1,15,600 5 2	95,039 8 3	.....	20,400 12 11	17 11 5
2	Nannacul	13	82,234 7 0	75,587 7 4	.....	6,047 .. 2	8 1 3
3	Paramutty	18	90,735 5 0	71,441 1 2	.....	19,204 4 7	21 4 2
4	Salem	17	1,05,237 0 2	1,08,886 5 ..	3,048 11 10	.....	3 7 6
5	Senkerrydrúg	16	1,36,740 5 4	1,04,206 5 0	.....	32,533 15 10	23 12 0
6	Raizepúr	29	1,22,421 0 4	1,12,551 4 ..	.....	9,870 2 4	8 1 ..
7	Womalore	31	1,35,280 4 ..	1,10,031 15 3	.....	18,348 4 0	13 0 ..
8	Trichengode	19	81,614 0 2	71,932 2 1	.....	9,682 7 1	11 13 10
9	Darumpúry	18	87,492 4 10	89,061 15 2	2,169 10 4	.....	2 7 8
10	Tengercottah	13	80,515 8 1	71,104 14 1	.....	9,410 10 ..	11 11 ..
11	Kistnagherry	8	58,512 3 5	61,742 12 5	3,230 9 ..	.....	5 8 4
12	Tripatúr	9	65,547 15 7	58,753 .. ..	.....	6,794 15 7	10 5 10
Total		208	11,61,841 4 4	10,37,838 10 3	9,048 15 2	1,33,051 9 3	.....

Net decrease.....1,24,002 10 1

It will not surprise those who are used to such enquiries, nor will it really invalidate our argument, that an invariable proportion does not appear between the assessment of the several talúks and the cultivation and consequent collections. In many instances, even the pressure of Macleod's assessment has not been able to keep down the force of improvement which peace generates; in others, the light assessment of Read or Munro has been counteracted by the unusual severity of cholera and the zemindars, and years will still be required to elapse, before the country recovers. The general result is, however, sufficiently clear. But the fact is, that these averages are of very little value. Centralization and averages are two of the greatest afflictions of India; and underneath these averages, what a mass of misery and suffering lies concealed. A Govern-

ment which has usurped the place of a landlord, has no business with averages. Minute investigation and local control are then its most sacred duties. When the Government demand is equal, or nearly equal, to the rent of the land, a very trifling cause may affect the subsistence of thousands, and yet be represented, in a statistical table, by a minute fraction of the lowest coin of the country. It is only when the rent is so low, as to leave room for a farmer, that a Government has any right to contemplate the average of its collection, or judge of the state of the people *en masse*. It is the local officer who sees the gradual and painful decline of a village, which a small assistance might save, or who watches the tardy progress of improvement, to the promotion of which a liberal system of reduction would be equivalent to the lapse of half a century of labour. And again the question is, not only what the state of the country is, but what it might and should have been?

But let us consider the result of our administration in another point of view. The following table exhibits the revenue as collected in the year prior to the zemindari experiment, 1800, and in the Fusly year, 1257—(1847):—

The total revenue of the district, the year preceding the permanent assessment, was as follows :—

Land Revenue	19,00,635	13	8
Hills	39,830	10	8
Abkarry, &c.	42,110	10	4
Moturpha	62,007	12	5
Customs.....	1,61,865	3	8

The revenue of Fusly, 1257, was as follows :—

Land Revenue.....	17,74,664	2	2
Abkarry	78,305	0	0
Moturpha.....	69,615	5	1
Sundry small farms. .	11,829	4	5
Stamps.....	9,660	0	3
	1,69,409,	9	6
Grand total.....	19,41,073	11	8

This table appears to us eminently instructive. It shows that while the taxes generally have increased, the land revenue has fallen off from 19,40,466-8-4 to 17,74,664-2-2; or an off-falling of Rs. 1,65,802-6-2.

Of this sum, Rs. 65,000 may be considered as the sacrifice made on the estates still held by zemindars, the permanent assessment of which was rated at about 10 per cent. below the previous Ryotwari collections, and a lakh of rupees is left, as the loss which has resulted from our management of the lapsed estates. This has not been the result of a voluntary sacrifice by which the country generally has benefited; it is the representative of diminished cultivation, resulting from the combined effects of an over-demand, and the zemindari experiment.

We have thus endeavoured to prove, by internal evidence, the necessity which exists for that review of the land assessment which we most strongly advocate, and which we claim as due to an industrious and well-disposed people. We think we have shown, that the common principles of economy, as well as the opinions of all the officers of experience, speak with one voice.

We shall next endeavour to establish the comparison we propose between this district and one of the North Western Provinces, and we think, if we first quote the following words of Munro, written in 1821, we shall show that the measures there carried out correspond with those which, twenty-eight years ago, the veteran and revered statesman advocated, as due to the Presidency of Madras :—

“ The task of improving our resources is one of much greater difficulty than that of maintaining the peace of the country; and this difficulty arises, principally, from the assessment being, in general, too high with respect to the condition of the people; so that, in many districts, in order to have a further increase, we must begin by making a present reduction of our revenue, because the extension of cultivation, from which the increase of revenue must result, cannot possibly be expected under the present assessment. The Presidencies of Bengal and Madras were acquired under circumstances which have ever since continued to influence their revenue system. Bengal acquired at once the dominion of rich and fertile provinces, yielding a revenue much beyond its wants; it had, therefore, no occasion to enter into any minute examination of the assessment; it was satisfied with what it got from the zemindars, and left them in possession of the lands on very easy terms. Madras, on the contrary, rose amidst poverty, and many struggles for existence. It never was able to pay its establishments: it acquired its territories by slow degrees, partly from the Nizam, but chiefly from Mysore; and though the assessment had already been raised too high by those Governments, its own pressing necessities did not permit it to lower the demand, but forced it to enter into the most rigid scrutiny of the sources of the revenue, in order to keep it up; and there has, in consequence, always been a pressure upon the ryots, which nothing but necessity could justify.*

“ *The present secure state of India will, I hope, enable us to lower*

* To show the financial difficulties under which the Madras provinces were acquired and the settlement formed, it may be mentioned, that the fact of Tippu's seizing the revenues of the Baranahalli, was one of the arguments used by Mr. Josiah Webb, to dissuade the Marquis of Wellesley from a declaration of war against Tippu in 1799.—See despatches of the Marquis of Wellesley.

the assessment gradually in all those districts in which it is too high. This may be done, without materially affecting the general amount of the revenues, by taking the districts in succession, two or three at a time, and letting them make up, by additional cultivation, the reductions of their assessment, before it is extended to others. We shall, by this means, ultimately increase the land-rent, and in a much greater degree, the customs and every other source of revenue; and we shall render the payment of them much lighter to the inhabitants, because they will be enabled to augment the stock from which they are paid. I expect from a reduction in the assessment, that land will, in time, be everywhere regarded as hereditary private property by the ryots; that their circumstances will be so much improved, as to enable them to pay the revenue in all seasons, good or bad; and that the country will be able, when war happens, to bear a temporary additional assessment, as a war tax, and save us from a great part of the heavy expense which we have already been obliged to incur on account of loans."

Turning then to the settlement of the North Western Provinces, we find that the following principles were the foundation upon which the Government desired that it should rest:—

"Practically, in Indian Governments, there is no other limit to the demand upon the land, than the power of the Government to enforce payment, and the ability of the people to pay. Thus the Government is, in fact, the landlord of the whole country. It is the true interest of the Government, in this capacity, to limit the demand to what is just, so as to create a valuable property in the land, and encourage its improvement. In order further to encourage this improvement, it is necessary to determine the persons, to whom all the benefits belong, which arise out of the limitation of the demand on the land. To perform these operations, is to make a settlement; and under ordinary circumstances, the prosperity of the country depends on this being justly and perfectly done. The object of the present rules is to point out how it should be done."

The objects aimed at in the settlement are stated to be:—

1st.—The adjustment of boundaries.

2nd.—The survey.

3rd.—The assessment.

4th.—The record of rights.

It is the third head in which we are at present interested; the rest were sufficiently comprehended in the survey of the Salem district, but with the disadvantage, that in those early days scientific maps were not attempted.

The principles upon which the assessment is to be fixed, are contained principally in paras. 47—52:—

“47. The object of the fiscal part of the settlement is to fix the demand upon the land, for a certain period of years prospectively, within such limits as may leave a fair profit to the proprietors, and create a valuable and marketable property in the land.

“48. This end cannot be attained with certainty, by any fixed arithmetical process, or by prescription of any rule, that a certain portion of the gross, or net produce of the land, shall be assigned to the Government and the proprietors.

“49. If the net produce of any one year, or any given number of past years, could be determined, it would afford no certain guide to the produce of years to come. The future produce may be more, if there is waste land to come into cultivation; if the former system of cultivation were faulty and expensive; if the products of the land are likely to come into demand in the market; or if the opening out of new channels of commercial intercourse is likely to improve the local market. The future produce may be less, if the reverse of all this be the case.

“50. Not only would the actual ascertainment of the net produce of an estate be a fallacious basis, on which alone to found any certain determination of the demand, but it is in itself often most difficult to accomplish, and the attempt to effect it is likely to produce many serious evils. In villages where the collections are in kind, or where the proprietors cultivate themselves, and pay the jumma by a backh, or rate, upon their seer land, it is almost impossible to ascertain either the net or gross produce with any certainty. When once it is known, that the Government demand is to be limited to a fixed portion of the proved produce, there is a general combination to deceive and mislead the settlement officer. Village accounts are forged, or the true one suppressed, falsehood and perjury are unhesitatingly resorted to. A struggle commences between the proprietors and the settlement officer, in which it is most difficult for the latter to maintain that impartial equanimity which is essential to the proper performance of this duty.

“51. Still the settlement officer should not neglect any opportunities that present themselves, for ascertaining the net produce of every estate for a single year, or for any series of years, but he should not harass himself to attain accuracy in this respect, nor when he fancies that he has ascertained

‘ the actual net produce, should he treat this as any certain
 ‘ basis on which to found his settlement. It is better to
 ‘ acknowledge at once, that the operation is not one of arith-
 ‘ metical calculation, but of judgment and sound discretion.
 ‘ It is necessary, therefore, to point out the object which the
 ‘ settlement officer should keep in his view, and the means
 ‘ which he has for attaining the proposed end.

“ 52. It is desirable, that the Government should not demand
 ‘ more than two-thirds of what may be expected to be the net
 ‘ produce to the proprietor during the period of settlement,
 ‘ leaving to the proprietor one-third as his profits, and to cover
 ‘ expenses of collection. By net produce is meant the surplus,
 ‘ which on the estate held entirely by cultivating proprietors, will
 ‘ be the profit on their seer cultivation; but in an estate held
 ‘ by a non-cultivating proprietor, and leased out to cultivators
 ‘ or asamis, paying at a known rate, will be the gross rental.”

It is unnecessary to continue our quotations, as the same rules
 cannot be applicable to a village settlement in lease, and a field
 settlement in perpetuity, but the following paragraph is of
 universal application:—

“ 61. It is a more fatal error to over-assess, than to under-
 ‘ assess. The Government will not test the settlement by
 ‘ the mere amount of direct revenue, which it brings into the
 ‘ treasury. They will judge of it by the soundness of the
 ‘ reasons assigned for fixing it at the amount assumed. If the
 ‘ jumma is less than it was before, they will be satisfied, if the
 ‘ reasons for the reductions are sound and sufficient; if it is
 ‘ the same as before, or more, they will expect that the grounds
 ‘ be explained on which the increase has been renounced or
 ‘ taken. No officer, who performs his work properly, will have
 ‘ any difficulty in assigning reasons for what he has done, or in
 ‘ convincing the Government that he is right. If he is in doubt
 ‘ which of two jummas to fix, a high one, or a low one, he
 ‘ should always incline to the latter. Over-assessment dis-
 ‘ courages the people, and demoralizes them by driving them
 ‘ to unworthy shifts and expedients, and it also prevents the
 ‘ accumulation of capital, and dries up the resources of the
 ‘ country. Viewing the question simply in a financial light,
 ‘ an assessment which presses hard upon the resources of the
 ‘ people is most injurious. It checks the population, affects
 ‘ the police, and is felt in the excise, in the stamps, and in the
 ‘ customs. It is evident that the prosperity of the people,
 ‘ and the best interests of the Government, are inseparably
 ‘ bound up together.”

We do not attempt to compare or contrast the two systems

of administration. All we wish to state is, that the Government considered it wise to institute an inquiry into the productive power of the land, and the existing rental in the North Western Provinces, with the view of relaxing their own demand, wherever this should prove to be higher than sound policy dictated, and that a revision of the assessment has been made on sound principles, at some sacrifice of the public revenue.*

We now proceed to show, that the rental which was there considered too high, was much lower than that of a Madras Ryotwari settlement, and that the ryots of Madras are therefore bearing an unjust portion of the burdens of the State.

We select our example from the district of Cawnpore.

It may be necessary to inform some of our readers, that in Madras, the cultivated land is generally divided into four classes, viz., 1st, dry (Punjab); 2nd, dry garden or land irrigated by wells; 3rd, wet (Nunjah), or land irrigated from channels or tanks, and 4th, wet garden, or Nunjah lands planted with cocoa-nuts. The wet is again sub-divided into Nadins, or land irrigated by running water, and Erap Nunjah or land irrigated from tanks and channels, but requiring the aid of machinery.

The district of Cawnpore is a flat and fertile province, bounded upon two sides by the Ganges and the Jumna, intersected by several smaller streams, which do not, however, contribute either to irrigation or to navigation in any material degree. It is separated into two great divisions, that on the banks of the Ganges, and that on the banks of the Jumna. Of these the former is the most productive, the water being within fifteen or twenty feet of the surface, and irrigation consequently abundant. The depth increases as you approach the Jumna, so that in the neighbourhood of that river, few or no wells are to be found, and the produce is entirely dependent upon the rains. In the northern pergunnahs, all the more valuable crops, with the exception of sugar-cane, are produced, the sugar being confined to one or two localities. The indigo cultivation, once on the decline, is reviving; cotton is produced all over the district.

The district suffered much from mis-government and oppression. Many of the proprietors' rights have been destroyed, and the cultivators were found to be severely rack-rented by their superiors. A portion of the district is inhabited by a particularly industrious class of cultivators called the Kúrmís. The ravages of famines or calamitous seasons have been par-

ticularly severe, especially in those portions which are dependent upon the periodical rains, without the assistance of artificial irrigation. But, notwithstanding these drawbacks, the cultivation is described as presenting a remarkable appearance of prosperity, and the district as having recovered wonderfully from the effects of these reverses.

A careful survey gave the following per-centage of irrigated to unirrigated land:—

<i>Pargunnahs.</i>					<i>Per-centage of irrigation.</i>
Bilhore	...	...	...	...	63
Russúlabad	...	...	...	...	69
Sheoly	...	...	...	...	70
Ackburpúr	...	...	...	...	63
Bethúr	...	...	...	...	70
Janginhow	...	...	...	...	76
Sulleimpúr	...	...	...	...	71
Sark	...	...	...	...	51

The following are the revenue rates as they existed before the settlement:—

<i>Pargunnahs.</i>					<i>Rates.¹</i>	
					<i>Cul.</i>	<i>Mal.*</i>
Sulleimpúr	...	...	...	...	3 9 6	3 5 6
Janginhow	...	...	...	...	3 8 5	3 4 0
Bithúr	...	...	...	...	3 5 7	2 15 0
Sheorajpúr	...	...	...	...	3 2 8	3 10 6
Sheoly	...	...	...	...	4 1 0	3 0 6
Bilhore	...	...	...	...	3 9 7	2 8 1
Russúlabad	...	...	...	...	3 10 7	2 10 7
Sark	...	...	...	...	2 15 9	2 10 11
Ackburpúr	...	...	...	...	3 1 3	2 7 4
Deirapúr	...	...	...	...	2 15 2	2 6 5
Ghatumpúr	...	...	...	...	2 9 11	2 3 3
Bhognípúr	...	...	...	...	2 7 6	1 15 4

After collecting the statistical materials, and surveying the past and present state of the district, the settlement officer proceeded to consider, whether or not a remission of assessment was called for. The conclusion he arrived at was, that a remission was called for, and this remission was carried out, to the extent of a lakh and a half of rupees, on a jumma of less than twenty-two lakhs.

The reasons upon which the settlement officer considered that a remission of the revenue was called for, are stated as follows; and we earnestly beg the reader to bear in mind the state of the Salem district, and to say whether, if these reasons were such as to justify the abandonment of a lakh and a half of rupees in the province of Cawnpore, it is just that the ryots of Salem should bear their present burden.

“68. In coming to a conclusion, as to the necessity of a

reduction or the propriety of an increase of revenue, the following are the three points which seem particularly worthy of consideration. First, the existing revenue rates. Secondly, the regularity of the collections. Thirdly, the means employed in realizing the demand, and the condition of the people as affected by the realization of the revenue. I shall proceed to consider these in succession.

“ 69. First. The existing rates. This is a test, which before the present statement, never was employed (probably, because they were never to be depended on); and yet of all tests, it may be said to be the least fallible. If we find two districts of country, nearly similar in soil, situation, facilities of irrigation and habits of people, widely differing in the revenue rates, there can be but one inference, viz., that one is too highly assessed, or that the other is too lowly assessed.

“ 70. At the commencement of the present settlement, when the opportunities, of reference were confined to one or two districts, it might require considerable research and deliberation, to determine whether the assessment of highly rated tracts of country ought to be reduced, or that of the lowly rated enhanced. But at the present advanced period of the settlement, when we have the inquiries and experience of those who preceded us for our guidance; and when a reference can be made to the rates of similar tracts of country already settled, to assist in determining those of the district or division under consideration—the testing the assessment by general rates, has become comparatively so simple, that no officer possessing a general knowledge of the topography of the country, and having the command of a reference to the settlements, which have been completed in neighbouring or similar districts, can well err.”

The writer then proceeds to show, that the rates are higher than those of any of the neighbouring provinces, and concludes, that there are no local or permanent advantages on the part of Cawnpore, to account for its very high revenue rates, as contrasted with those of similar districts, and “ the fair conclusion to be drawn from this test is, that the present assessment of the district is severe.”

The second head, or the regularity of the collections, we need not quote, as a comparison can hardly be instituted, where the system of collection is so different.

The third test applied is, “ the condition of the people as affected by the realization of the revenue.”

The writer shows, that within the last five years, land yielding 137,000 rupees has been sold under decrees of the Civil Court,

and argues that these sales being, in fact, for debts incurred by the zemindars, to enable them to meet the demands of Government, it proves that the malgúzary profits were not sufficient to enable the proprietors of the soil to fulfil their engagements and retain their possessions; and that had it not been for the fortuitous circumstances, which caused the investment of foreign capital in land, a reduction of assessment would, long before this, have been forced upon the Government.

No such test as this can be applied in Salem now. But we have already adduced a stronger one, in the fact, that the zemindars failed, and that their zemindari could be bought in by the Government at a low price. Few of the Ryotwari lands are sold publicly, but numberless changes of proprietorship are quietly effected by the tahsildars, in the process of collecting the revenues of Government.

The former and the new assessment, on the completion of the settlement, stood as follows:—

Purgunnahs.	Rates per acre for former jumma.		Rates of new jumma, including maufi.	
	Cultivated.	Malgúzary.	Cultivated.	Malgúzary.
Sulleimpúr	3 9 6	3 5 6	3 4 4	2 15 11
Janginhow	3 8 5	3 4 ...	3 3 7	2 15 8
Bithúr	3 5 7	2 15 ...	3 3 3	2 13 3
Sheorajpúr	3 2 8	2 10 6	3 1 11	2 10 1
Sheoly	4 1 ...	3 ... 6	3 4 7	2 7 7
Sark	2 15 9	2 10 11	2 11 8	2 7 6
Russúllabad	3 10 7	2 10 7	3 3 7	2 15 11
Billhore	3 9 7	2 8 1	3 3 1	2 4 ...
Ackbarpúr	3 1 3	2 7 4	2 12 9	2 4 ...
Deirapúr	2 15 2	2 6 5	2 10 7	2 3 ...
Ghuttumpúr	2 10 ...	2 3 3	2 6 6	2 ... 5
Bhognípúr	2 7 6	1 15 4	2 1 10	1 10 10

Now if we endeavour to institute a comparison between these two districts, we have, on the one hand, a flat and fertile district, possessing in itself a vast market for its produce, and bounded by two noble rivers connecting it with some of the largest mercantile cities in the world, with water so near the surface, that 58 per cent. of culturable area consists of irrigated lands. On the other hand, we have a mountainous and jungly district, with fertile valleys intervening, in which (omitting the hills and jungles) the irrigated land is only 8 per cent. of the unirrigated, the latter being an inland district,

possessing only towns of moderate size, no military station and no water carriage, except a trifling traffic down the Cavary.

Let us take a Purgunnah from one and a talúk from the other.

The first named Purgunnah in Cawnpore, is that of Sulleimpúr. The culturable area is 27,518 acres, of which 70 per cent. are irrigated; the assessment Rs. 92,098, or Rs. 3-5-7 per acre.

The talúk of Namcul, in the Salem district, comes first to hand. The total of assessed Government lands is acres 52,604,205, bearing an assessment of Rs. 1,22,214-14-8, or Rs. 2-5 and a fraction per acre. But of this, only 6,376 acres are irrigated land, consisting of garden land, assessed at an average of Rs. 6-7-10 per acre; and Nunjah or wet land, assessed at an average of Rs. 9-5-7.

It may, probably, be said, that as the Nunjah lands are supplied with water from tanks, kept up at the public expense, the assessment ought to be higher, and that the comparison does not hold good; we will therefore take only the garden lands, watered from wells, which seem to correspond with the irrigated lands at Cawnpore, except that the wells are dug in a hard and rocky soil, and the supply of water is precarious and small.

Now, suppose the irrigated lands of Sulleimpúr, consisting of 19,250 acres, to be assessed at Rs. 6-7-10 per acre, and the assessment rises from 92,098 to 1,24,924-7-8, besides the assessment upon 8,250 acres of unirrigated land.

The average rate of unirrigated land in Namcul is 1-7-7 per acre; therefore, if we add 12,160 rupees as the assessment of these 8,250 acres, we have a total demand of 1,37,084 rupees. The difference between 1,37,084 and 92,098 therefore represents the difference between the burden borne by the lands of Namcul in Salem and of Sulleimpúr in Cawnpore, supposing the advantages of fertility, access of market, local demand, &c., to be equal.

But as such calculations are imperfect, unless the price of agricultural produce is ascertained, we have obtained a price current of Cawnpore, and have instituted a comparison between the selling prices at Cawnpore and at the town of Salem, of the principal agricultural products; and the result is, as might be expected, greatly in favour of the farmer of Cawnpore.

In selecting the district of Cawnpore, we cannot, we think, be said to have chosen an unfair example; it is, with one exception, the most highly assessed district of the North Western Provinces, and Salem is by no means the most highly assessed of the Madras Ryotwari districts. "The rate at which the de-

‘mand of Government now falls on the acre, in entire districts in the North Western Provinces, varies from Rs. 1-0-3 in Gorruckpore, to Rs. 2-13-8 in Cawnpore, notwithstanding that it has been nearly trebled in the former district, and much lowered in the latter.’—See No. XXIV. of this Review, page 457.

We have, therefore, by no means, taken extreme cases; and it is not our object to do so. Our limits do not allow us to enter into minute details; and we wish to avoid doubtful questions, and minute estimates. If we show, generally, that the poorer people are the more heavily taxed, if this is shown beyond dispute, our object is gained, and our arguments are more likely to carry our readers with us than if we exhibited stronger contrasts into which doubtful elements are admitted.

We shall now only add some more general remarks. In a previous No. of this Review, a sketch has been given of the assessment levied on the lands irrigated by the channels of the North Western Provinces. We have there found reason to estimate the Government rent at one-tenth of the value of the produce of the land; under the Cavary channels of Salem, the assessment is calculated on the principle that Government is entitled to 75 per cent. of the gross produce; and this is where the Government have not even borne the expense of constructing the channel.

The highest assessment of irrigated land in the North Western Provinces is five rupees per acre: in Salem it rises to thirty. But a subject of such interest, as the irrigation of the two Presidencies, should not be mixed up with other matter, but deserves a separate article. What we have said is amply sufficient for our present purpose.

A recent article in the *Friend of India* affords us the opportunity of making a more general comparison, with which we shall conclude:—

“The average rent paid to Government, on the whole area of assessed land in the North Western Provinces,” (says the Editor,) “is 1-3-8 per acre, and on the acres actually cultivated 1-12, or three shillings and six pence per acre. If to the land rent we add 28,94,804 rupees obtained from stamps and the excise of spirits, the taxation per head will be found to amount to 1-14—or about three shillings and nine pence for the year. To this must be added the revenue obtained from the customs and the salt tax in the North West.”

The average rent paid to Government on the acres of land actually cultivated in the Salem district, with its scanty irrigation, is 1-14-10 per acre. If to the land rent we add

the revenue derived from the Abkarry stamps and small farms, the taxation per head will amount to Rs. 2-1-2½ per head.

Where the ryots therefore of the North West pay 360 pice, the ryots of Salem pay 398; and we must observe that the land rent of Salem has been taken at the net demand of the year, which is exclusive of the village establishments, the pay of which is about 7 per cent. on the jumma, and properly forms a part of the cost of collection.

But as our object is to keep before the reader's view both the internal and external evidence in favor of a revision of the settlement, we add the following table of the several talúks of the province:—

Names of Talúks.	Average assessment of cultivated land.	Average land-tax per head.	Average of whole taxation per head.	
Ahtúr	2 12 11	2 7 6½	2 9 4½	} Macleod's division.
Salem	2 9 1	2 1 3	2 6 3	
Raizepúr	3 7 9	2 6 1½	2 9 11½	
Namcul	2 9 0	2 6 0	2 8 7½	
Caramutty	2 12 6	2 8 10	2 10 2½	
Trichengode	2 5 11	3 0 6½	3 1 11½	} Half Macleod's and half Munro's.
Senkerrydrúg	2 0 7	2 10 6	2 12 7	
Onalúr	1 14 9	2 3 1	2 5 4	} Munro's division.
Darampúry*	1 4 5	1 7 2½	1 9 6	
Tengercottah	1 2 6	1 8 4½	1 9 11½	} Graham's and Read's division.
Kistnagherry	1 5 9	1 3 9½	1 5 8½	
Triputtúr	1 14 4	1 9 6	1 12 1	
Denkencottah	1 12 2	1 8 8½	1 14 6	} Balaghat, added in 1799.
Ossúr	1 14 11	0 13 5½	1 1 0	
Mullapady	1 3 3	1 6 11	1 8 3	
Total...	2 1 2½†	

We beg particular attention to this table, for it appears to us a remarkable proof of what we have advanced above, as to the necessity of descending from general averages to local inspection, in order to ascertain the real state of a country. We have here descended from a comparison between distant provinces, to a comparison between the divisions of a single province, but this is not enough; the enquiry must descend to the villages of those divisions, and the fields of those villages. The principle of centralization must be reversed. It is not because the dry

* Above the Ghauts.

† The stamps sold at the huzzúr, are included in the last average.

lands of the zillah of Salem are assessed at an average of 1-6-2 per acre that we say that a revision of the assessment is necessary; it is, because in some of the villages, the best lands bear an assessment of even fifteen rupees per acre, and are lying waste round the village, while the inferior and most distant lands are cultivated. It is not because the garden land bears an average assessment of Rs. 4-10-10, but because it is in some instances assessed at eighteen rupees, and is lying waste in consequence. It is not because the wet land bears an average assessment of Rs. 6-15-3, but because in the talúk of Ahtúr 1,152 acres are lying waste, and bear an assessment of 15,228 rupees:—it is, in short, because the real state of the district is disguised by these averages, while the system demands a careful local scrutiny. Nor are we advocating a re-adjustment of the assessment only because it is unequal,—an equal assessment is entirely visionary. We advocate it because the assessment is too high.

It is obvious that the above given averages are of no value whatever, unless the proportion between irrigated and unirrigated land is known. To show still more forcibly how disguising these averages are, we descend only one step, from the averages of the talúk generally, to the averages of dry and irrigated lands, and mark the inequality shown.

Names of talúks.	Average of dry.			Average of garden.			Average of wet.			Average of wet garden.		
Ahtúr.....	1	11	8	4	12	5	10	8	9	17	1	0
Nameul	1	5	7	6	8	4	9	6	1	23	7	4
Paramutty	1	6	0	5	15	6	12	2	11	25	1	9
Salem	1	13	9	4	8	11	7	15	0	24	6	11
Senkerrydrúg	1	11	0	3	10	6	6	10	6	19	5	10
Raizepúr	2	5	7	7	6	7	7	6	2	23	10	0
Onalúr	1	11	7	3	9	5	5	13	8	9	15	11
Trichengode	1	9	10	4	11	10	7	6	0	14	12	0
Darampúry	0	14	1	1	11	1	5	1	5	8	2	5
Tengercottah	1	0	1	1	11	6	4	3	8	7	15	9
Kistnagherry	0	14	7	1	12	11	5	5	2	12	1	3
Triputtúr	1	4	1	2	5	5	6	11	1	13	2	11
Denkancottah	1	6	5	1	13	7	5	0	9	6	7	11
Ossúr	1	8	2	2	0	8	5	7	7	7	4	0

This shows only the average assessment of the land cultivated. It is exclusive of the heavily assessed lands now lying waste.

It is also obvious that a similar taxation per head may be a very different proportion of the income of two different people.

We cannot here do better than quote the words of a late Governor of Madras:—

“The chief point to be kept in view, and the object to the attainment of which the Government should direct its attention, is not whether a certain number of fields are assessed in proportions unequal to another, but whether the land is taxed above its ascertained value, or beyond its powers of production. It matters little in comparison, whether it can be made to pay *more*, but whether, in the eye of a forbearing landlord, it ought to pay *less*. In what degree the fertility of the soil may be increased by the application of more labour, more capital, and more skill, it is impossible to calculate; for although most of the operations of husbandry, the drill-plough, succession of crops, fallows, and dressing, have been known and practised in this country from a very remote era, expensive improvements in agriculture have never yet found their way to India. But putting aside these considerations, as every ryot is aware that his field will give him greater or less returns in the proportion that he attends to the culture of it, and knows that its produce will differ every year from the one adjoining it, as it is more or less irrigated and manured, it may be safely asserted that no *equality* of assessment can ever be introduced, and it may be well questioned, whether, if it were practicable, it would lead to more prosperity.

“It never can be too often repeated that the great object of our administration of the land revenues of India should be to confirm private property in the soil where we have found it, and to create it, where it does not yet exist, by lowering the land tax. The business of altering the demand upon the land according to its annual fluctuations, is not the business of a Government, but should be wholly and unreservedly left to the private ryot, who, by degrees, under a lenient collector, and a light land tax, will become in every district a proprietor.”

The Government should be content with imposing once for all a moderate assessment, which ought not to be disturbed; and whatever modifications may hereafter be introduced, should be left to the private bargains of the ryots, who, having established a property in the soil, may be able to sell, use, or sub-rent their lands.

We have now completed the task which we undertook. We have endeavoured to show, that a revision of the assessment of the Madras provinces, similar to that which has been so admirably carried out in the N. W., is a measure which has been advocated through a large series of years, by the ablest

and best members of the Madras Government; and that both external and intrinsic evidence testify to its expediency and its justice. To compare the revenue yielded by the whole Presidency of Madras with that of Agra, has not been within our scope. Such a comparison would be most valuable; but we doubt, whether, for our present purpose, the course we have pursued, of instituting one less extended, may not be the most advantageous. We have shown that every collector of the district, from the time of Colonel Read to the present day, has suggested the measures which we advocate, and that Governor after Governor, Munro, Lushington, and Elphinstone, have supported them. The home Government is surely prepared to deal impartially with its provinces, and we have therefore full confidence that brighter days are at hand.

The question why Madras is the last of the Presidencies to benefit by more advanced principles of Government, is one which we are not anxious to solve. In the beginning of this article, we attributed it much to its distance from the seat of the Supreme Government; but we have learnt, that measures such as we advocate, are already in progress in Bombay. Much, we believe, is due to the amount of revenue at stake, or supposed to be at stake; and much, perhaps, to the constitution of the revenue administration by a Board, instead of by a commissioner. But instead of speculating on these points, we shall only add, that any member of the Madras Government, whose influence shall do for Madras what has been done by others for Bengal and Bombay,—who, taking his proper position, shall adopt the general views of Sir T. Munro, and while watching over the interest of provinces, shall leave local detail to the industry and judgment of his younger fellow servants, will confer a lasting blessing on thousands and thousands of his species. It is sad to think that it is now more than thirty years, since Mr. Hargrave wrote his report; it is more than fifty-eight since Sir T. Munro wrote his letter.

And here, we may add, that the Government may be almost said to be pledged to the British Parliament, to carry out the measures which we advocate. In a paper delivered into the Committee, during the discussions on the present Charter, Mr. A. D. Campbell, a gentleman high in the Civil Service of Madras, states, that a reduction of the assessment in the Salem district had taken place, “that the rates were undergoing reduction to an unlimited extent in Baramahl and Salem, and in Madura and Dendigul, in such fields only as the local authorities deem too highly assessed on the plan observed in Coimbatore.” These discussions must soon be renewed, and must it then be said that

Mr. Campbell was mistaken, that such remissions as had been made have been recalled, and that during the twenty years of the Charter they never have been renewed?

We have said, in an early part of this article, that the district which we have chosen for our example of the effects of a Madras Ryotwari settlement, has the advantage of exhibiting, at the same time, the effects of the zemindari experiment. We had intended to offer a few remarks on the results of the two systems as affecting the happiness of the people, but we have already trespassed so long on the reader's patience, that we fear to enter upon so wide a field; and much has already been laid before him in the progress of this sketch, from which his own conclusions may be drawn. To us, we own, that the state of the district appears to afford clear proof of the decided failure of the zemindari system in Madras, though tried under the greatest advantages. The previous survey assessment, and careful registry of rights, have prevented many of the consequences which followed upon this great and well-intended measure in Bengal and the North West Provinces, and ought, if any thing could have done so, to have secured the success of the system; but still it has failed. We cannot attribute the failure to over-assessment, for under a Ryotwari system, many of the estates have exhibited a marked, steady and most satisfactory recovery from the state into which the mūtahdars had brought them. Its failure was owing, generally, to the avarice and oppression of the mūtahdars, to their neglect of the sources of irrigation, and to their grasping demands upon the people.

To illustrate this point, let us examine the history of some of the mūtahs. It will be remembered, that they were handed over to the mūtahdars at a fixed assessment, generally 10 to 16 per cent. below the collections made under the Ryotwari system; but they reverted to Government in a ruined condition. Their gradual recovery under Ryotwari management, though no relaxation of demand was conceded, is, we think, a triumphant proof of the effects of limited field assessment, and tenure direct from the Government.

For instance, the estate of Ramarapuram, in the talúk of Senkerrydrúg:—

Permanent assessment.....	6,289	10	5
Collections in Fusly, 1247, the year of lapse.....	1,824	13	9
" 1248	3,902	6	0
" 1249	1,315	0	0

Collections in Fusly, 1250	3,899	0	0
" 1251	4,405	0	0
" 1252	3,611	0	0
" 1253	3,690	0	0
" 1254	4,006	0	0
" 1255	4,085	0	0
" 1256	4,543	0	0
" 1257	5,020	0	0

We have taken this example nearly at random, we will now take some others from the Namcul talúk :—

				Tirmulputty		Cerkarúdapum		Comorapolliam	
				estate.		estate.		estate.	
Permanent assessment	3,675	0	0	.....4,915	1	2	.....7,530	15	2
Revenue reached in July 1231...	2,472	5	5	.....2,848	12	7	.....3,892	1	10
" 1232...	2,375	8	1	.....3,509	6	2	.....4,462	5	11
" 1233...	2,363	1	6	.....3,797	12	3	.....4,302	5	11
" 1234...	2,520	11	8	.....4,102	11	5	.....4,883	0	6
" 1235...	2,506	7	0	.....4,557	15	5	.....5,386	14	1
" 1236...	2,411	8	9	.....1,254	7	9	.....5,549	8	5
" 1237...	2,622	4	8	.....4,176	2	1	.....5,532	11	8
" 1238...	2,622	5	5	.....4,030	12	11	.....5,480	12	1
" 1239...	2,732	8	0	.....4,000	14	6	.....5,259	14	11
" 1240...	2,910	2	9	.....4,157	14	1	.....5,522	11	2
" 1241...	3,220	8	8	.....3,896	8	3	.....5,465	5	0
" 1242...	3,195	1	9	.....3,257	15	9	.....5,392	0	3
" 1243...	3,139	15	9	.....2,090	15	11	.....5,333	14	8
" 1244...	3,543	1	0	.....2,352	12	11	.....5,485	13	9
" 1245...	3,848	5	2	.....2,891	15	1	.....5,507	1	6
" 1246...	3,870	8	3	.....2,844	2	10	.....5,502	4	2
" 1247...	3,829	9	11	.....3,155	8	7	.....5,717	11	6
" 1248...	4,128	3	11	.....3,642	0	9	.....5,763	7	11
" 1249...	4,366	15	9	.....4,247	5	3	.....5,977	6	5
" 1250...	4,580	7	11	.....4,773	7	2	.....6,177	14	4
" 1251...	4,758	7	8	.....5,276	14	2	.....6,435	13	3
" 1252...	4,649	0	6	.....5,462	12	6	.....6,602	9	5
" 1253...	4,513	1	2	.....5,172	4	10	.....6,747	3	2
" 1254...	4,530	1	1	.....5,115	10	2	.....6,842	13	7
" 1255...	4,658	4	5	.....4,990	6	0	.....6,597	6	10
" 1256...	4,581	0	3	.....4,243	12	2	.....6,699	15	10
" 1257...	4,638	4	5	.....4,746	4	0	.....7,072	3	6

On the other hand, where the zemindari assessment appears

most successful, (and many of the estates are flourishing,) we discover no results which would not have as surely followed from a relaxation of the Ryotwari demand..

There is, most certainly, nothing in the character of the *mú-tahdars* generally, calculated to exert a beneficial effect on the people. With some few exceptions, what Francis Horner describes as that odious character which an increase of wealth, without an increase of knowledge, is sure to generate, is typical of these factious landlords.

The effect of the system on the police of the district has been most unfavorable. We believe that it is not more strongly ingrained in the minds of Englishmen, that the legislative power and the executive should be distinct, than it is in that of the *Hindú*, that the person to whom he pays his rent, is the person from whom he is to expect protection; and to secure this protection, he must obey his landlord's orders. By the *zemindari* system, this enormous prestige is transferred from the Government to the *zemindar*, or from a responsible servant of the Government to an irresponsible private individual, from a man whom Government can remove, to one upon whose character alone it depends whether he shall assist in putting down robberies, or whether he shall organize them.

Very erroneous impressions, we believe, prevail on the subject of Ryotwari settlement, and to some of these we have adverted above; but to one we have not so prominently alluded. It is thought that the system gives rise to constant interference on the part of the officers of Government; but when the principles of Read and Munro are fully carried out, this interference is very trifling. It only consists in an enquiry, whether the ryot retains his land, whether he abandons it, or whether he takes more; and it is obvious that even this enquiry is gradually diminishing, and must cease as soon as the whole land is taken up and becomes saleable property, as it has done throughout nearly the whole of Canara and Malabar. So long as the assessment varies on the ryot's converting dry into irrigated land, some inspection is necessary, but the same may be said of every species of taxation. The fair question is, whether this interference is more vexatious on the part of the *tahsildar*, than it would be on that of a *zemindar*, or the contractor of a village lease, or the heads of a village corporation. We most fully believe that it is infinitely less so.

The *zemindari* system has been tried in Salem, the village lease has been tried in Coimbatore; both have failed. Let the principles of Read and Munro be tried under a taxation as

light as that of Bengal or of Agra, and we have not a doubt of the result. No expensive process is necessary ; all that is required is a relaxation of the demand, first on the lands now waste from over-assessment, and then on the district generally.

Before closing this article, we would beg to offer only a few further remarks. In endeavouring to point out certain defects in our administration of the country, which have tended to render it less successful than we could have wished, we are far from entering into the exaggerations of those who would represent the British rule to have been barren of all those blessings which a semi-barbarous and oppressed people were entitled to expect from a civilized and intelligent Government. We believe that financial pressure, and a system of check and controul, have prevented those local reforms which would have proved of inestimable value to several portions of the province ; but if, at the same time, we take a more general survey of the effects of the Government, we shall find much to dwell upon that is full of hope and encouragement.

The first great blessing that a Government can confer upon a people is, undoubtedly, peace ; by which we mean protection from foreign invasion and internal tumult. These blessings the district has enjoyed for more than half a century, uninterruptedly. The extent of this blessing will be appreciated by comparing it with the state of the country previously to our accession, as pictured in the following passage from Colonel Wilkes :—

“ Illustrations of the manners and immemorial habits of a people are sometimes unexpectedly derived from a careful attention to the elements or the structure of their language. On the approach of an hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual, man, woman, and child, above six years of age (the infant children being carried by their mothers,) with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found), exempted from the miseries of war, sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence, until the departure of the enemy ; and if this should be protracted beyond the time for which they have provided food, a large portion necessarily dies of hunger.

“ The people of a district thus deserting their homes are called the Wulsa of the district. A state of habitual misery,

‘ involving precautions against incessant war, and unpitying depredations, of so peculiar a description as to require, in any of the languages of Europe, a long circumlocution, is expressed in all the languages of Deckan and the south of India, by a single word !

“ No proof can be accumulated from the most profound research, which shall describe the immemorial condition of the people of India, with more authentic precision than this single word.

“ It is a proud distinction that the Wulsa never departs on the approach of a British army, when unaccompanied by Indian allies.”

Next to external and internal peace, the greatest national blessing is, perhaps, the administration of equal justice; but to enter upon this topic, would lead us too far from our subject. It is sufficient to say, that the province has enjoyed the advantage of Courts of Appeal, presided over by men, whose integrity was never impeached, and whose endeavours to counteract the national vices of falsehood, and fraud, have been unremitting. If the comparative amount of revenue which reached the Government under native rule and under the British Government, depended, as Munro observed, on the difference between the characters of one of Tippú's Asophs and Colonel Read; the amount of justice received by the people from their protectors, would depend upon the difference between the characters of a native kazi, and such men as John Bird and Edward Bannerman.

After the administration of justice, we would place in the list of national blessings the freedom of commerce; let us see what was the state of things when the Government came into our hands.

The following table exhibits this state. It is an account of the number of stations at which duties were levied on merchandize, in only one division of the district, prepared in the year 1795. It embraces the five principal lines of commerce, from the chief town of the division, and shows that there was a Custom House, at which every common article of merchandize was taxed, on an average at every eighth mile.

Examples showing the amount of road duties exacted on various articles of merchandize in the ceded countries north of the Cavary.—(Continued.)

Routes.	On copper, tute-naigue, lead, tin, wax, honey, cloves, cinna-mon, nutmeg, mace, saffron, soap, nuts and chillies.	On pepper, garlic and beetle-nut.		On ghee and oil.		On raw silk.		On cotton cloths.		On salt.		On jaggiri or coarse sugar.	
		Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.
		P. F. C. Gopalle fanamnes	P. F. C. Gopalle fanamnes	P. F. C. Gopalle fanamnes	P. F. C. Gopalle fanamnes	P. F. C. Gopalle fanamnes	P. F. C. Gopalle fanamnes	P. F. C. Gopalle fanamnes	P. F. C. Gopalle fanamnes	P. F. C. Gopalle fanamnes	P. F. C. Gopalle fanamnes	P. F. C. Gopalle fanamnes	P. F. C. Gopalle fanamnes
Between Salem and Darampury.	3rd.												
	New Pettah Salem	8½	3½	5	40	2	4	1	4	1½	4	1½	4
	Curpur	1½	1½	1½	2	16	2	2	2	4	4	4	4
	Pujury Putty	5	5	5	16	16	8	5	5	5	5	5	5
	Adamnecotta	4½	4½	4½	16	16	10	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Darampury	3½	3½	4½	16	16	10	1	1	1	1	1	1
Between Salem and the boundary of the Trincomopoly country by Salingarputty.	4th.												
	New Pettah Salem	8	3½	5	40	2	4	2	4	1	4	1	4
	Mullur	3	1½	2	16	16	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Mina Chorie	2	1½	1½	16	16	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
	Chitter Chorie	3	2	2	8	8	7½	7½	7½	7½	7½	7½	7½
	Pullipollem	5	4	5½	32	32	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Between Salem and the boundary of about 4 miles.	Paretrum	2	1½	3½	8	8	7½	7½	7½	7½	7½	7½	7½
	Talingarputty	2	1½	2	16	16	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
	For a distance of 40 miles.....	22½	18½	20	90	90	29	29	29	3	3	17½	17½
Between Salem and the boundary of about 4 miles.	For a distance of 40 miles.....	37	30	33	310	310	76	76	76	4	4	28	28
	For a distance of 40 miles.....	37	30	33	310	310	76	76	76	4	4	28	28
	For a distance of 40 miles.....	37	30	33	310	310	76	76	76	4	4	28	28

Examples showing the amount of road duties exacted on various articles of merchandize in the ceded countries north of the Cavary.—(Concluded.)

Route.	On copper, tutenague, lead, tin, wax, honey, cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, mace, saffron, soap, nuts & chillies.	On pepper, garlic, beetie-nut, arrack, gram, cloth, red thread and tobacco.		On ghee and oil.		On coarse sugar.	
		Per bullock load.	P. F. C.	Per bullock load.	P. F. C.	Per bullock load.	P. F. C.
		Gopalie fanams.	P. F. C.	Gopalie fanams.	P. F. C.	Gopalie fanams.	P. F. C.
Between Salem & the Cavary, by Paramutty.	5th.						
	New Pettah Salem.....	8½	.. ..	7½	.. ..	4½	.. ..
	Venandūr	1½	.. ..	1½	.. ..	1	.. ..
	Manelly	2¾	.. ..	2¾	.. ..	1½	.. ..
	Paramutty	3	.. ..	3	.. ..	3	.. ..
For a distance of about 42 miles		15½	.. ..	10¾	.. ..	10	.. ..
Steam passages.....		.. ..	25 59	....	22 29	....	16 7

When it is remembered, that every article may now be conveyed from Salem to the sea coast, without interruption; that not a single duty is levied at any town, fair or market, throughout the district; that the ryot (who was then compelled to deal with the merchant, who had alone the power of passing, by means best known to himself, through these Custom Houses,) can now seek the best market, and obtain the full price for the produce of his industry; we need not carry the contrast farther: nor need we wonder, if the abolition of the transit duties is a measure almost universally condemned by the merchants and the servants of Government, nor, if those whose statements can alone reach the Government, complain of an imagined decline of commercial prosperity. The interests of the few, the very few, have been sacrificed to those of the many.

Next to freedom of commerce, we would place the facility of locomotion, the state of public roads; and on this subject, we can speak with unmingled satisfaction. From one end of the district to the other, from north to south, and from east to west, excellent roads, bordered by flourishing avenues, do honor to the zeal and perseverance of several collectors, who have successively turned their attention to this subject, and above all, the late Mr. John Orr. The whole extent of roads within the district, which has been completed, planted, guarded by ditches, and, with few exceptions, marked by mile stones, amounts to 726 miles. They are traversed night and day, by hundreds of country carts, without let or hindrance, and may be traversed by any English traveller in his own carriage. The bridges built in the district amount to eighty-four.

Peace, external and internal, justice purely administered, commerce free and unfettered, communication facilitated; these are important ingredients in national prosperity; and we have strong proof that much prosperity has been their result.

Although it has been our object to show how some unfortunate circumstances have, in many parts of the district, impeded the progress of cultivation, and that in most of the estates under Government management, it has actually retrograded in comparison with the early years of our rule, still such is the blessing of peace and free commerce, that taking the whole of the district, the lightly assessed Balaghat, the moderately assessed Baramahl, the rent-free Agraharams, and the best managed of the zemindari estates, there has been, on the whole, an encreas-

ed production, evinced by cheap prices accompanying an increased population; and it will have been seen that there is reason to attribute the decline which does exist, as much to the well-intentioned zemindari experiment, as to actual over-taxation. Nor will it be forgotten, that the fraudulent practices of the people defeated the intentions of Government for their good.

There are many indications of increasing prosperity visible. There are not wanting, in the district, instances, now common throughout India, of cultivation having driven the wild beasts far from the haunts, where sportsmen now living used to find them in abundance.

The following is a curious instance of progress. A registry of the fruit trees in the district was made by Colonel Read. The number of tamarind trees then entered was as follows:—

<i>Enam lands.</i>	<i>Back-yards.</i>	<i>Ryots' holdings.</i>	<i>Jungles.</i>
738	876	422	2,545

This was, doubtless, a most incorrect return; but now the trees planted by the road sides alone, of which a large proportion are tamarind trees, amount to 162,374.—(Here we cannot help remarking, by way of parenthesis, that the reason why the Salem district excels all others in its roads is, that a local tax, on betel-nut gardens, was assigned at an early date to local improvements.—See Mr. Hargrave's reports.)

The value of land is decidedly rising, and in many places, to a considerable extent.

When the district was first handed over to our Government, an application was made to Colonel Read, by the officer commanding, for bricklayers to assist in building the officers' bungalows. Colonel Read's answer is on record, and states, that no such person as a bricklayer existed in the district. In the last two seasons, a bridge has been built over the river Cavary, of twenty-six arches, each of sixty feet span, chiefly by bricklayers and artificers of the Salem district.

The manufacturers of Salem are, decidedly, in a flourishing condition; and this is evinced by the great extension of the principal manufacturing town, that of Salem itself. New streets, with houses of a superior description, are springing up in every direction, the abolition of the transit duties having given a stimulus to the demand for their strong webs, while the cheap prices of the articles of consumption, enable them still to compete with the machinery of England in the Indian market.

A very rapid increase in the number of carts, built at Salem, and Attúr, evinces much commercial activity.

Such then are the mixed results of our Government. If it be objected that the former and the latter part of our paper are contradictory, we answer, that if a person seriously endeavours to represent things as they are, his statements must be contradictory, for he has to describe contradictions. A Government conferring peace and justice, but maintaining a land tax admitted to be too high—trade encouraged, but agriculture repressed;—remissions made for the benefit of a newly created zemindar, and recalled from the industrious ryot—the industry of peace struggling against the Government which confers it—these are what he has to describe. But if they are fairly described, if, while he candidly brings to notice the errors which exist, he avoids alike the exaggerations of the agitator and the glosses of the partisan, his statements will not fail to meet with candid attention, or to yield their contribution towards the great cause of improvement.

ART. V.—1. *A Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency, from 1835 to 1851. By J. Kerr, M. A., Principal of Hooghly College. Part I. Calcutta. 1852.*

2. *The Bombay Gazette, February 11th, 1852.—Speech of Sir Erskine Perry.*

IN Mr. Kerr's book, the reader will find a complete and scholar-like manual of the history, mechanism, and working of native education, as conducted in the Government Institutions of the Bengal Presidency, for the last sixteen years. It would be very difficult to find a writer better qualified for the task, which he has undertaken. The facts, which he narrates, have fallen chiefly within the limits of his own personal observation; the questions, which he discusses, have been often before his own mind; and with all the details of the Government system, from his official position, he is intimately and familiarly acquainted. His turn of mind also is clear, distinct, and methodical; and his style, not wanting in a certain quiet humour, is always dispassionate and gentleman-like. In the treatment of a very delicate subject, he has chosen his ground with much tact and good sense; and so long as he keeps strictly to the plan which he has chalked out for himself, his work is all but unexceptionable. That which he proposes to do, and which he has ably and thoroughly accomplished, will be best learned from his own modest and well written preface, which we quote at length:—

It is proposed in the following pages to give a brief history of education in the Bengal Presidency, from the year 1835 to 1851.

With the year 1835, a new era commenced in the history of education in Bengal. It was at this period that Lord Bentinck's resolution appeared, which put a stop to the expenditure of the educational funds on stipends to students who had not earned them, and on Arabic and Sanscrit publications which were little read; and directed that they should henceforth be mainly employed in imparting instruction through the medium of the English language.

A fresh impulse was now given to native education. A more active interest was awakened in the superintending authorities. Annual reports, exhibiting the state and progress of public instruction, began to be regularly published for the information of the public. New schools were established. The old establishments were improved and enlarged. Libraries were formed in the colleges and in the principal provincial schools.

The time appears to have arrived for the preparation of a book of the kind proposed. Setting aside the consideration that all important questions relating to India, among which that of education undoubtedly occupies a very prominent place, are beginning to attract a more than ordinary share of public attention, as the period approaches for the revision of the East India Company's Charter in 1853, there are at present no means by which

any one who takes an interest in native education, as carried on in the Government institutions, can readily acquaint himself with its history for the past sixteen years. The information is only to be found in the annual printed reports, a complete set of which can scarcely be met with anywhere, and in the manuscript records of Government, which are not open to the public eye. Even those few persons, who possess a complete set of the printed reports, will find it no easy task to obtain a clear view of what has been done, from so many volumes, in which there are many repetitions and some contradictions, much that is only of temporary use, and much that is of no use. The time has arrived for condensing these reports, for extracting from them whatever is valuable, and placing it before the reader arranged under appropriate heads.

Such an analysis may be considered as the main object of the following pages. It is not, however, the only object. The writer hopes that the situation, which he has held in the educational service of Government for the last ten years, has given him the opportunity of observing some things which it may be useful to make known, and has qualified him in some degree for expressing an independent opinion on the various subjects which will come under review. But he is anxious to deal with facts rather than opinions; the latter, whether his own or those of others, being introduced sparingly.

It is proposed to divide the subject into two parts. The first part will contain a statement of the general principles and most prominent features which mark the Government system of education, including the agency employed for superintending and carrying on the system. The second part will contain a brief report on each of the Government educational institutions in Bengal, and in the North Western Provinces, embracing its foundation and early history, its ordinary income and expenditure, a statement of the number of pupils for the last sixteen years, a selection from the reports of local committees and examiners, and other matters of general and permanent interest.

There can be no question that Mr. Kerr has amply fulfilled the promise, which he holds out; but we must confess to a very natural feeling of surprise and disappointment, on finding, in a work which professes (in its opening sentence) to be a history of education in Bengal, only one or two cursory and incorrect references to the great Missionary institutions, and the large and flourishing private schools and academies, the pupils of which, in this city at least, out-number those attending the Government seminaries at least five-fold. His book is really the educational history of the last sixteen years, with all but the Government part, left out; and the obvious tendency of the work (most unconsciously, we believe, on the part of the author) is to make that part bulk much more largely, than it has any right to do, in the public eye. This erroneous impression would be confirmed and deepened by a circumstance, for which Mr. Kerr is in no wise responsible. The great victories of native education had been won before he came among us. He did not witness the reign of barbaric ignorance, intolerance, and superstition; or taken any part in the struggles, by which it was overthrown. The Minute of Lord William

Bentinck, which is the epoch from which Mr. Kerr dates his history, was but a formal taking possession of the land. It was the decree for the annexation of the Punjab, after the battles of Múdkí and Ferozepore, of Sobraon and Chilianwallah. Mr. Kerr found us sailing on a smooth sea, with a fair wind, and a flowing tide.

He knows therefore only imperfectly, and from report, how very much had been done by others, and how very little had been done by Government, to turn the tide of public opinion, on which the state bark is now so confidently sailing. The Government medicine for the benighted Bengalis was even more minute than that homœopathic globule of reform, which Punch represents Lord John Russel as administering to the astounded John Bull. But the globules of Sanscrit and Arabic and Persian, which it pleased the Honorable Company to administer, found no favour with the unhappy patient, even though he was paid for trying to swallow them. It never occurred to the Government, that, when a man's only complaint is starvation, food is better than physic; and the system of infinitesimal doses of poison—that is, of Heathenism and Vedantism, and Muhammadanism—might have been going on to this day in full vigour, but for the interference of men without the Government pale, who won their way, step by step, overcoming obloquy, reproach and superstition, by literary enthusiasm, or philanthropy, or faith.

In the year 1815, soon after the renewal of the Charter, a few friends, among whom was Mr Hare, met together, one evening, in Rammohun Roy's house; and the conversation turned on the most fitting means for the destruction of superstition, and the elevation of the native mind and character. Rammohun contended earnestly for the establishment of a weekly meeting, for the purpose of gradually undermining the prevailing system of idolatry, by teaching the pure and more intellectual dogmas of the Vedanta.

To this Mr. Hare decidedly objected. His strong natural good sense showed him the visionary and impracticable nature of a scheme, which professed to act upon the masses, by teaching them what they could not possibly comprehend. It must be confessed, too, that he had a most impartial dislike for all religions, and eschewed the religious element altogether. He proposed, instead, the establishment of a college for native youth; and the two friends separated, each wedded to his own plan, which they carried out with characteristic energy. The Rajah founded the *Bramha Sabha*, an incomprehensible jumble of monotheism, pantheism, and eclecticism; and the in-

Intellectually inferior, but sturdy practical mechanic, originated the Hindu College, and more remotely the whole system of Anglicized native education.

Mr. Hare's first step was to draw up a circular, stating generally the objects he had in view, and soliciting aid and countenance from the leading men in the European and native communities. At an early stage, it fell into the hands of Sir Edward Hyde East, the Chief Justice for the time being. This gentleman not only remodelled the circular for the better, but entered into the scheme with such spirit and cordiality, and, from his influence and position in society, brought it forward so prominently, that it was very generally supposed to have originated with him. After frequent private meetings and discussions, the first public meeting was held in his house, on the 14th of May, 1816, and was largely attended by native and European gentlemen, and by many of the most eminent Pandits in Calcutta. The proposal to establish an institution for the education of the native youth was fully explained to the meeting by the learned Judge, and was received with unanimous approbation.

In an adjourned meeting, held on the 21st, it was resolved that the Institution should be called "The Hindu College of Calcutta;" and a committee and office bearers were appointed.

To form any just idea, and to take any fair view of the history of native education, or of the part which the Government plays in it, one must look, not to the last sixteen years, but to the twenty which preceded them; and, in after times, when Hindustan shall have become an enlightened and Christian nation, the educational annals of the period between 1815 and 1835, now obscure and half-forgotten, will be searched for with avidity, and come forth into the broad day; and the actors take a place—and no mean place—among national benefactors.

There are two gentlemen still with us in the full ripeness of intellect and manhood, who could write that history worthily; who have seen the darkness which they helped to dispel, and who may rightly claim the proud distinction of "*emeriti*." That keen sagacious eye, which still looks out from the watch-tower of Serampore, with a little help from family traditions, can trace the whole process from its germ to its present stage of progress, and arrange, in orderly array and sequence, events, misunderstood it may be, or slightly marked at the time when they occurred, but to which the future has given weight and significance. No one can doubt the interest, with which Mr. Marshman must have watched the struggle, in which, from

personal and family associations, as well as on higher grounds; his own hopes and feelings were so deeply implicated. We trust that in the forthcoming biography of his gifted and venerable father, we shall find all that we desire.

The other gentleman, whose reminiscences would be, to many, perhaps even more interesting, is the Reverend Professor Banerjya of Bishop's College. His experience, indeed, cannot go back so far as 1815; for, we question whether he had been born then: but no man living was more mixed up with the movement, or has a better right to say, without vanity or exaggeration, "*quorum pars maxima fui*." He passed through all the alternations of the struggle. He was the intimate friend and associate of almost every name of note, which influenced the result, whether for good or evil. He was for a time the acknowledged leader, the hero, and in some sort, the martyr, of the ultra-liberal party among the educated natives: and, we do him but justice, when we say, that he acted throughout with a spirit, a boldness, a conscientiousness, and love of truth, rare, if not altogether unparalleled, among his countrymen.

The time has come, we think, when Mr. Banerjya is at full liberty to tell the truth, without fear or favour; and, if there be one or two individuals still living, whose past offences it might seem ungenerous to rake up, however well they may deserve any censure that could be inflicted on them, it would be easy to withhold their names, and to deal only with their actions. Such a work, faithfully and conscientiously executed, would not only be useful and worthy of Mr. Banerjya's position and talents; but, we believe, would win for itself, not only an Indian, but a British, and (not improbably) a European reputation. It would teach lessons too, perhaps, worth knowing—one at the least; that whatever amount of change may be produced by the inlet of European knowledge into the native mind, (and that change was never manifested, and never will be manifested again, with more of enthusiasm, and energy, and reckless boldness, than by the original "Young Bengal") the result shows but two issues:—it will evaporate into worse than nothing, or condense into Christianity. Thus much, at least, the last thirty years have determined. We shall have to do with this subject again, ere we part with Mr. Kerr.

In the mean time, we shall attempt to present a brief outline of the leading events in the history of native education, previous to 1835; and, following Mr. Kerr's excellent example, we seek "to deal with facts rather than opinions;" as to the lat-

ter, however, by no means refraining from the free expression of our own.

Whatever other influences may have been at work previously, the first great practical step towards the improvement of native education, and towards rescuing it from the incapable hands of the *Pandits* and *Gúrús*, was the foundation of the Hindu College. Nothing had been done, or has yet been accomplished, in the endowed oriental colleges and institutions, which has not been better done by the natives, when left to themselves. No revival of the ancient sciences of India, no new work of importance, no distinguished scholar, ever proceeded from a Government Oriental College. To perpetuate these was to perpetuate false science and superstition; and it began to be felt, that, if hope was to come for India, it must come from elsewhere.

~~The man, who was the first to master this idea, and to turn it to practical use, was the late Mr. David Hare.~~

The impetus, indeed, came from a very different quarter, and originated long before. The labours and example of such men as Buchanan, and Brown, and Corrie and Martyn, and the Serampore Missionaries, drew the attention of many thoughtful and benevolent men, who had little in common with them, to the wants and to the woes of India. The "Clapham sect" had, at last, turned the tide of public opinion; and in 1813, India, by Act of Parliament, was open to the Gospel. But it ought to be frankly acknowledged, that though the Missionaries were foremost in the field, and foremost in labour and zeal and love for the natives of this land, they do not seem to have entertained any scheme for national education, or any idea of introducing on a large scale the science and literature of Europe, as helps to Christianization, or means of social improvement. What they may fairly claim is, that they did the work of calling public attention to the moral and religious degradation of the Hindus; and of those who thought with them on this subject, but differed from them in all else, no names stand out so prominently as those of Rammohun Roy and David Hare.

☞ The former was a man of distinguished ability, with a versatile and highly accomplished mind, much given to metaphysical speculation, and the first of his countrymen, who can truly be looked upon as a sincere patriot and philanthropist. The other was an illiterate and ill-educated man, with narrow views, and without the gift of written or spoken utterance. But his mind was eminently practical, and he had got firm hold of one grand idea. These men, so opposite, were drawn together by their common desire for the moral and political

improvement of the Hindus; and in both, this desire was a passion.

The original committee was very large—too large for efficient working—and contained far too much of the unchanged native leaven. The following is a list of the members; we believe, it will be read by many, with interest and curiosity:—

SIR EDWARD HYDE EAST, *Knight; President.*

J. H. HARRINGTON, ESQ., *Vice-President.*

W. C. Blaquiére, Esq.,
Capt. J. W. Taylor,
H. H. Wilson, Esq.,
N. Wallich, Esq., M. D.,
Lieut. W. Price,
D. Heming, Esq.,
Capt. T. Roebuck,
Lieut. Francis Irvine,
Chaturbhūj Nyasrutten,
Subram Mohesh Shastri,
Mritunjoy Bidyalunkar,
Roghomuni Bidyabhosun,
Tarapersad Nyabhosun,
Gopimohun Thakur,

Harimohun Thakur,
Gopimohun Deb,
Jyckissen Singh,
Ramtonoo Mullick,
Obhoy Churn Banerjya,
Ramdulal Dey,
Rajah Ram Chund,
Ramgopal Mullick,
Boisnobh Das Mulliék,
Chaitan Churn Set,
Shib Chunder Mukerjya,
Radhakant Deb,
Ramruttun Mullick,
Kali Sunkar Ghosal.

It will be observed here, that the name of David Hare does not appear in the list. With his characteristic shrinking from public appearances, he declined to take any official appointment; although his services in procuring subscriptions and pupils, and in many other ways, were unremitting. It must not be forgotten also, that Mr. Hare had not yet acquired a reputation, and was not in (what is called) "society:" and that already "the cold shadow of the aristocracy," and the darkness of bigotry and superstition, fell ominously over the projected institution.

On the 20th January, 1817, the school was opened for the first time, in a house (304, Chitpore Road) hired for the purpose;—Sir Hyde East, Mr. Harrington, and many other influential gentlemen being present. Seven months had passed of active and busy preparation. Upwards of 60,000 rupees had been subscribed. The Committee alone numbered thirty members. The scheme had the sanction of the pandits, the favour of the public, and the countenance and active support of the leading members of the Government: but after all this "note of preparation," only TWENTY pupils came forward to be enrolled on the list. In three months more, the number struggled painfully upwards to sixty-nine; and there, the free scholars and an

eleemosynary contribution of twenty from the Calcutta School Society *included*, it remained stationary for upwards of six years.

Mr. Kerr is quite mistaken, in supposing that the Hindu College "was founded by a spontaneous impulse of the native mind" (p. 6). The scheme was entirely foreign to the native mind; was forced upon it from without; and, again and again, would have been abandoned in despair or indifference, but for the determined, enthusiastic, and solitary perseverance of David Hare. So little desire or demand was there for the study of the English, that the Managers were obliged to introduce, not only Bengali, but Persian, and, (if we mistake not,) Arabic also, in order to render the new fangled teaching more palatable to the native mind.

During the six years that intervened between 1817 and 1823, the school was shifted about from place to place. It was first removed to another house in the Chitpore Road; then to a house, afterwards occupied by Dr. Duff, for the General Assembly's Institution. Its next flight was of all the most eccentric. The sapient Managers removed the so-called Hindu College into the heart of the Bow Bazar; which, when explained for the benefit of the uninitiated, means, that they took it out of the native town altogether, and set it down in a street, notorious as the haunt of drunken sailors, and the most desperate and dissolute characters of a great Heathen metropolis. From this they again moved off to a scarcely more congenial vicinity—the well known Turret Bazar.

Who the teachers were, during this dark period, or what they taught, we have no means of knowing. The school made no progress; and the cause of native education seemed to be lost. Its English supporters, disappointed by the insignificant result, thwarted in their plans of improvement, and disgusted with the jealousy and absurd prejudices and suspicions of the native majority in the Management, left it to its fate; and that majority, having, as may well be supposed, no very violent love for European light and knowledge, would have liked nothing better than to break up the college, and to get back the money which they had so rashly subscribed. Mr. Hare alone stood firm as a rock; but even he, at last, saw no other means of averting the impending catastrophe, than an appeal to Government to come forward to the rescue.

Yet, that unpromising beginning is to us full of cheerful augury. Not very long ago, the foundation stone of Mr. Bethune's Female School was laid with much pomp and circumstance. Cornwallis Square was honoured with the unwonted presence of a Governor of Bengal, and Members of Council,

and Secretaries, and an imposing assemblage of the great, the gifted, and the fair; colours flashed in the sun; speeches were made; and the future seemed full of brilliant promise for the domestic happiness and social elevation of Bengal. The master spirit of that institution, indeed, has passed away;—but where are all its other well-wishers now? Its dark period has come very rapidly. Let us hope that better days are at hand; and that our present Governor-General, by a generous and judicious patronage, may accomplish for the females of India, as much as has been already accomplished, against difficulties nearly equal, for the males. Such a consummation would be a brighter gem in his coronet, than the annexation of Burmah and the Punjab. Among the thousands of young men, who have received an English education, and many of whom are now heads of families themselves, there is, *or there ought to be*, a powerful lever to ply against the dead weight of prejudice and custom, which, for ages, has borne so heavily on the mothers, the wives, and the daughters of Bengal; and which native apathy will never lift up without the helping hand of a more energetic race. But we have been looking forward thirty years; and we are yet only in “pleine” 1823.

The Government (it was in the time of Mr. Adam) listened favourably to the request of the Managers. It had already resolved to establish a Sanscrit college in 1821, and to allow 30,000 rupees annually for that purpose: and, when the question of a building for the new institution came to be entertained in 1823, happily for the Hindu College, it was agreed to locate them both under the same roof.

“Rome,” however, “was not built in a day.” The foundation stone of the new building was not laid until the 25th of February, 1824; and we may notice here, that more than three years elapsed after that time, ere it was ready for the reception of the students.

It was natural for the Government, which, in addition to the building, had granted a munificent annual endowment, to look for something in the shape of a “*quid pro quo*.” The Managers hitherto had done nothing to justify any confidence in their wisdom or discretion. ~~Every measure, which they originated,~~ bore the stamp of ignorance and incapacity; and it was plain, that, if the experiment were to be entrusted solely to their guidance, its doom was sealed. The Government, therefore, desired or demanded, that a properly qualified Visitor should be appointed on their part, for the purpose (formally) of watching over and directing the appropriation of their pecuniary grant.

This reasonable and most salutary proposal was met with the most violent opposition, as indeed might have been anticipated. Fortunately, there were a few men of sense in the Management—such men, for instance, as Ramcomul Sen, Russomoy Dutt, and Radhakant Deb. But for them, the proposal of the Government would have been rejected; and, it was with considerable difficulty, that it received at last a reluctant and ungracious assent. The speech of Russomoy Dutt (now one of the judges of the Small Cause Court) on this occasion, deserves notice. The Babu frankly confessed that, after seven years' labour, the college had produced nothing better than a few *keranis* (native clerks in the public offices); and that it was vain to expect, ever to accomplish the objects which they had in view, or to succeed in giving their children a liberal and enlightened education, without calling in the aid of European talent and energy.

This was the real turning point in the history of the institution; for it resulted in the appointment of Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson, as Vice-President of the sub-committee, and Visitor of the college. A better choice could not possibly have been made. Perhaps, no man, since the days of the "admirable Crichton," has united in himself such varied, accurate, and apparently opposite talents and accomplishments. A profound Sanscrit scholar, a grammarian, a philosopher, and a poet, he was at the same time the life of society, and a practical and clear-headed man of business. On the stage as an amateur, or in the professor's chair as the first orientalist of our time, he seemed always to be in his place. He has written on the antiquities and numismatology, on the history, literature, chronology and ethnology of Hindustan; and, on all these subjects, no man, not even Colebrooke himself, has written so much and so well. His works show all the erudition of the German school, without its heaviness, pedantry and conceit; and his style is that best of all styles, the style of an accomplished English gentleman.

This able and distinguished scholar speedily conciliated all parties, and won all suffrages. His name alone was a tower of strength to the Orientalists. His affability and courtesy of manner endeared him to the students, and disarmed the prejudices of the bigoted party in the Management. He doubled the hours of teaching. He introduced the system of public examinations. He obtained energetic new masters, and infused new life into the old. In the first year of his management, the number of pupils rose to two hundred. He found 14,000 rupees of arrears uncollected; he realized them. Four thousand rupees

had disappeared; he replaced them. The institution became so rich, as to lose 60,000 rupees by the failure of Baretto and Co.; and it could afford the loss. In a few years, there were four hundred names on the list, most of them paying pupils. The Hindu College became the fashionable school for the young Babus of Calcutta. ~~It rose into notoriety and importance, and, for a time, threw all other establishments into the shade.~~

In the expansion of heart, caused by this new and unexpected prosperity, Mr. Hare's services were at last remembered and acknowledged. He was appointed superintendent of the pupils contributed by the Calcutta School Society, and an Honorary Member of the Management.

But this gentleman's work was now over. The cause, for which he had toiled and fought, almost single-handed, was now triumphant, and had reached a stage, where his services were no longer required; for, ~~though an excellent pioneer,~~ he was not fit to be a General. No man was better acquainted with Bengali human nature. No European ever went in and out so freely and so familiarly among the people of this land. He was far more at home with them than with his own countrymen; and, from his constant intercourse with the native lads, and his earnest desire for their improvement, he earned for himself the singularly inappropriate *soubriquet* of "Padre Hare."

The truth is, that he was a man of a very common-place mind; and, though much beloved by the students, he had no weight, and little or no moral influence over them. He was a man riding a hobby, and riding it with all his might. But he had no large or enlightened views of the future, or of the spirit he sought to raise; and when, like another Frankenstein, it rose into sudden and portentous life before him, astonished and bewildered, he knew not how to find work for it, or whither to direct its gigantic energies. What he wished or expected Young Bengal to become eventually, if he had any definite ideas on the subject, is unknown to us; but, we have heard, that, when the most distinguished of his favourite pupils was about to become a Christian, he was surprised by a visit from Mr. Hare, who came to remonstrate with him upon the absurdity of the step he was about to take, in exchanging "one superstition for another." We believe that the reply, though sufficiently respectful, was such, as to send Mr. Hare away thoughtful but not displeased, and to seal his lips for the future.

The Hindu College now enjoyed a brilliant reputation. Mr. Wilson had raised it from a wretched petty school into a

fashionable and flourishing college. This was no slight achievement in itself, even for a man like him; but, when the prejudices, the suspicions, and the bigotry of the majority in the Management are taken into account, his tact and success appear quite extraordinary.

It would be a great mistake, however, to identify Mr. Wilson with the new Anglo-Bengali movement. An institution was entrusted to him; and he did all he could to make it flourish. In that institution an experiment was going on; and he took care that it should have fair play. But he expressed neither interest nor sympathy in the result; and, when a storm arose, directed against the rising movement, we give a favourable view of his policy in saying, that he submitted and bowed to the blast.

His position, indeed, was strikingly similar to that of the Government, whose servant he was. The new experiment, on trial in the Hindu College, was in no respect theirs. They neither originated, directed, nor sympathized with it. All that they did spontaneously for education, was done for the study of Oriental literature; and all the money at their disposal flowed into that favourite channel. It is true, that, after repeated solicitations, they *subscribed* to the Hindu College, and sent one of their servants to look after the appropriation of their money. But native education, as we see it now, was an abomination in their eyes. The Government of that day held the opinions of the Thoby Prinseps and the Tytlers, who ridiculed the idea of teaching the natives English, and amused themselves with publishing, as specimens of the results to be expected, letters in broken English, or the *patois* of the China Bazar. It needed ten years more of trial, and results that forced themselves upon the consideration of the most prejudiced, and the astonishing success of Duff, and all the energies of Trevelyan, and the influence of Macaulay, and the determination of Lord William Bentinck, to compel the Government—to drive it against its will—into a measured and cautious patronage of Anglo-Bengali education.*

We have mentioned that new and more efficient teachers had been introduced into the college; and now, at last, a pathway for the native mind into the science and literature of Europe was practically open. The result far exceeded all anticipation. Hinduism, as is well known, is not only a system of false religion, but a system of false science; and its whole authority depends upon tradition and custom. Hence there was scarcely an elementary fact or axiom in geography, or astronomy, or political economy, or indeed in any modern science, which did

not clash with and demolish some time-honoured belief, or sacred and hallowed observance. The work of destruction required no genius, learning, or eloquence; Hinduism fell prostrate, never to rise again, at the touch of the veriest school-boy. As soon as a little fellow could be made to understand that the earth was 25,000 miles round, there was an end to his belief in the *Shastras*.

It must be remembered that the young Bengali is remarkably intelligent and curious;—we might say with truth, precociously so. His first glimpse into the science and knowledge of the Western world filled him with astonishment and delight. A new *El Dorado* spread before him; and his foot was on the strand. A new future was open to him; new faculties were developed within him; and all, that he heard and saw, carried with it self-evidencing truth and power. Scales seemed to have fallen from his eyes; he felt giddy and intoxicated with the changed appearance of all things. But, if there was one feeling stronger than all others, and which, for a time, reigned predominant, it was a passionate loathing, a mixture of hatred and contempt and indignation, against the superstition, in which he had been brought up. When he thought of the absurdities he had been led to believe; of the pain and misery he had been compelled to bear and to inflict; of the clay and wooden images and rabble of so-called deities whom he had worshipped; of the ignorance in which he had been kept; and its results in making every other Hindu a mere beast of burden for the Brahman; and when he looked at all in the light of his new-found knowledge, he blushed with shame and indignation, and felt that he had been injured, humiliated, and degraded.

The master-spirit of this new era was Mr. Derozio. This gifted young man entered the college as one of the junior teachers in November, 1826, and speedily acquired an unbounded influence and popularity among the students. He entered into their feelings with all the fervour and enthusiasm of his own highly poetic temperament, and spared no pains to fan and to feed the flame. He encouraged them to the most unbridled use of their new-found mental freedom; and, by an extraordinary ascendancy over their minds, which no other man ever attained, he transformed the supple and timid Bengali into a bold and fiery iconoclast and reformer.

Unfortunately for himself and for them, he had no fixed principles; and his chief delight was to speculate, to unsettle, and to attack. Had he lived, and had his mind worked itself clear (as it had begun to do) of the crude notions of his youth,

great things might have been expected from him.—As it was, he was, for a time, the oracle of Young Bengal; and he has found no successor in their affections. •

It would be unjust to pass over unnoticed another East Indian gentleman, connected with the college about the same time, and who has also, since, gone to his account—we mean Mr. Woollaston, afterwards a Missionary of the London Society. He was a man of a quiet, unostentatious character, who felt the warmest interest in the new movement, but looked upon it with the heart and with the eye of a Christian. It was his delight to gather the more intelligent students round the social tea-table in his own house, and, without forcing it upon them, to talk to them earnestly and calmly of the Gospel of Jesus. One or other of the Missionaries was sometimes of the party; and the retrospect, we believe, must be pleasant to all.*

It is not strange that youthful minds, from which had evaporated every particle of faith and reverence for all that they once held most sacred, and who looked upon their former condition with rage and contempt, should wander for a while without star or compass, and hold aloof from every thing that could not be made palpable to their senses, or proved by mathematical demonstration. It is not strange, that in the first rebound of indignation, the very names of “priest” and religion should have been a bugbear, and their notions of the social relations uncertain and confused. Unfortunately, instead of checking these feelings, or guiding them into wholesome channels, Mr. Derozio gave them the rein. Every thing became debateable, and was debated. The being of God, the parental relationship, the ties of consanguinity, were subjected to the crucible of these youthful and giddy brains: and too often little came forth, but pride and over-weening conceit, and open contempt for parents and relatives, who believed in Sumerú and the seven oceans, who drank the washings of Brahmans’ feet, and worshipped Kali and Durga. But along with this, there was a generous desire to impart their new knowledge to their youthful countrymen; and the lads, who, during the day, attended the college prelections, got up early to teach gratuitous morning schools, and spent their evenings in social conversational meetings.

The fire, which had been fast gaining strength, broke out into flame in the year 1829. In the swarm of debating societies,

* We are indebted to the materials, collected by this gentleman, and published in the early numbers of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, for nearly all the details in the preceding sketch.

that sprang up, there was one universal execration of Hinduism. The native town rang with glowing declamations on the pleasures and advantages of European knowledge. The young Babus demanded that its blessings should be extended to their wives and daughters, and lost no occasion, when they met together, of expressing their scorn and detestation of the superstitious practices of their fathers.

It will be observed, that, up to this time, the Hindu College had the field to itself, and was left, free and untrammelled, to produce its natural fruits. There were no rival Missionary schools; and with the Missionaries themselves, at that time, the students could not be said to have ever come into contact. Indeed, their dislike of Christianity was second only to their dislike of Hinduism. The influence of the Europeans, whom they looked up to with most respect, was decidedly Anti-Christian. The Wilsons, the Sutherlands, and the Youngs, were known to be latitudinarians in religion—if not something more; while Mr. Hare, and their idol, Derozio, with not a few of his more intimate friends and associates, were avowedly (for the time at least) disbelievers in the Christian revelation. We have heard of scandalous orgies, where the most sacred mysteries and persons in the Gospels were parodied and blasphemed by English gentlemen for the amusement of the young Hindus; and, it is notorious, that their notions of the religion of Jesus were drawn chiefly from Paine's *Age of Reason*, and the pages of Gibbon and Hume.

We have a right, therefore, to ask those gentlemen, who condemn, in the most sweeping terms, the Missionary institutions, on the ground of their interfering with the rights of parents, while they insist that no such charge lies against the Government schools and colleges, to point out *any* period, in the history of Christian Missions, or of British intercourse with India, when faith in the religion of their fathers was more thoroughly destroyed in the minds of the children—when the rights (as they choose to call them) of the parents, were more deliberately denied and disregarded—or when there was more of hostile alienation in families—than were seen in the year 1829, as the results of the Hindu College teaching.

It will not do to throw all the blame on Mr. Derozio, and to make him the scape-goat for what was, undoubtedly, the direct and natural effect of the Government system—what, indeed, it ought to be, and what, in a less worthy form, it continues to be, till the present hour. There is not one in a thousand of the educated Bengalis, who believes, or pretends to himself to believe, in Hinduism; and, if the modicum of morality and natural religion, which they are supposed to acquire, does *not* teach

them to abhor human sacrifice, and *suttî*, and child-murder—to protest against the social and intellectual degradation of the Sudras—to look upon its present foul idolatry as the bane of their country, and to feel that it should be their glory and their privilege to rid themselves and their posterity for ever of this vast mass of ignorance and evil—then, surely, it is the most miserable and the most worthless thing that ever was doled out, under the imposing name of national education. The truth is, that though the educated native is tamer and quieter now, he does not believe a whit more in the superstition of his fathers; and we cannot but look upon it as one of the worst symptoms of the moral degradation, to which the nation is reduced, that the first spirit is extinct, and that the Young Bengal of the present day has no heart to pity, and no hand to help or to remove the evils of his country. His greatest exploit is a stolen visit to the tavern, or the *restaurateur*; and the chief notoriety he has of late obtained is, by aping the vices of the European. There is, indeed, a small class of thoughtful and accomplished young men, who seem to be on the way to better things; but they want the boldness and energy of their more out-spoken predecessors; and this great idolatrous land cares little for accomplishments and amiabilities: she wants patriots, reformers, and active philanthropists.)

In the alarm caused by the new spirit, which, through the instrumentality of the morning schools, was spreading far and fast amongst the rising generation, native society looked to the Managers to check it, or to put it down.* But the Managers were at their wit's end; and their measures were at once feeble, intolerant, and stupid.

The first was the following order:—

It having come to the knowledge of the Managers, that a belief prevails very generally, that the students of the Hindu College are liable to lose all religious principles whatever;

It was resolved, that Mr. D'Anselme (the head master) be requested, in communication with the teachers, to check, as far as possible, all disquisitions tending to unsettle the belief of the boys in the great principles of natural religion.

This ill-written and absurd production had, of course, not the slightest effect. It did not even look the real difficulty in the face. "The belief of the boys in the great principles of natural religion," was a mere flourish; for the Hindu youth has no such belief. He will indeed assent in general terms to the existence of one God, and of a future state of recompense: but the slightest inquiry will show that he has no true, or rational notion of either. Hinduism is the perversion, or rather the antagonist, of natural religion. Instead of one wise intelligent

and holy God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, it sets up three hundred and thirty millions of capricious, impure, and bloody demons, at variance with each other, and stained with every crime—whose favour is to be won, not by goodness and virtue, but by senseless and degrading, or cruel and revolting practices. It denies the brotherhood of man, breaks down the boundaries between right and wrong, which God has set up within us, and throws additional darkness over the future. The truth is, it was the Hindu craft that was in danger; and the native community has since shown again and again, that a man may be Deist, or Atheist, or any thing he likes, without exciting alarm or opposition, if he will only so far conform in externals as to satisfy the fast relaxing requirements of caste. We have never yet seen a Hindu parent, who viewed the conversion of his child to a new faith, with any deeper or higher feelings, than simply as a disgrace to the family.

The foolish half-measure of the Managers only made the lads bolder. A few spirited young Brahmans refused, or flung off, the thread of their order; others composed parodies on the *mantras*; and their declamations against Hinduism became more and more open, scornful and insulting. The parents also began to withdraw their children from the institution. The result was, that the Management was forced into plainer speaking: and the following more stringent order was published in February, 1830:—

The teachers are particularly enjoined to abstain from any communications on the subject of the Hindu religion with the boys, or to suffer any practices inconsistent with the Hindu notions of propriety, such as eating or drinking in the school or class rooms. Any deviation from this injunction will be reported by Mr. D'Anselme to the *Visitor*, immediately, and, should it appear that the teacher is at all culpable, he will, forthwith, be dismissed.

It must be confessed that these unfortunate Managers were in a situation of no ordinary perplexity. That, which their orders strove to prop up, their system undermined and overthrew; and here the fatal admission is made, that Hinduism is not fit to be handled, or to be made the subject of “any” communication between an enlightened teacher and his pupils. There was but one measure that could avert the impending doom of the Hindu religion: to burn their school-books, dismiss their teachers, break up the establishment, return to the good old times of ignorance and *Menú*—and drive the English into the sea! But while laughing at the folly, we must not forget the injustice and intolerance, of the bewildered Babus. At a time of unexampled excitement, and where, with something of the extravagance, there was much of the keen inquiry and gene-

rous ardour of youthful enthusiasm—while the sutti pile still smoked, and the swing went round, and the blood flowed freely to propitiate Kali, and in the immediate presence of all the senseless and revolting, and degrading practices of idolatry—the teacher was ordered, under pain of immediate dismissal, not only to be silent, but, even if asked, to express no opinion. We may imagine the high-spirited Derozio, with his ardent and sensitive temperament, returning from the cold-blooded murder of some innocent young girl; and, while the shriek, that rose out of the flames, still rung on his ears, and a group of his young native friends, trembling with horror and indignation, gathered round him, eagerly asking, what his thoughts were—replying, with cold precision, “Expect no expression of opinion from me: the Babus in the Management have forbidden it!”

The most painful circumstance, however, connected with this odious and senseless tyranny, is the fact, that Professor Wilson, the visitor, should have lent to it the sanction of his name, and publicly avowed himself to be ready both to approve and to inflict a sentence, which was disgraceful even to Calcutta Babus of the old régime. But, as we have already said, this distinguished scholar was but a cold friend to Anglo-Bengali education.

In spite of brow-beating and opposition, however, the rising spirit could not be repressed. Other circumstances also, to which we shall afterwards advert, arose to increase the perplexity of the Managers, and the alarm of the native community. An incident, slight in itself, brought matters to a crisis. In 1831, a few of the more advanced students met together (as was their custom) in the family house of Krishna Mohana Banerjya, for friendly conversation and discussion. Mr. Banerjya was, at this time, the leader of the new school; and all the violence of pure unadulterated Hindu bigotry was directed chiefly against him. He was abused, as only a Bengali tongue, or a Bengali pen, can abuse; he was threatened with loss of caste; his own relatives were set against him; and slanders and calumny of the vilest description were systematically and unsparingly made use of. Unfortunately, on that particular evening, he happened not to be at home; and his friends thought that the best way of amusing themselves during his absence, and at the same time gratifying their curiosity in regard to the forbidden food of Europe, was by sending for a dish of roast-beef to a cook-shop. The beef was sent for, and eaten; and one of the lads, in a moment of boyish levity, had the folly and imprudence to fling some of the fragments into the inner court of a Brahman

neighbour; at the same time, shouting to the horrified inmates, "Beef! Beef!"

The Brahman, roused to fury by the outrage, gathering together his dependents and servants, and, breaking into Mr. Banerjya's house, to which, in the mean time, he himself had returned, gave the lads a sound and well-merited beating. But the affair did not end here. No apology would be listened to. A deaf ear was turned to their professions of regret and contrition. A crowd assembled, and compelled his family to demand from Mr. Banerjya an instant recantation of his new opinions, and a profession of faith in Hinduism; or, on the moment, expulsion from his home, and from caste itself. He chose the latter; and accordingly, late at night, he was driven out from his own home, "not knowing where to lay his head." He escaped, with some difficulty, out of the hands of the rabble, and took refuge in the house of a friend. At this time, he had neither faith nor hope; and the great mental excitement, and sudden and violent severance from the bosom of his family, threw him into a fever, and drove him almost distracted.

The news of this outrage on the national faith spread like wild fire, and certainly lost nothing in the telling. More than a hundred students were removed from the college.

The Managers once more met in conclave, and, this time, not only threatened, but struck. The blow fell chiefly on Mr. Derozio. He was dismissed without a hearing. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hare declined voting; although the former declared Mr. Derozio to be a teacher of superior ability, denied the truth of the charge brought against him, and expressed the deepest regret, that the college was to be deprived of his valuable services. One Babu voted for his retention: but six voted for his dismissal; and the best teacher they had, was turned off on a day's warning, and without being allowed to say a single word in his own defence.

The measures, proposed by the Managers for allaying the popular ferment, as we find them stated by Mr. Woollaston, were the following:—

1. That Mr. Derozio, being the root of all evils, and cause of public alarm, should be discharged from the college; and all communications between him and the pupils be cut off.
2. That such of the students of the higher class, whose bad habits and practices are known, and who were in the dining party, should be removed.
3. That all those students, who are *publicly* hostile to Hinduism, and the established customs of the country, and who have proved themselves, as such, (*sic*) by their conduct, should be turned out.
4. That the boys should not be admitted indiscriminately, without previous inquiry regarding their character.

5. That whenever Europeans (teachers ?) are procurable, a preference shall be given to them in future; their character and religion (?) being ascertained before admission.

6. That if any of the boys go to see, or attend private lectures or meetings, they be dismissed.

The last two (the 7th and 8th) forbid the introduction of improper or immoral books into the class rooms, and appoint one particular room for the masters to eat in.

With the exception of the 6th, all these proposed resolutions were more or less strictly carried into effect. But, ere we notice the discussion on the principle involved in the 6th resolution, we must go back a little to another part of the field, where new actors appear on the scene.

The great and startling success of the Hindu College attracted many eyes; and none, with greater interest, than those of the friends and supporters of Missions. It was evident that a new door of access had been opened into the native mind. The college of Serampore and Bishop's College were the first steps, on the part of the Christian community, to take advantage of the new opening: but the former was too remote, at that time, from the centre of influence; and the latter was too exclusively sectarian, and too narrow in its basis, to have any thing in common with a popular movement. In the mean time, while the Church of England and the Baptists were breaking ground, the Presbyterians had not been idle. In 1823, the Rev. Dr. Bryce memorialized the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on the duty of sending Missionaries to India—not, indeed, to teach, but to preach to the educated natives. In 1825, the Assembly agreed to establish a Central Seminary of education, with branch schools in the surrounding district, and to recommend to the head master, who was to be a regularly ordained clergyman, to give lectures, distribute fitting tracts, and use every effort to cultivate acquaintance with intelligent and educated natives.

The Church of Scotland was even more fortunate in her choice, than the Government had been in the case of Mr. Wilson. The lustre of every other name, connected with native education, pales before that of Duff; and the General Assembly's school, opened by him in 1830, soon rivalled, and speedily eclipsed, the popularity of the Hindu College itself. His vast stores of information, his splendid oratorical powers, his ready and astonishing argumentative resources, the warmth and kindness of his manner, his happy gift in teaching of seizing the attention and impressing the minds of the very youngest, and, above all, the manifest fact, that his whole soul was in his work, in a very short time, won for him a reputation, both native and

European, which has gone on increasing to this day. 'By sheer dint of good teaching, the school won its way into public favor. The natives forgot or sacrificed their fears and prejudices; and Calcutta can now show the surprising spectacle of nearly 4,000 youths, sent by their Heathen parents, freely and of their own accord, to be taught in Christian institutions, the avowed design of which is proselytizing.

The first attempt to direct the minds of these ardent and generous, but misguided, young men into a more wholesome channel, was made in the year 1830. A series of lectures on the evidences and doctrines of Christianity was announced. The lectures were to be addressed to the educated Hindus in the English language. They were to be delivered in the house of Dr. Duff, which was very convenient for the purpose, being situated in College square, nearly opposite the Hindu College. The lecturers were to be Mr. Dealtry (now Bishop of Madras); Mr. James Hill, now of Oxford; the late Mr. John Adam; and Dr. Duff. It was agreed on the part of the young men that the lecture for the evening was to be listened to without interruption; but that any one should be at liberty, after its close, to ask questions, or to state objections; and that all, if they pleased, might then take part in the discussion. Even thus much was not obtained without much difficulty and opposition, and was only granted as a boon to the lecturers; for, whatever might be the virtues of "Young Bengal," modesty, at this time, was certainly not of the number. They looked upon Christianity as but a more refined system of superstition, and upon the Missionaries as cunning impostors, or ignorant fanatics—the Brahmans in short of the Europeans—and, in freedom of thought and intellectual acquirements, as far inferior to themselves; and when they did consent at last to listen to these men, it was more with the view of giving, than of receiving, instruction.

The Managers, however, and the Hindu community, saw the matter in a very different light. One of those inexplicable panics arose, which confuse the firmest judgment. It was believed, that the young men were to be driven by force into Christianity; and that the lectures were but the commencement of a scheme, of which the Government itself was at the bottom, for bringing coercive measures to bear upon the whole body of the people. One lecture, introductory to the course, was delivered by Mr. Hill, in August, 1830; and, in spite of the authority and entreaties of their relatives, and the alarm and exasperation of the native community, a considerable number of young men ventured to be present.

In their indignation and alarm, the Managers issued the famous order, which, though successful so far as the immediate object was concerned, did more to enlist the sympathies of the students on the side of the Missionaries, than any measure that they themselves could have devised.

It ran as follows :—

The Managers of the Anglo-Indian College having heard, that several of the students are in the habit of attending societies, at which political and religious discussions are held, think it necessary to announce their strong disapprobation of the practice, and to prohibit its continuance. Any student, being present at such a society, after the promulgation of this order, will incur their displeasure.

It was evident, that the Managers had no right whatever, to dictate to the students, how their time was to be disposed of out of school-hours, and that the threat of punishment was at once tyrannical and absurd. There was, indeed, something more than ordinarily ridiculous, in seeing half-a-dozen fat bigotted Babus girding themselves for the task of turning back the tide of European knowledge, and setting about it, with as much zeal and bustle, as the worthy Mrs. Partington in her celebrated attempt to thrust back the Atlantic with her mop. Their intolerance drew upon them a storm of censure from all the English journals; the more spirited of the students treated it with contempt; and, some months after, when the subject came again before them on the dismissal of Mr. Derozio, the Managers were compelled "to eat their own words," and, with their usual lack of grammar, to recall the obnoxious order.

Their recantation was expressed in the following terms :—
"Resolved, that the Managers have not the power, nor the right, 'to enforce the prohibition of the boys' attending private lectures, or meetings."

At the time, however, and in the face of the direct prohibition of the Management, the lecturers did not feel themselves justified in going further; the lectures were immediately discontinued, and, in their original shape, never resumed.

But the unfortunate Babus had little reason to congratulate themselves on the success, which they had achieved. Not only did the debating societies increase in number and boldness; but the indignant students had recourse to the mighty machinery of the press. Three new journals appeared; two in English, and one in Bengali. The Reformer advocated the views held by Rammohun Roy's party; the Enquirer, an English paper, edited by Mr. Bancrjya, and the Gyananeshun, in Bengali, represented Young Bengal. With much youthful extravagance of language and sentiment, they were all conducted with con-

siderable spirit and talent. They attacked every thing; but chiefly the follies and abominations of Hinduism, which they exposed with uncton, and held up to public execration and contempt.

In the mean time, Dr. Duff had been employed, with his usual sagacity and tact, in making himself acquainted with that phase of human nature, with which he had to deal. He read the new journals; he attended the debating societies; he courted the society, and seized every opportunity afforded him, of taking the moral and intellectual measure of "Young Bengal." It was not likely, that a man, like him, should be turned from his course by the Management: and, accordingly, ere the first effervescence had passed away, a new series of lectures was announced, conducted by himself, and on his own responsibility. Perhaps, another name would be more suitable than lectures; for, so convinced were the young men of their perfect equality with him at the very least, that it was stipulated that they should meet simply as friends to discuss and to compare opinions, and that *two* chairmen should preside, one appointed on Dr. Duff's side, and the other on theirs.

In these meetings, Dr. Duff stood forth as a champion, who had thrown down his glove to all comers, and who was ready to meet them, at a moment's notice, on any point they chose to select. And there gathered round him Europeans, East Indians, and Hindus, Atheists, Unitarians, Vedantists, Idolators, and men of no faith at all. He had to encounter insolence, rudeness, and levity. He had to answer, on the spur of the moment, every sophism, that the memory or the imagination of his hearers could suggest. We have, ourselves, heard the lie given to him deliberately under his own roof; and accusations of ignorance, stupidity and fanaticism flung at his head, publicly, by a shallow Hindu lad. But he never lost his temper, or his argument; gradually he baffled, or silenced, or convinced all his opponents; and, ere a year had passed, he had the satisfaction of seeing the ablest and the boldest of them all converts to the faith of Jesus.

It is now time to return to Mr. Banerjya. We left him, an outcast from his family, more than ever embittered and exasperated against Hinduism, regardless of God, and without hope for the future. The sole object, for which he now laboured, was (what he called) the reformation of his country; and he proposed to accomplish it, by waging a war of extermination against the evils and superstitions of his ancestral faith. It was in this temper of mind, that Dr. Duff found him; and he succeeded, after repeated conversations, in convincing him,

that the mere destroyer can never be a reformer; and that the proper and fitting duty of the true patriot and philanthropist is to re-build, rather than to pull down. The deeply interesting story of this gentleman's gradual conviction and baptism in 1832, and of other conversions scarcely less interesting, will be found fully detailed in Dr. Duff's well-known work on *India, and India Missions*. It is therefore unnecessary to dwell longer upon it in these pages.

The progress (if so it may be called) of Young Bengal, since that time, will scarcely occupy a sentence. Long before he became a Christian, and while he was yet at the head of the movement, Mr. Banerjya wrote, thus of his associates:—

To oppose the machination of a whole set of people; to bear the throats of zealots with indifference; to withstand the attacks of fanatics and hypocrites, are acts that pre-suppose a considerable degree of fortitude:—and this is a virtue very unequally gifted by nature. It will not, in consequence, be surprising, if some of our friends, who have been refined by knowledge, and enlightened by education, be dismayed at the excitement of the bigots. This fear may lead to very serious evils. Observing the worldly inconveniences to which liberalism is subject, persons may very naturally be induced to be inconsistent in their principles and actions. "Blowing hot and cold with the same mouth" will be the consequence. Professions and feelings will not be reconciled with each other; and every misfortune, to which hypocrisy—and that is a bad cause—gives birth, will befall the (educated) natives."—*Enquirer Newspaper*.

These words were prophetic. Deprived of their boldest spirits, Young Bengal lost life, heart, and energy. The educated native of the present day, with very few exceptions, vegetates without faith or object; he is either a hypocrite, or a latitudinarian; and all has for a time, at least, subsided into a dull, tame, discouraging mediocrity.

All this while the General Assembly's school, in the Chitpore Road, had been growing in public favour and reputation; and branch schools began to shoot off from it. The "intellectual" system of teaching, transferred from the Edinburgh Sessional school, was there introduced for the first time into Bengal, and exhibited, in all its freshness and novelty, to the Calcutta public. But, perhaps, the most telling characteristic of that institution, apart from its more direct objects of conversion, and the preparation of a thoroughly educated native ministry, was its success in training teachers, who had drunk in the spirit of the system. Demands for such multiplied from all quarters. They were applied for, as private tutors to native princes; as teachers for other schools, and (a little later) for Government institutions; nay, in more than one instance, gentlemen in the Civil Service took them, while still conforming Heathens, into their families to teach

their Christian children. At the time, when Lord Wm. Bentinck's (or rather Mr. Trevelyan's) celebrated Minute appeared, it was, to a teacher (Mr. Clift) from the General Assembly's Institution, that the Government committed that *experimentum crucis*—its first Mofussil school; and from a Normal school, to be gathered chiefly from the General Assembly's Institution, and to be entrusted to the General Assembly's Missionaries, Mr. Trevelyan proposed to supply teachers for the new Anglo-Vernacular schools, which the Government were about to establish. It won the praise of Lord William Bentinck, and was visited by Lord Auckland and his sisters; but it owed nothing to their patronage or favour. It had won its way long before to that public estimation, which attracted their notice, in spite of its openly avowed proselytizing character; and, at the period when Mr. Kerr's book opens, the place, which it occupied in the field of native education, was indisputably the first.

Having thus briefly and imperfectly sketched the origin of the present system of native education, and its progress, for the first twenty years, it will naturally be asked, what was the Government doing, during a period, pregnant with the future destinies of Eastern empire? We shall let Mr. Kerr answer this question:—

Previous to 1835, all the larger educational establishments supported by Government, with the exception of the Hindu College of Calcutta, were decidedly oriental in character. The medium of instruction was oriental. The mode of instruction was oriental. The whole scope of the instruction was oriental, designed to conciliate old prejudices and to propagate old ideas. The object of the Committee entrusted with the superintendence of education, was chiefly to encourage the cultivation of Sanscrit and Arabic, the classical languages of the Hindus and Mahomedans. It is true some slight improvements were attempted. English schools were attached to the colleges at Delhi and Benares. An English class was formed in the Calcutta Madressa and in the Calcutta Sanscrit College. In a few instances, new subjects of instruction were introduced, as Geography, Astronomy, Geometry and Anatomy. But these attempts were all on a small scale.

In connection with this leading object of encouraging the cultivation of Sanscrit and Arabic, an overflowing patronage was extended to the publication of works in these ancient languages. Translators were engaged on very liberal terms. In one instance, 32,000 rupees were set apart for translating a single work into Arabic.* Then, much money was spent in printing operations, and in providing a capacious depository for these oriental folios, for which, when printed, there was little or no demand.

Another favourite principle was to provide stipends for the maintenance of the students, who attended the Oriental Colleges. In 1834, the year before the system was abolished, 388 students attended the Delhi College.

* If the translation happened to be unintelligible, it was sometimes proposed to engage the translator "on a liberal salary," to explain it!—*Trevelyan on Education in India.*

Of these, 359 received stipends, and only 29 were non-stipendiary. The proportion of stipendiary to non-stipendiary students was nearly the same in the other colleges. To receive a stipend was the general rule; to be without it the rare exception.

The payment of professors and teachers of the oriental languages, the expenses attending extensive printing operations, the profuse and indiscriminate gift of stipends, absorbed all the funds at the disposal of Government for educational purposes. There was not the means, even if there had been the desire, to encourage the cultivation of English, and the diffusion among the people of really useful knowledge. But about this time, views began to be canvassed in the Educational Committee, unfavourable to the exclusively oriental principle of action. To those, who were not thoroughly wedded to orientalism, it could not but appear that the plans hitherto pursued had been wholly unfruitful. They had produced no impression on the public mind, no improvement whatever in native modes of thinking. The loads of learned lumber in the oriental languages, under which the shelves of the Committee's book depository groaned, were unsaleable. On the other hand, English publications were in demand. A taste was spreading all around for instruction in English. The Hindu College of Calcutta, which had been founded several years before by a spontaneous impulse of the native mind, and in which the medium of instruction was English, and the subjects of instruction English literature and science, was prospering beyond all expectation. Young men from the best families of the city attended it in great numbers, attracted not by the hope of stipends, of which there were very few, but by the more laudable ambition of increasing their social respectability, and, in some cases, we may venture to suppose, by a pure love of knowledge.

Influenced by these considerations, and others which need not be mentioned here,* the Government determined to change its system.—pp. 5, 6.

This is a lively and well-written account of a state of things which, though separated from us, by an interval of only seventeen years, appears already ante-diluvian. It contains, as we have already seen, one or two mistakes on points, which did not come under Mr. Kerr's personal observation. ~~The Hindu~~ The Hindu College did not arise from a spontaneous impulse of the native mind; and, in 1835, Dr. Duff had been looked upon for years as the Coryphæus of native education. In the clever and animated controversy, to which Mr. Kerr alludes, and in which Dr. Tytler fought manfully the desperate battle of the Orientalists, the happiest hits of the humour, and no slight portion of the gall, were directed against the new firm (as it was called) of Duff, Trevelyan, "and Co"—and to the somewhat startling project imputed to them, of not only extirpating the native alphabets, but of Romanizing the English language. The controversy, however, though it was conducted with much warmth and excited strong passions, was only a *paper* controversy. The battle had been already fought and won: and Lord William Bentinck's Minute was but a bulletin of the victory. This

* See Trevelyan on Education in India.

celebrated document is dated March 7th, 1835, and runs as follows:—

His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

It is not the intention of his Lordship to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning, which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student, who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any Professor of oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

It has come to the knowledge of his Lordship in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds, which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language.

As soon as it was promulgated, Mr. Shakespeare, the President of the Educational Committee, and "a staunch Orientalist," resigned; and Mr. Macaulay succeeded him. For the next four or five years, the new principles were vigorously carried out; but there appeared to be some danger of confounding oriental education, as taught in the Government Institutions, with education through the Vernacular languages. We cannot do better than borrow Mr. Kerr's very clear and distinct explanation of the difficulty:—

At an early stage of the proceedings of the new Committee, great misapprehension existed in various quarters in regard to the extent to which the Vernacular languages were to be taught in the Government seminaries. Some were of opinion that, according to the most obvious interpretation of the Government resolution, the Vernacular languages were entirely excluded, and all the funds were strictly to be employed "on English education alone." The General Committee promptly corrected this error. The following clear statement of their views was published in the annual report for 1836. "The General Committee are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the Vernacular languages. They do not conceive that the order of the 7th of March precludes this; and they have constantly acted on this construction. In the discussions, which preceded that order, the claims of the Vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties; and the question, submitted for the decision of Government, only concerned the relative advantage of teaching English

on the one side and *the learned* eastern languages on the other." "It was added that the phrases, "English education," "English literature and science," were not set up in opposition to Vernacular education, but in opposition to oriental learning taught through the medium of Sanscrit and Arabic.*

The General Committee also took occasion to explain, at this early period, that in advocating English as the best medium of instruction, they had in view those classes only of the community, who had means and leisure for obtaining a thorough education; and that no rule was prescribed as to the medium through which "such instruction as the mass of the people are capable of receiving," is to be conveyed. It appears to have been clearly their opinion that, when the object is merely an elementary education, it may be most easily imparted to the natives in their own language.

The practice of the Educational Committee has all along corresponded with these views. Teachers of the Vernacular language were appointed to all the institutions, and no opportunity was neglected of urging upon the local Committee the necessity for its due cultivation. An opportunity will occur hereafter of explaining more particularly in what way, and to what extent, this object has been carried out.

The period, that followed, was one of long and dismal collapse. Lord Auckland's Minute was well meant, and, for the most part, sensible and judicious; but what movement it gave, if any, was movement in the wrong direction. The succeeding administrations of Lord Ellenborough, Lord Hardinge, and the present Governor-General, have been almost exclusively military and political. The solitary exception is the merit-fostering resolution of Lord Hardinge, dated 10th October, 1844, which has already been fully discussed in our pages. We look upon that document as bearing honourable testimony to the impartiality, and large-hearted benevolence of the noble Lord, to his clear appreciation of the importance of education, and to his desire of extending its advantages to the utmost: but we agree with Mr. Kerr, that it exhibits little of the wisdom or foresight of the statesman, and could scarcely fail to be inoperative. It will be remembered in after times, chiefly for the petty and sectarian spirit, in which the Council of Education impeded its working, and for its injurious tendency to originate and to foster the odious system of "cramming" for the public examinations. We subjoin Mr. Kerr's sketch of this period of stagnation:—

In the sketch, which has been given of the main features that distinguish the system of Government education in this part of India, no subject stands out so prominently as that of the medium to be chosen for communicating instruction. It has been seen that, previous to 1835, when Lord Bentinck's Resolution was published, English met with very little favour as a medium of instruction. All the encouragement the Government could

* To those who have been in India, or who are tolerably acquainted with its history, it is not necessary to mention that Sanscrit and Arabic are no more Vernacular or spoken languages in India, than Greek and Hebrew are in England. The Vernacular, or spoken languages, are Bengali, Hindustani, &c.

spare was bestowed on Sanscrit and Arabic, with the exception of some occasional and desultory efforts for promoting education by means of the Vernacular languages. When Lord Bentinck's resolution was promulgated, English rose at once into the ascendant. There seemed to be some probability of its not only overshadowing the learned oriental languages, a consummation scarcely to be regretted, but of its over-shadowing and pushing from its place the Vernacular tongue likewise. A reaction soon took place, Lord Auckland restored "a measured degree of encouragement" to the Oriental languages, and gave greater clearness to the idea that the Vernacular languages, so soon as a sufficient number of good Vernacular class books had been prepared, must be mainly relied on in any wide system of national education, having, for its object, the improvement of the great mass of the population. Since that time, the plan of combined instruction in English and the Vernacular language, has been steadily extending in the colleges, with one or two exceptions,* both of the Upper and Lower Provinces, and in the provincial schools of the latter. In all these cases, success has justified the system. But in the provincial schools of the more remote districts of the North West, and in the outlying districts of Assam and Arracan, the results of combined instruction in English and Vernacular have been less favourable. In these localities, we look in vain for that growth and expansion, which would be the best proof of the system being "in unison with the feelings," and adapted to the wants of the people. Accordingly, in these places, the system has undergone a radical change. English has, generally speaking, been relinquished as the medium of popular instruction, and the Vernacular language has taken its place.—*pp.* 19, 20.

During this period, we must not be supposed to mean that there was any falling off in the amount of work done, or of knowledge imparted. On the contrary, the teaching was decidedly more efficient; men of higher character and attainments were employed in the service; and the standard of literary and scientific attainment was raised very greatly. With the system, as it now stands, we may fairly question, whether fitter men—men of a better spirit, higher talents, or nobler and loftier aims—than the late President of the Council of Education, and its present excellent and zealous Secretary, could be found in all India to preside over it. In all scholastic acquirements, the students of the present day are far in advance of their predecessors; indeed (as has been proved by experience) they are fully competent to hold their own with any class of young men in England, out of the great universities.

Nevertheless, it remains a notorious and ominous truth, that the great majority of these young men, solidly and thoroughly educated in all secular knowledge, show no patriotism or public spirit, no hatred of idolatry, no anxiety to rescue their fellow-countrymen from its yoke, no lofty moral bearing,

* English has not gained much ground in the Calcutta Madressa, the Calcutta Sanscrit College, the Hugli Madressa, or in the Sanscrit College at Benares. The Oriental element has hitherto successfully resisted improvement in these institutions, which remain almost unchanged—neither better nor worse, but stationary.

no great aims or aspirations, no seriousness of spirit, or thoughtful earnest inquiry after religious truth. In the flush and ardour of youth, the great majority *kill* the conscience by outward compliance with the idolatry which they despise, or by making themselves over deliberately to worldliness. There is nothing of healthy life connected with their intellectual activity.

It is not difficult to predict their future. A small class of thinkers will be formed, like that of the Greek and Roman philosophers, and equally powerless and purposeless, as regards national reform or regeneration. A portion of this class will unite themselves to the Neo-Vedantists; the remainder, floating at random on the sea of speculation, will conform to the Hindu superstition. But the greater body, dissolute and worldly, are but too surely tending to a state morally lower than that from which education rescued them. The Hindu idolator from conviction may have faith, zeal, and honesty. He may be thoroughly conscientious, and ready to lay down life and limb, and to sacrifice all that he holds most dear, from a fervent, though misguided, devotion. But the mongrel class, of whom we now write, too timid to break off from what they despise and disbelieve, will live the subtle faithless life of the Greek of the Lower Empire, without courage or conscience, and hide, but too often, the heart of the Atheist under the robe of the idolator. Hinduism has nothing to fear from the educated natives. Her philosophers and men of science, in former times, were as thoroughly unbelievers in the vulgar superstition, as the educated natives of the present day: and ancient European Heathenism had its Socrates, and Plato, and Cicero, and Plutarch, and Lucian, who attacked, and disproved, and ridiculed their ancestral faith—conforming all the while. But Europe might be worshipping Jupiter and Juno, and Odin and Freya, at this day, had not a new faith sprung up, and other and more effectual opponents. It will be the same, here and elsewhere, again, and again, and again.

The learning of Europe may pass into the mind of Hindustan; and the task could not be entrusted to better hands, than those of many of the able and highly accomplished men, who teach in the Government institutions. The science of Europe may cover the face of Hindustan with a net work of rail-roads, and electric telegraphs; and the result may be increase of riches and comfort to a very great degree. But Hindustan, in spite of all this success, will be no better than ancient Rome, or modern France; with an enlightened upper class of waverers,

infidels, and scoffers, and a populace, ignorant, degraded, and superstitious.

In spite of sneers and cavils (the time for which has all but passed away), it is felt by every thinking man, who calmly examines into this matter by the light of history and experience, that the regeneration of this vast empire and its social and moral deliverance have to be wrought, and will, with the blessing of God, be effected by the labours of the Missionaries, and of those, who are like-minded. The Gospel is the only remedy that can efface the deep-eating brand of Hinduism; and, where the idol temple is demolished, it is most *necessary*, as well as most desirable, that the Church of Christ should rise in its place. Gradually, and by slow degrees, the most gifted and truth-seeking minds among the Hindu youth will be attracted by the congenial light of the Gospel, and the divine character of Jesus. They will drink in his spirit; they will take up his cross; and go forth, with human infirmities and weaknesses, but in the strength of their new born faith, and with the promise and helping hand of God, to proclaim the glad tidings of peace and love, and to preach brotherhood, and goodness, and pardon, and everlasting life, through Christ, the incarnate Redeemer:—and, long after they have passed away from earth, when this vast India shall have become an enlightened Christian nation, they shall have their fame and their reward.

Until the appearance of the second part of Mr. Kerr's book, which will trace the statistics and fortunes of the Government seminaries individually, we shall reserve the consideration of the machinery and details of the system, its unsuccessful Vernacular attempts, and its fitness, apart from religion altogether, to produce any positively beneficial national results.

So far as science and literature are concerned, the progress has been most satisfactory. The Hindu College curriculum of 1882, according to Mr. Woollaston, was the following:—

Literature.—Shakespeare; Milton; Pope's Homer; Dryden's Virgil; Gay's Fables.

History.—Introduction to Universal History; Goldsmith's Histories of Greece, Rome, and England; Russell's Modern Europe; Robertson's Charles V., &c.

Mathematics, &c.—Simpson's Euclid; Bonnycastle's Algebra; Williamson's Arithmetic; Introduction to Natural Philosophy.

Geography.—Goldsmith; Guy; Problems on the Globes.

Mr. Kerr's list of the class books now used, shows a most de-

aided and striking advance, which, we believe, may be affirmed as truly in regard to the teaching, as to the things taught :—

COLLEGE DEPARTMENT.

SENIOR CLASSES.

Literature.

Milton.
Shakspeare.
Bacon's Essays.
Bacon's Advancement of Learning.
Bacon's Novum Organum.

Moral Philosophy and Logic.

Smith's Moral Sentiments.
Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind.
Whately's Logic.
Mill's Logic.

History.

Hume's England.
Mill's India.
Elphinstone's India.
Robertson's Charles V.

Mathematics.

Potter's Mechanics.
Evan's three Sections of Newton.
Hymer's Astronomy.
Hall's Differential and Integral Calculus.

JUNIOR CLASSES.

Literature.

Richardson's Selections from the English Poets.
Addison's Essays.
Goldsmith's Essays.

Moral Philosophy and Logic.

Abercrombie's Intellectual Powers.
Abercrombie's Moral Powers.
Whately's Easy Lessons in Reasoning.

History.

Russell's Modern Europe.
Tytler's Universal History.

Mathematics.

Euclid, six books.
Hind's Algebra.
Hind's Trigonometry.

We now come to the "*questio vexata*" of religion. It is handled by Mr. Kerr in an excellent spirit, and with much calmness and temper ; and he certainly makes out a strong case for the present Council of Education. In 1832, it will be observed, there is not a book of any kind on the class list, on morality or

moral science. For 1852, there are three or four; and two of these, as Mr. Kerr justly observes, "wholly Christian in their spirit and tendency." In 1838, the lecturers were required, by the rules of the Hugli College, to be careful to avoid any reference whatever to religion, in giving their lectures. Among the present rules there is no such prohibition. We believe further that a friendly feeling towards the Missionary institutions is fast gaining ground in the Council; and that its late President was not alone in his hope and desire for the Christianization of India, as the best of all possible results. But when Mr. Kerr, warming with the subject, asserts that "in practice, the teacher is left at liberty to speak to his pupils on religion, on Christianity, on the distinct evidences of Christianity, with nearly the same freedom as he might do in a theological seminary" (p. 65), the case involuntarily occurs to us, which Mr. Kerr cannot well have forgotten, of a teacher in the Hindu College, who was forced to quit it, within the last two or three years, for simply answering an ensnaring question, as to the truth of the Christian religion and the comparative merits of Hindu and Christian morality. If, indeed, and in truth, the Government permits its teachers to speak of the Christian doctrines and evidences, as freely as in a theological seminary, there should be no time lost in proclaiming the fact. It will, assuredly, take the world by surprize, and give quite a new turn to the controversy on national education. We fear, however, to use a vulgar proverb, that "it is too good news to be true."

Mr. Kerr's views on the great question of introducing religious instruction into the Government institutions are candid and moderate. His conclusion is, that such a measure is both practicable and desirable; but we cannot help wishing that he had kept to himself the reasons, on which he founds it. We regret also, for his own sake, that he has gone out of his way unnecessarily to attack that which he does not at all understand, and to defend that which is but too easily assailable. That we may not misrepresent his arguments and opinions, we shall lay them before the reader in his own words:—

The primary design of the Government scheme of education is to advance the progress of civilization in India, by the diffusion of useful knowledge, as the phrase is generally understood. The design of the Missionary institutions is to convert the natives to Christianity. The two objects are distinct, but they are by no means opposed to one another.

But it is said, the Bible is not a class book, the word of God is not honored in the Government Colleges. This subject is one of peculiar delicacy, and I must entreat the reader to peruse with kindness and forbearance the few remarks, which I have to offer upon it.

There are only, as far as I have observed, two notices of much importance in the annual Reports on the subject of introducing the Bible as a class book. In 1848, Mr. H. C. Tucker, who had been deputed by the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, to visit some of the schools, reported, among other suggestions which will be noticed in their proper place, that, in his opinion, the Bible ought to be used as a class book. He thought that the means of Christian instruction should be provided; it being left optional with the boys to read the Scriptures or not.

In 1846, Capt. Durand, the Commissioner of Moulmein, proposed that the Bible should be introduced in the schools of that province. The Deputy Governor replied that, "although the objections, which exist on the continent of India to giving a religious character to the educational institutions of Government, may not be so strongly felt there; still, the measure was so directly opposed to the injunctions of the Court of Directors, that he could not, with propriety, give it his sanction."

The question of introducing the Bible as a class book appears to turn upon another question, viz., whether such a measure would be acceptable, or at least not positively unacceptable, to the natives.

All that I have observed from personal intercourse with the students, leads me to believe that the introduction of the Bible, in a quiet and unostentatious manner, would, in the present day, create very little alarm. The more intelligent students would view it with satisfaction, and welcome it as a new means of improvement.

But would not the parents be alarmed and dissatisfied? The parents, if left to themselves, would look on with a feeling of indifference. Few of them would be aware of the change, or feel any interest in it, unless pains were taken to excite their prejudices.

By introducing religious instruction, two objects would be gained, to which the Government might lend its support without being blamed for an undue desire to propagate the Gospel. First, the students would be supplied with the means of forming a correct estimate of the Christian religion, which has exercised such an undeniable influence upon the progress of society. Secondly, the introduction of religious instruction in a suitable manner might be expected to improve the moral character of the students.

While admitting that the Bible might be introduced as a class book, without creating much alarm, and with the happiest effects on the intellectual enlargement and the moral improvement of the students, I am still persuaded that the Government institutions, in their present state, without the Bible, are exercising a very powerful and very beneficial influence on the character of the natives. It has been usual to represent the Government institutions as "Nurseries of Infidelity," and those engaged in the useful office of instruction as doing the work of "Satan." It would perhaps be best to regard this as mere declamation, undeserving of any serious notice. And yet when it is considered that such statements may, by the mere force of repetition, come at length to be seriously believed, it may be well to offer, for the consideration of the reader, one or two observations tending to an opposite conclusion.

In the first place, the efforts of the educational authorities and of those immediately engaged in the business of instruction, are systematically directed towards the object of communicating *truth* in historical, philosophical and scientific subjects. Are the opponents of the Government system prepared to say that the communication of true knowledge on these subjects has a tendency unfavourable to belief in true Religion? It would be unreasonable to suppose that it has any such tendency.

Secondly, it is stated that we take from the Hindus their own belief, and

give them nothing in its place. It is true that the knowledge we communicate, clears the Hindu mind of much that is frivolous and false in their own religious system. But it cannot be admitted that it shakes in the least their belief in those principles, which form the foundation of all religion, such as the existence of God, the greatness and goodness of God, the Providence of God, the probability of a future state of rewards and punishments. So far from these invaluable principles being shaken by our system of education, they are brought into clearer light by it, and belief in them is confirmed. If our system had indeed the effect of depriving the Hindus of their belief in these principles, and of the hopes built upon them, it might fairly be denounced as most pernicious.

Thirdly, if we look at actual results, it will be found that of the well-educated converts to Christianity, nearly as many have come from the Hindu College and other Government Institutions, as from the Missionary Seminaries. The fact is generally admitted; and perhaps it is not so strange as may at first appear. In the Missionary seminaries, religious instruction is commenced at an early age, before the understanding is ripe for its reception. The youths are systematically drilled in the Catechisms and in the Evidences of Christianity. They acquire a habit of listening with apparent attention, of admitting every thing that the teacher requires, of answering questions on religion by rote, without any exercise of the understanding. In some cases, a habit of dissimulation is formed, unknown to the Missionary who, unconsciously and from the best motives, has been cultivating one of the prominent vices of the native character. It is surely needless to point out that the youth, in whom this habit of dissimulation is formed, is most unlikely ever to act with manliness, or to do any thing that demands a sacrifice such as conversion to Christianity very often demands. From all these dangers, the Government Institutions are free. The principles of a foreign religion are not pressed prematurely upon unripe minds. The pupils are expected on no occasion to express what they do not believe. When they begin, of their own accord, to turn their attention to the Christian religion, to enter into conversation and to read books upon the subject, it is with a keen relish, and with minds untainted by habits unfavourable to sincere reception of truth. The consequence is that some of the most intelligent among them, voluntarily and from the purest motives, embrace Christianity.—*Pp.* 66—69.

It is of course gratifying (and we say so in all sincerity) to know, that, in Mr. Kerr's private opinion, founded on personal intercourse with the students, native parents are not positively unwilling that their children should receive Christian instruction, and that the young men themselves are still more favourably disposed. But why does he state that as a matter of opinion, which has long ago passed into the province of fact? If he chose to look beyond his own circle, he could not but be aware, that more than four thousand Hindu youths at this moment attend the Missionary institutions in Calcutta and its vicinity, by the free-will and spontaneous act of their Heathen parents and relatives. The omission of any notice of so significant and decisive a fact is, to us, inexplicable.

We are still less satisfied, with his arguments for the introduction of Christianity into the Government system. The first

would have equal force, were the religion to be introduced Polytheism, or Buddhism, or the faith of Muhammad ; for they have all "exercised an undeniable influence upon the progress of society" : and for the second, we are convinced, that Mr. Kerr has a more adequate notion of the august mission of Christianity than might be inferred from the very cautious statement that "it might be expected to improve the moral character of the students."

But, while he allows that the introduction of Christianity into the Government institutions would have "the happiest effects," he affirms, that the present system exerts "a very powerful and beneficial influence on the character of the natives," and denies indignantly, as a calumny unworthy of serious notice, that it may be truly called a "nursery of infidelity."

It will take stronger facts and better arguments than Mr. Kerr adduces, to establish the truth of the last two of these propositions. No one denies, that the object of the Government institutions is "to communicate truth in historical, philosophical, and scientific subjects : " and no one affirms that such truth is opposed to belief in *true* religion. The opponents, over whom Mr. Kerr triumphs, are men of straw. What the real opponents say, is what Mr. Kerr himself says elsewhere, that the Government system utterly destroys belief in Hinduism ; and, as it does not, so far as we are aware, profess to teach, in its stead, Pantheism, or Deism, or Christianity, or any form of positive religion, it leaves the students without a faith, and, therefore, infidels. Here is his own admission (*Note, p. 65*) :—

It is sometimes said, that the education we give, makes our students sceptical. It does make them sceptical ; sceptical of all those *degrading* ideas, with which the notion of a deity is associated in Hindu minds.

This passage, especially so much of it as we have put into *Italics*, is, we believe, the sober truth ; and, because true, proves the imaginary existence of that substratum of belief in the unity, greatness, and goodness, of God, which the Government system professes to find in the Hindu mind.

It is not there—nor any thing like it : but, on the contrary, degrading notions of deity, and of man's relationships with deity ; notions, that debase, corrupt, and destroy the intellect and the soul, and which have been for ages the bane and curse of Hindustan. But the matter may be brought at once to an issue. We will not lay stress on the Minute of Mr. Cameron, which affirms, that the Government *must* teach morality without religion : but we put a plain question, to be met by a plain and direct answer ; and that answer will set the question at rest. If Young Bengal has learned a creed in the Government

Colleges, as he has surely lost one, what is that creed? If he is not an infidel, and has a faith, as Mr. Kerr appears to contend, nothing surely can be simpler than to tell us, what it is, and so end the controversy. But it is needless to ask such a question. The truth is notorious. Young Bengal has unhappily no religion.

Mr. Kerr does not improve his case by going out of his way to attack the Missionary institutions. We acquit him of deliberate or conscious misrepresentation, of which we believe him to be incapable; but we cannot acquit him of a creditable ignorance of facts, which it was peculiarly easy for him to have ascertained. In the first place he takes for granted that nearly as many of the educated native converts have come from the Government institutions as from the Missionary seminaries.

Many years ago, when Christian schools were in their infancy, and the number of educated converts might amount to a dozen altogether, it was true that a half, or more than a half, of them had been at one time in a Government institution. It so happened, as we have already explained, that Dr. Duff's first three converts were thus circumstanced; and, chiefly through the influence of Mr. Banerjya, a few others followed in their steps. But this state of things is long past. Referring to the statistics of the Free Church Mission, and, from about eighty baptisms, selecting the cases of educated converts, we find twenty-five males, and thirteen females, who have been trained in the Mission schools, and only *four*, who had received their education in the Government institutions. There were, indeed, but *two* converts from the Government institutions for the last fifteen years; and one of them turned out to be a plausible but worthless impostor. We believe the proportion in the other two great schools—the General Assembly's, and the Bhowanipore institutions—to be still more against the Government seminaries: and, only in one of the Church of England Missions, where less attention and labour have been given to native education, and where the native converts have the prospect of obtaining salaries and emoluments more than five times greater than their less favoured brethren, is there any thing like an equality? But, taking all together, the numerical argument, if there be any force in it, will be found to be more than three to one in favour of the Missionary institutions. The

* Nearly the whole body of converts from the Government institutions are to be found in the Church of England; and the greater part were, or are, in connection with Bishop's College. Giving them all credit for sincerity, this fact lends but slight support to Mr. Kerr's insinuation of superior purity of motives.

fact therefore, which Mr. Kerr takes for granted, is no fact at all; and the reasoning, by which he accounts for it, we take accordingly to be a little gratuitous. But it has worse faults than being gratuitous. One might suppose, from the confidence of Mr. Kerr's assertions, that he was actually cognizant of the things which he describes, and affirmed them from personal knowledge.

Let us compare the actual Missionary school with the caricature of Mr. Kerr. Taking again the Free Church institution, as the oldest and best known of the Missionary schools in Calcutta, and referring to the latest annual programme, we find in the school department twenty classes, and of these *two* only—the most advanced—reading two of the Gospels. The next year, or the year following, and always in the College department, they commence the study of the Evidences, studying at the same time Euclid, Algebra, and Logic. No catechism is taught in the institution. The system of teaching, which Mr. Kerr describes, as “answering by rote, without any exercise of the understanding,” is “the intellectual system,” which he ought to know the meaning of, and which is, at least, well known to the Calcutta public. It is precisely the opposite of teaching by rote, which we thought every body was aware of; and he might quite as justly have accused Captain Richardson of neglecting literature in his prelections, and of being too enthusiastically mathematical. Even if he means to restrict the accusation to the Evidences, it is no vain boast, but plain truth, which may be tested very easily, that there are converts connected with that institution, who can give a clearer and more intelligent account of the ancient and modern arguments, for and against Christianity, than any Englishmen of their own age in this city, and, we might add, than nine-tenths of the principals and professors in the Government colleges. We believe it also to be a fact, that no young man has been baptized by the Missionaries under the age of sixteen, which is fully equivalent to eighteen or twenty in England. To all these facts, we speak from knowledge, and challenge contradiction. They disprove the charge that Christianity is taught by rote, and prematurely forced upon unripe minds; and we trust, that, should Mr. Kerr's book reach a second edition, his own sense of fairness will lead him to repair, as he best may, his gross and inexcusable carelessness of statement.

We do not mean to defend Dr. Duff, and his colleagues in the various Missionary institutions, from Mr. Kerr's charge of ignorance of the native character, or of credulity, and incapacity as teachers;—or, to say any thing against his own su-

perior knowledge and experience. On these matters the public will form their own judgment. But he might have explained, we think, how the Missionaries manage to get such a share of the loaves and fishes, as to make it worth a native's while to flatter and deceive them; while, in the presence of the Government, with all its power and influence, he stands upright as a rock, in all the pride of conscious integrity! It may be well, however, to examine a little more gravely the reasons, if there be any, why the students in a Missionary institution should pretend to believe in Christianity. If they have no intention of being baptized, it is utterly absurd to suppose that they will voluntarily expose themselves, by such false profession, to the ordeal of being called upon, publicly, to avow and execute their supposed intentions—at the hazard, if they refuse, of being looked upon as hypocrites or cowards.

Many, again (indeed all at first), question the evidence boldly; but are often compelled to assent, without being convinced, simply because they can find no argument to withstand its force and weight. But simple assent to propositions, which they cannot refute, does not imply belief in Christianity, or any intention or desire of being baptized; and the Missionaries, with their handful of converts out of thousands of scholars, may be supposed, by this time, to understand that it does not.

Again, such as really seek to be baptized, neglecting exceptional cases (if there be such), must do so either from conviction, or cupidity. The best defence of the missionaries from unduly appealing to the latter of these motives, will be an appeal to facts. Out of the small number of Free Church converts, five held the gold medal of their year, that is, were the most distinguished students in the institution: and, we believe, a large majority of all the educated converts held the first places in their respective classes. Three of these are now licensed preachers of the Gospel, with salaries of forty-eight rupees monthly; which is the largest salary ever paid to a Free Church convert in connection with the Mission. The others are employed as catechists, teachers, monitors, &c., on salaries varying from eight to thirty-two rupees. One of these, Behari Lal Singh, who had been educated in the institution, was in charge of a Government school at the time when he resolved to be a Christian. This was nine years ago. By the advice of one of the Missionaries, who believed him to have peculiar qualifications for the ministry, and with the full knowledge of what awaited him, he resigned a salary of one hundred rupees, with the fairest prospects of immediate advancement, and lived contentedly for years, receiving only *eight* rupees

monthly. He is now labouring cheerfully, as an active and zealous Catechist, on a salary of thirty-two rupees. Another gave up a situation in the Treasury, that he might be more directly employed in his Lord's cause, on a salary less than one-third of that which he formerly received. By the present rules, an ordained native missionary, as accomplished and as thoroughly educated as the majority of his European colleagues in the ministry—such a man, for instance, as the Rev. Lal Behari De—can only look forward to a salary of sixty or seventy rupees. Had he remained a Heathen, and entered the uncovenanted service, he might have looked forward to seven hundred. Such men can afford to fling back with honest scorn the imputation of worldly motives; and there is not one of them, who has not entered the church through suffering, and sacrifices and trials, most painful to flesh and blood. One might see strange sights perhaps, if a test as hard were applied to European professors of Christianity.

On the other hand, Heathen students of far lower attainments have procured situations of far higher emolument, on the recommendation of the missionaries, with salaries varying from twenty to 250 rupees, and even higher. They hold lucrative appointments in the Government offices and institutions. They are sudder amins, munsiffs, sub-assistant surgeons, darogahs, and clerks in mercantile establishments. In the institution itself, the Heathen teachers are better paid than Christian teachers of equal or higher attainments: and for every appointment, which the missionaries have procured for a Christian convert, they have obtained, at least, ten for their Heathen pupils.

These are facts; and it is for the reader to judge how far they support the charge, that the missionary system, consciously or unconsciously, tends to foster habits of dissimulation. We have the means of knowing that a most friendly feeling towards each other is entertained by the missionaries and the Heathen students, or those, at least, who never professed a belief in the Gospel, which long survives their connection as teachers and scholars; and that the only class, that has drawn down upon itself the rebuke and disapprobation of the missionaries, consists of those, who have professed to believe the truths of Christianity, and yet continue under the bondage of superstition and caste. Their dissimulation, if dissimulation it is, deceives no one; and it seems hard to discover what benefit they can expect from it, or for what purpose it is assumed.

But the learned Principal has yet another (and the crowning) argument in favour of that system, which he delights to honour.

If we are to believe Mr. Kerr, the most direct and most efficient means of conversion to the Christian faith are those employed in the Government seminaries;—that is, to exclude all knowledge of that religion from the course of instruction, and to thrust the students forth upon the world, without any faith at all, to the mercies of chance, or the bare possibility of falling in with a man, who will, and can speak of the Gospel. The utter absurdity of such a proposition does not need the corroboration of experience: if it did, that corroboration has been abundantly supplied. Our own experience knows nothing of that keen relish, and those pure and lofty motives, with which the Government students are supposed to approach the Christian faith. The last fifteen years have given our largest educational mission but two baptisms from those whom Mr. Kerr lauds so highly; and although the first three converts had, indeed, been educated in Government institutions, what they learned there, as we have already seen, taught them nothing but hatred, contempt, and hostility for the faith, which they afterwards embraced. All of them, by their own admission, left the Government institution, opponents of the Christian religion. It is preposterous, therefore, to claim for the Government system, not the whole, but any part, in that, which, under God, was then effected by the prayers and labours of Dr. Duff and Mr. Banerjya. The truth is, that a greater number of educated converts came over to the Free Church, during the period in question, from the Jews and Mussulmans, than from the Government schools; and the Talmud and the Koran might as logically claim credit for the result, as the teaching of the Government system.

We cheerfully grant, that a better spirit has been of late infused into it, and that it is now conducted, in this Presidency at least, with as much efficiency, and with as little tendency to mischief, as such a scheme admits of. But we affirm, that, from the religious point of view, its work is solely destructive; that it in no way disposes the mind to love or to embrace the Gospel; that it sets loose upon society a multitude of infidels, hypocrites, and practical atheists; and abandons the task of reclaiming them to chance, or to an agency utterly distinct from, and unconnected with its own. We put it to any sane man, whether there be in the whole world, among savages, and the most degraded idolators, any class more hopelessly impervious to the call of morality and religion, than the highly civilized and enlightened Atheism of modern Germany and France. It will take hundreds of years and millions of money to raise Hindustan to the same intellectual elevation; and this is all

that the Government system proposes to accomplish, or, with its present instrumentality, can effect. But, if effected, *ad bono*? Is it a consummation, political or moral, so *very* desirable?

Of course, in a large body of young men, taken chiefly from the better and more intelligent classes of society, some minds will be found that are naturally thoughtful and inquisitive; and, with so novel a phenomenon before them as the religion of their Christian rulers, it is natural that they should turn to examine it, if not with a keen relish, at least with deep interest and attention. We believe, that a few such exceptional cases are to be found; and one case at least, that of Babu Gyanendra Tagore, stands out in bold relief. This gentleman, to his honor be it spoken, examined the matter for himself, and formed his own independent conclusions. The habits of reading and reflection, which he had acquired, led him to an examination of the Bible; and, aided by the advice and counsels of one or two Native Christian friends, carried him on to conviction, and public avowal of the truth of Christianity. But even were it possible (as it is not) to prove his baptism to have been the direct fruit of the Government system, all that could be urged in its favour, would only amount to this, that it had made thousands of hypocrites and infidels, and one Christian. It is not by such a scheme that Hindustan can be regenerated. The sole beacon lights for hope in regard to the future of Young Bengal, are that he is still young—not hardened and petrified into worldliness and religious apathy; and that Christian agency is at work on his behalf.

We part from Mr. Kerr in the hope of meeting him soon again, on ground where we can walk pleasantly together. ^{with} some cause for provocation, we have endeavoured to avoid ^{ing} every thing offensive or recriminatory. The question between him and us is a public question of great importance. We combat his opinions, chiefly, as the opinions of a party; and we are not sorry that he has given us an opportunity of expressing our views on these matters, as freely and frankly, as he has put forth his own. In his own department he is a safe and trust-worthy guide. He describes clearly, praises judiciously, and dissents with good sense, candour, and moderation. His book deserves to be a manual, and ought to be in the hands of all, who wish to know what the Government system is, or who are interested in native education. When he leaves his own field to attack other institutions on careless and imperfect information, he has not only gone wrong, but done wrong. But the wrong regards chiefly a careless and unconscious misstatement of facts; and his conclusions, though arrived at very differently, are so nearly in unison with our own on the great ques-

tion of religious education, that we look upon him much more as an ally than as an opponent.

Before we leave this subject for the present, we must request the attention of our readers to a very singular exhibition, which took place, not long ago, in the Bombay Presidency. We allude to a Town Hall oration by Sir Erskine Perry, in the presence of the Governor, the leading members of European and Native Society, and the professors and students of the Elphinstone Institution. This gentleman holds the high office of Chief Justice in the Supreme Court, and has been, for many years, President of the Bombay Board of Education. The speech, too, was a parting speech, put forth deliberately and with pretension, and intended to be a gift to the community of the accumulated wisdom and experience of his Indian educational career. That career has been sufficiently original, and more distinguished for zeal than sobriety. Of his more noticeable crotchets, we select the following. As the most effectual means of extending the benefits of education to the people, with the present limited amount of funds, he proposes, that the Government should abandon its elementary Vernacular schools; that it should select the *Brahmans* as the favoured class (excluding the lower castes) for a gratuitous English education, leaving it to *them* to communicate what they had received, to the lower castes, and to the mass of their countrymen! Another somewhat less visionary speculation was, that of making English a *lingua franca* for all India. The last, which we shall mention, but not the least characteristic, consisted in having his name stamped upon a medal, and awarding it as a prize for an essay on the following subject:—"The advantages, which would result to India by the establishment of a Serai, or public bungalow, in London, with compound, wells, &c., suitable for native travellers!"

Such Utopian fancies and innocent vanities at the worst provoke a smile; and might well be forgiven to a far less able and distinguished man. Were there nothing more objectionable in his Town Hall speech, he might have returned to Europe with the reputation of a zealous and enthusiastic supporter of native education; and the claim, which he makes to the title of "a Christian philanthropist," might have been left undisputed. Unfortunately, this rash and unadvised production abounds with statements, mischievous in their tendency, damaging to his own character, and most unbecoming the scene and the occasion. It is because he is a British Judge, and a high Government dignitary, and because he took undue advantage of his position, but too well calculated in itself to influence the minds of the

fourteen hundred young natives who listened to him, that we feel it to be our duty, as public journalists, to call him to the bar of that great English public, of which he is but an unit, and which has nothing in common with the privileged clique, or the apathetic and half-heathenish spirit, so prevalent in Anglo-Indian Society.

On such an occasion, every word should have been carefully weighed. The treatment of his subject involved very serious responsibility, and demanded a correspondingly serious spirit; and its higher bearings were suggested to him by the French writer, whose desire to know what influence "Christian" Europe is now exerting on heathen India, it was one of the professed objects of Sir Erskine's speech to satisfy. Here, too, was the flower of the Bombay youth, prepared by all those external circumstances, which work so powerfully upon the mind through the heart and the imagination, to give ready hearing to words, which might influence their whole future destiny. It was a noble opportunity, and cruelly misused. That Sir Erskine was not unaware of these things, will be evident from the following grandiloquent exordium:—

"My Lord, I have been now for many years presiding over the educational institutions of this part of India. I have necessarily been called upon to consider the subject in all its various bearings, and I have formed such strong convictions and deeply-rooted opinions on many of the points on which the judgments of many are still hesitating, lukewarm, or adverse, that I feel sure, were I but able to clothe my views in vigorous and concise language, I could render some service to Government, and to the cause of truth. But even without this power, the testimony of an experienced witness possesses a certain value; and as this is the last occasion (I say it with no pleasurable emotion) on which I shall have an opportunity of meeting an assemblage such as this, I would fain, my Lord, request the indulgence of the meeting to bear with me for a short time, whilst I endeavour to discharge a duty, which though self-imposed, appears to me (I trust, not misled by any undue feeling) to belong to my position and to the period."

Sir Erskine then proceeds to notice an article, which appeared in the "*Annuaire des Deux Mondes*" for 1850, the writer of which notices with approbation the efforts to extend native education in India, passes a warm and well-merited eulogium on the late Mr. Bethune, and laments the want of detailed information as to the comparative results of the systems followed in the Government and Missionary schools, and the degree to which "the ideas, information, and feelings, which form the patrimony of Christian Europe," have been appropriated by the native mind. We shall not follow the learned Judge in his lamentations for his past lack of Government favour and popular applause; or in his unceremonious appropriation of the unconscious Frenchman's praise, which for the first time "conveyed balm to his bo-

som," and which he describes, in one of the queerest sentences we ever read, as "the voice of a stranger sitting on a hill, remote in a distant land, echoing back our own sentiments, and in language at times almost identical with our own—though it is clear the writer has never met with the reports of the Bombay Board!"

We shall not even remark (much as it deserves the severest reprobation) on his teaching such an audience, that "it is the undoubted duty of every man of intelligence, in whatever department of life he may be placed, to act in accordance with the genius of the age;"—from which it would appear, that, according to Sir Erskine Perry, the voice of conscience and the word of God have very little to do in the matter.

We pass at once to the following statement, which we reprint *verbatim*, as we find it in the *Bombay Gazette*:—

There is still another subject broached by the French writer, which I do not feel myself at liberty to blink. He desires to obtain exact information as to the results produced under the different systems adopted by Government and the missionaries. A prudent public man, who has objects of ambition to serve, will not willingly encounter the *odium theologium*, which an inquiry of this kind may provoke, and which often, undoubtedly, calls forth a superabundant mixture of angry feelings. But it is a most important question with respect to education, whether the Government system or that of the missionaries is the right one. And as I feel myself in the independent position of one, who has nothing to hope and nothing to fear, and as moreover, the sincere respect which I bear for many of the reverend labourers in the Missionary field whom I knew personally, enables me to approach the question in what I fully believe to be an impartial frame of mind, I will not hesitate to express the opinion which I have formed, as a Judge, as a Citizen, and as a Father, for in all these characters the question has been before me, that the Government system, with total absence of religious instruction, is not only the most expedient system in this country, but it is the only one that accords with my sense of what is just and right. I will not cite the opinions of some divines, who hold that the Missionary system of education in India engenders *hypocrisy*; nor will I do more than point to the example of the Dutch in Ceylon, who made the nominal profession of Christianity a condition precedent to office; but I content myself with the enunciation of a doctrine, which appears to me indisputable, that it is tyranny of the worst kind on the part of the State to interpose between the father and his child in the inculcation of religious opinions not approved of by the parent. And if it is wrong to do so on the part of the State by the exercise of mere power, it is almost equally wrong on the part of an individual to take advantage of the plastic mind of youth to introduce religious impressions by the exercise of *temptations*, which a very poor and a rather cunning people are not able to resist, or are not unwilling to encounter. I dwell on this subject the more, because I know that many scrupulous and over-sensitive minds in the Government educational service, from the want of any plain speaking by the supporters of Government, have at times been goaded into doubts as to the propriety of their labors; and attempts have been made which have required firm conduct on the part of the authorities to resist, by which a departure from

established principles would have been introduced. To all such men I have argued, if you are satisfied, as I hear you say, that you succeed in producing more truly Christian virtues in the young men whom you are training, than those produced by the Missionaries; and if you disapprove of the Hindu's look of triumph, which assures you, as his boy returns from school, of his inward conviction, that he has made a very good bargain by getting an education for nothing from the Padres;—why do you not exhort these reverend gentlemen to imitate the system of Government, and confine themselves to intellectual and moral training, so long as the child is immature and in *statu pupillari*, and only then address themselves to religious instruction, when the field becomes an open one, and the youth is emancipated from the parental authority? I should be sorry to see the labors of the Rev. Mr. Nisbett, of Dr. Wilson, of the Messrs. Mitchell, above all of the zealous and Catholic American Mission, and the writers in the *Dnyanodaya*, from whom I have derived much instruction, withdrawn from Education; but I cannot offer any apology for the system adopted by Government, or let it be supposed for a moment that we think the missionary system superior or equal to our own; and that our own proceedings are persevered in, merely because we believe them to be expedient, and not because we are satisfied they are wholly right.

There is nothing, which the English mind endures with greater dislike and impatience, than to see the ermine trailing in the dust of controversy, and a British Judge abandoning his own high and dignified position to assume that of a passionate and reckless partisan. Public opinion surrounds the bench with a respect approaching to reverence, and guards it with jealous pride. It does not indeed confer upon a judge the attribute of infallibility; but it looks for a spirit, that will not lend itself to party,—for calm and measured statements, for sound well-considered opinions, and unbending moral principle. The providence of God raised Sir Erskine Perry from this proud position to occupy a higher. He was called upon as a Christian statesman and philanthropist to counsel with his parting words the educated native youth—the *élite* and hope of their country—and to point out to them the only path, that can lead to national regeneration. England will learn with amazement that a British Judge and Christian statesman shamefully misused this golden opportunity, by virtually assuring these interesting young men, that it was their bounden duty, until they reached the years of majority, to continue in idolatry: that their parents had a right to teach them to dishonour God by the worship of impure idols, and to bring them up to the practice of human sacrifice, female infanticide, caste, *sutti*, or,—if Thugs, to the profession of robbery and murder on the high road; and that it was “tyranny of the worst kind” to teach them differently, or to make known to them the Gospel of the true and living God. All this is most distinctly implied in the doctrine *de statu pupillari*, which Sir Erskine Perry so empha-

tically puts forward before the Hindu youths, in his three-fold capacity of "a judge, a citizen, and a father." His reasoning, as might be supposed, is well fitted to his conclusions, and consists of unsupported insinuations, and reckless assertions that cut both ways, conceived in the spirit of a last century French "philosophe." If it needed an answer, we might urge—that his own system is equally at variance with the religious opinions of the Hindu parent, and as surely destroys that faith, with which it falsely pretends not to interfere; that it is the parents themselves, who send their children to the missionary schools, knowing that they will be taught Christianity; and that sneers and insinuations, without any attempt at proof, fall harmless to the ground. Those, who look upon the missionary enterprise as the grandest in the universe, and see already in the germ the distant but inevitable and glorious consummation, will estimate such cavils at their intrinsic worth. But they will learn with sorrow and with shame, that a Christian judge and statesman, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in his official capacity as President of a board of education, laid down, before a large assemblage, applauded and unrebuked, the following propositions for the guidance of the native youth;—that the youthful mind is peculiarly plastic; that Hindu parents have a right to fill it with idolatry; that the attempt, in obedience to the commandment of God, to teach to it the Gospel of his son, by moral suasion, and fair argument, with the consent of all parties, and in the open light of day, is not only wrong, but very nearly "tyranny of the worst kind;" and that, until the age of sixteen years is passed, the soul may be left to its fate, and has no need of salvation.

We trust that, in the new Charter, due provision shall be made to avert the national disgrace of suffering such statements again to be put forth under the implied sanction of a British Government.

We refer all, who wish for a really impartial and unbiassed testimony on these great questions, to the masterly treatise of Sir J. Emerson Tennent on the history of Christianity in Ceylon. There they will find no mock tinsel, no self-laudations, or flimsy latitudinarianism; but the sterling gold of a profound and philosophical judgment, and the lofty moral tone of a genuine Christian philanthropist. The most enviable fate for Sir Erskine's Town Hall exhibition would be to be forgotten as speedily as possible, and buried out of mind.

- ART. VI.—1. *Life of Mohammed: Bombay Tract and Book Society. Bombay, 1851.*
2. *The Life of Mohammed: London. Religious Tract Society.*
3. *Life of Mohammed. By Washington Irving. London. Henry G. Bohn, 1850.*
4. *Mawlūd Sharīf. The Ennobled Nativity. Lucknow, 1265, Heg. Cawnpore, 1267, Heg. Agra, 1268, Heg. (1852.)*
5. *Kitāb i Istifsār: (Book of Questions) p. 806. Lucknow, 1261, Heg. (1845.)*
6. *Hall ul Ishkal: (the Solution of Difficulty :) A Reply to Kashful Astār, and Kitāb i Istifsār. Agra, 1847.*

WITHIN the last ten or twenty years, the mind of Christian Europe has been directed, with more studious earnestness and dispassionate enquiry, towards the rise of Islam, than in any preceding period: and the progress made in searching out the truths of that crisis in the world's history, is characterized by a corresponding success. Indeed, the amount of facts carefully collected, and of data philosophically weighed within that short term, is, perhaps, of greater value than all the labours of Christian writers during the twelve preceding centuries.

It is only necessary to mention the names of WEIL, of COUSIN DE PERCIVAL, and of SPRENGER—and very many more might be adduced,—to call up to recollection the depth of study, philosophy, and Oriental learning, which have been brought to bear upon the subject. Some portions of these labours have been cursorily reviewed in this journal. But they deserve, and will, we trust, yet receive, a far deeper and more extended survey. The task is one to which our pages may be well devoted. The facilities for the study are, probably, greater in India, than in any other part of the world: and the discovery by Sprenger of the invaluable WACKIDY, gives promise of, perhaps, still farther treasures, purchased from the west, at some remote period, by the riches of the Mohammedan conquerors and amirs, and, it may be, still extant. However, if the exertions of Sprenger had resulted in bringing Wackidy alone to the light, he had deserved, even for that task, the gratitude of all the lovers of Mohammed's biography.

But our labors must not dissipate in literary phantoms, in the mere charms of antiquarian research, or even in the substantial acquisition of remote historical truths. Dear as these are to us, they are but baubles in themselves. It is because they bear upon the faith and the superstitions of millions of

Mohammedans about us, that these investigations are possessed of an unspeakable value and importance.

Hitherto, we have been able to address the Mohammedan only in the language of the west ; we have told him of the disquisitions of Maracci and of Prideaux, and he has looked with contemptuous incredulity upon our words. In truth, he might well do so : for they were but poor authorities, who ventured with no tempered weapons into the momentous strife. They were possessed neither of the native authorities, nor, apparently, of the cool judgment and philosophy requisite for closing hand to hand with Moslem adversaries.

But now we can boldly take our stand with the best of our opponents. We have free access to their most authentic sources, Ibn Ishâk, Wâkidy, Hishâmî, Tabari. And we can, without fear, confront them with an array of hostile weapons, drawn from their own armouries.

How then, it may be asked, are we bringing these new advantages to bear upon the delusions of the false prophet ? The answer is one of shame and humiliation. Besides a few tracts, generally, of a questionable composition, the only Vernacular treatises likely to affect the Mohammedan mind, are the noble works of the Missionary Pfander, which we have, in a former number, passed under examination : but even these have little reference to the historical deductions of modern research, and deal more with the deep principles of reason and of faith.

The first work at the head of this article, professes to be a direct step towards the object we have in view. It is a *Life of Mohammed* intended for the natives of India, and for translation into "the Vernacular tongues." The preface, after dwelling on the inapplicability of *European* biographies of the prophet, to the "Asiatic public," thus states the object of the treatise. "It was, therefore, thought advisable to prepare 'another *Life of Mohammed*, with special reference to the state 'of mind, and circumstances of the people of this country. This 'is now presented."

This treatise is brought forth under the auspices of the Bombay Tract and Book Society, "an off-shoot of one of the noblest institutions in the world, "the Religious Tract Society of London," which has itself published a *Life of Mohammed* ; and this life has been extensively used in the preparation of the Indian work.

We looked to see the investigations regarding the rise of Islam, which have been prosecuted, with such success, in France and Germany, in Austria, and India, taken advantage of in the Bombay Biography. But our expectation was speedily dis-

appointed by the authorities, quoted in the preface, which are as follows :—

“ In preparing it, many works have been consulted, but the following, and especially the first three, are those which have been most copiously used, viz :—

Buth's Life of Mohammed,
Washington Irving's Ditto,
Religious Tract Society's Ditto. London,
Sale's Coran and Preliminary Treatises,
Gibbon's History."

Of the three works thus chiefly relied upon, we have no knowledge of the first. But the second and third possess no pretensions to critical accuracy, being simple digests, popularly constructed from the current histories on the subject.

From such sources a treatise adapted for the uncritical portion of the European public, might, perhaps, have been well constructed, but it was a wrong step to lean upon such authorities, in the preparation of a biography of Mohammed, intended for the natives of India.

The biography of their prophet, it is true, is not a favourite study with the Mohammedans of the present day ; it forms no part of the usual course of scholastic study or theological reading ; and is only taken up by those whose religious, or whose antiquarian tastes attract them to the subject. Still the main facts of the prophet's life are generally known, and the natives of India can, at any rate, readily ascertain them by reference to the historical works scattered about the country. Lives of Mohammed, edited by Christians, if they attract attention at all, will challenge the closest examination. If errors be detected in them, their effect will not simply be neutralized : their tendency will be positively injurious. The natives will be impressed with the idea, that our sources of information are imperfect and erroneous, and will conclude, that our judgment of Mohammed and of his religion, founded upon these, is imperfect and erroneous also. They will thus be fortified in their scornful rejection of all Christian evidence, and in their self-complacent reliance on the dogmas of Islam.

This is, therefore, not a mere speculative criticism, in which the reviewer may be accused of searching for faults, merely for fault-finding's sake. The most apparently trifling misrepresentation has a real and important bearing in the controversy with the Mohammedans. It is a subject in which every Christian man has a deep interest at stake. And as such we take it up.

Let us now look for a moment at the two authorities above

named, from which the Bombay life of Mohammed is mainly constructed.

The *Life of Mohammed*, by Washington Irving, does not aim at being more than a popular treatise. "The author lays 'no claim to novelty of fact, nor profundity of research.' His work 'does not aspire to be consulted as an authority, but 'merely to be read as a digest of current knowledge, adapted to 'popular use.'" Yet even in such a biography, rigid accuracy, as far as his authorities went, the public had a right to expect; but in this treatise, the accuracy of truth is sometimes lost sight of, amid the charms of a romantic style, and an enchanting narrative.

This is not owing to any unfair bias in the historian's mind. For the conclusions drawn from his facts are generally such as do credit to his feelings as well as to his judgment. It is owing to imperfect knowledge, arising apparently in part from want of diligence in using authorities actually at his command, and in part from the disadvantages which all labour under, who approach the subject without a knowledge of Arabic, and having no acquaintance with the early Arabian authors.

In one respect, this is the more inexcusable, because Washington Irving confesses in his preface, to have "profited by recent 'lights thrown on the subject by different writers, and particularly by Dr. Gustav Weil, to whose industrious researches and able 'disquisitions, he acknowledges himself greatly indebted." From such authorities he has, indeed, enriched his pages with many facts hitherto new to the English reader, and with many a story beautifully told. But he has not used them invariably as he might. Had he studied with diligence the invaluable work of Dr. Weil, he would have avoided many of the mistakes and imperfections which must seriously detract from the value of his biography.

Another objection, and one that runs throughout the book, is, that the author writes too much for effect. The style is beautiful. A charm of romance is thrown around the topics so poetically portrayed. But truth is sometimes sacrificed to effect. And thus the very essence, and only worth of an historical treatise, is, in some measure, lost. It is true, that very often, if not always, this may be owing to the indistinctness or imperfection of the author's knowledge. But the fault itself is not the less to be denounced.

A most prejudicial result of this uncritical and rhetorical style is, that the fabricated stories of supernatural and miraculous events, which the pious credulity of later days engrafted on

the biography of Mohammed, have been wrought into the history, and no means have been afforded to the reader, for discerning the real from the fictitious events : nor amongst the latter, for discriminating, which were pretended by Mohammed himself, and which were long afterwards, without grounds, ascribed to him.

The beautiful portrait of Mohammed, placed at its commencement, is a fit emblem of the whole work. The countenance beams with intelligence, struggling between sensuousness and lofty resolve :—in the back ground is the caaba, with its sombre hangings ; and a crowd of followers are flourishing their scimitars and daggers with angry gesture at each other. A charming picture ! But not that of the real Mohammed in his Arab garb ; for here he is sumptuously arrayed in an ermine-bound robe ; in one hand he holds an open volume, and the other is stretched aloft, to enforce his earnest address. Now Mohammed never preached from any book ; the Koran was, in fact, not even collected during his life-time, but remained recorded in scattered shreds. So much for the delightful, but fancy-sketches of Washington Irving : pleasant, perhaps profitable, for the English reader, but in no wise suited for Mohammedan countries.

It would be ungenerous to subject the unpretending little treatise of the *London Tract Society* to too close a scrutiny. For the purposes of that institution, and with the materials at their command, it is, in many respects, an admirable abridgement. How far it is fitted for the ground-work of an Indian work, will appear from the following strictures upon the *Bombay Life of Mohammed*, which has borrowed from it very largely, —frequently entire and successive pages—especially in the historical parts.

The first paragraph of this biography contains the following statement, common both to the London and to the Bombay treatise. Mohammed “was left in his childhood to the care of his grandfather, who, at his death, intrusted the orphan to his son Abu Tâlib, on whom the honours and the wealth of the family then devolved. The uncle trained the youth at a proper age, to the business of a merchant traveller. He continued in the employ of his uncle, till he was twenty-five years old ; and this is all that is known of his early history.”—*London Life*, p. 32. *Bombay Life*, p. 26.

This passage is erroneous in more than one respect. Abu Tâlib, instead of being wealthy, was extremely indigent. A portion of the honors of the family did, indeed, devolve upon him,

but his poverty forced him to abandon them to his brother Abbas.

Nach Abd Al Muttalib's Tode, ging das Recht, die Pilger zubewirthen, an seinen Sohn Abu Talib über, der aber bald so arm ward, dass er es seinem Bruder Abbas überliess, welcher dann auch die polizeiliche Aussicht über den Tempel erhielt. "After Abd Al Muttalib's death, the right to entertain the pilgrims passed over to his son, Abu Talib, who however soon became so poor, that he left it to his brother, Abbas, who received also the political charge of the temple.—Weil's Mohammed, p. 10; and so. all the Arabic authorities.

It was, in fact, Abu Tâlib's poverty, which obliged him to suggest to Mohammed, that he should seek for a livelihood in Khadija's service. Thus Wackidy:—

When Mohammed reached his five-and-twentieth year, Abu Tâlib thus addressed him:—"I am, as thou well knowest, a man without substance, and the times deal hardly with me. Now here is a caravan of thine own tribe about to set out for Syria, and Khadija, daughter of Khuweilid, needeth men from amongst our people to send forth with her merchandise. If thou wert to offer thyself in this capacity, she would readily accept thee," &c.—Wackidy, p. 24.*

On a previous occasion, when Mohammed was a boy of twelve, Abu Tâlib carried him on a mercantile trip to Syria: but this was simply because the orphan lad clung to his paternal protector:—

When Abu Tâlib was on the point of starting, Mohammed was overcome by affection and by grief, at the prospect of being separated from him: and Abu Tâlib's bowels were moved, and he said, "I will take him with me, and he shall not part from me, nor I from him, for ever."—Hishâmi, p. 36.

These are the only two mercantile expeditions undertaken by Mohammed, of which we have any account: and the probabilities are, that he never entered upon any other. What then becomes of the "training at a proper age, to the business of a merchant traveller,† and continuing in the employ of his uncle till he was twenty-six years old?"

Equally faulty are the concluding words, "this is all that is known of his early history." Much more is known, and that, too, of an important and interesting nature.

A little farther on, Mohammed is described as having "a piercing wit and lively imagination." The latter he certainly did possess, but tempered by a solemn dignity, which delivered itself in pregnant and weighty words. He was given to silence in society, and listened rather than spoke much. If he had

* The references to Wackidy and Hishâmi, are to the identical MSS., described in Dr. Sprenger's book; to which we possess the good fortune of having access.

† Dr. Sprenger also (p. 79.) speaks of Abu Talib "bringing up Mohammed to the caravan commerce:" but, apparently, without adducing any authority for the assertion.

the materials of a piercing wit, he seldom or never exercised them.

The following passage, regarding the evidence for the miracles of Mohammed, is entirely wrong :—

By some of the more credulous of Mohammed's followers, there are, it is true, several miracles attributed to him, as that he clave the moon asunder; that trees went forth to meet him; that water flowed from between his fingers; that the stones saluted him; that a beam groaned to him; that a camel complained to him; and that a shoulder of mutton informed him of its being poisoned; together with several others. But these miracles were never alleged by Mohammed himself, *nor are they maintained by any respectable Moslem writer.*—*Bombay Life*, p. 37.

On the contrary, these miracles are maintained by every Mohammedan writer, whether respectable or not. Even the honest Wäckidy (as Dr. Sprenger well styles him,) excepting the first, gives the whole of the miracles specified above, and very many more besides. Indeed, a Mohammedan would not be regarded as orthodox, who denied any of these miracles.

An anonymous, but carefully prepared *Urdu Life of Mohammed* (written apparently at Delhi,) contains particulars of the following, among a multitude of other miraculous works. A dirty handkerchief cast into an oven, came out of the flames, white and unsinged, because it had been used by Mohammed. His spittle turned a bitter well into a sweet one; removed a scald; cured the ophthalmia; restored sight to a blind man; mended a broken leg, and healed instantaneously a deep wound. A man's hand was severed in battle from his arm; he carried it to Mohammed, who, by applying his spittle, rejoined it as before. Catâda's eye was knocked entirely out; the prophet placed his hand upon it and healed it. A dumb boy was cured by drinking the water he had washed his mouth and hands in. He laid his hands upon a lunatic child, who was cured, a black reptile being immediately discharged from his body. A great variety of animals opened their mouths on different occasions, and gave testimony in his favour. He laid hold of a goat, and the mark of his fingers, impressed on its ear, descended to its posterity, and still remains a living evidence! Notwithstanding these, and scores of other equally ridiculous stories, an intelligent Mohammedan, intimately acquainted with the original Arabic biographers, declared to us his conviction, that the book was throughout credible, and based on well-founded traditions!

The same author abuses a set of heretics at Delhi, who, he says, do not receive "the miracle of the foot," viz, that stones received the impression of Mohammed's step, while it left no mark on soft or sandy ground. "It is a matter," says he, "of extreme astonishment, that a lately established sect, notwith-

standing their claims to learning, deny the miracle of the blessed foot. And what is still stranger, they prohibit the mention of the holy nativity, the Mirāj, the miracles, and the death of the prophet ;—some calling this, abominable veneration of the creature, others heresy. They seem not to know that to make mention of Mohammed, is tantamount to making mention of God himself, a duty enjoined in the Koran. Such people may well tremble, lest they draw down upon themselves the wrath of the Lord, and a fearful punishment.* Considerable pains are then taken to prove from the Koran and tradition, that the mention of the prophet is equal to the mention of God, and that it is lawful to invoke the prophet in prayer, saying, "oh Mohammed !" a practice repro- bated apparently by these *Protestant Moslems*.*

But to return from this digression to our English biographies ;—when the persecution of Mohammed by the Coreish became very hot, Abu Tālib, with the prophet and his kinsmen, retired to a part of Mecca, where they remained shut up for three years. They are described as "finding a shelter in the castle of Abu Tālib." (*London Life*, p. 39 ; *Bombay Life*, p. 40) ; Washington Irving (p. 56,) falls into the same mistake. And still more strange, Weil has also a "castle" of Abu Tālib. (*Mohammed der Prophet*, p. 60 ; and *Einleitung*, p. 9.) "entfernte er ihn aus der Stadt, und brachte ihn auf sein befestigtes Landschloss"—he took him out of the city and brought him to his fortified country castle." Sprenger has shown (p. 189,) that the *Shab* (شعب) of Abu Tālib is nothing more than the quarter of the town in which he lived. It probably occupied one of the defiles or ravines running up towards the mountain Abu Cubeis, which overhangs Mecca on that side : and having a narrow entrance, was protected against the attacks of the hostile Coreish.

The Mirāj, or nocturnal journey to heaven, is given in great detail, and the fictions connected with it are brought forward as the statements of Mohammed himself. No orthodox Mohammedan will object to this : but a more intelligent criticism would trace the extravagant fancies of this wonderful tale to a later era, and would place its bare ground-work only to the credit of Mohammed. Indeed, throughout these books, the most

* The people here reprehended are called, we understand, *Wahābies*, and their origin is probably connected in some way with the *Wahābies* of Arabia. Equally with them, they reject much of the marvellous foolery and superstitions of the modern Moslems, and have learnt to submit the current notions received from their fathers to the judgment of reason. Are they not hence prepared, in some measure, to appreciate and to welcome our criticism of the early historical sources ? It would be interesting to know something more of these Delhi Wahābies.

marvellous and improbable statements are recorded, without the slightest attempt to discriminate reality from fiction.

The battle of Badr is related with more circumstantiality and correctness in the Bombay edition, than in the London one. The latter makes the unpardonable mistake of asserting, that Mohammed left Omar behind him to defend Medina (p. 51 :) while the fact is, that Omar took part in the council of war on the field of Badr, and in the action itself. The Moslems have carefully noted those who were absent from that memorable battle, and no tradition notes Omar amongst them.

The accounts of this battle are singularly inaccurate, both in Irving and in the Bombay biography. A slight reference to Weil, would have obviated the mistakes. It is assumed that the Mussulman force interposed itself between the caravan of Abu Sofîân and the Meccan army; while, in reality, the caravan had securely escaped towards Mecca, some days before either of the armies reached Badr.

"The spies of the prophet informed him, that their rich and apparently easy prey was within his grasp. He advanced with a few followers, in pursuit of it; but before he could overtake the unprotected band, Abu Sofîân had despatched a messenger to his brethren at Mecca, for a re-inforcement. * * * Mohammed was posted *between the caravan and the approaching succour*, with only 313 soldiers. * * * The troops were persuaded to engage the superior forces of the enemy, abandoning, for the present, the tempting prize of Abu Sofîân's wealthy caravan. * * * A slight entrenchment was formed, to cover the flank of his troops, and a rivulet flowing past the spot he had chosen for encampment, furnished his army with a constant supply of water. * * * At the commencement of the battle, the prophet, together with Abu Beker, mounted a kind of throne or pulpit, earnestly asking of God the assistance of Gabriel, with 3,000 angels; but when his army appeared to waver, he started from his place of prayer, *threw himself upon a horse*, and casting a handful of sand into the air, exclaiming, "confusion fill their faces!" rushed upon the enemy. * * * This sum (the ransom of the prisoners) would compensate, in a measure, for the escape of the booty; *for notwithstanding the defeat, Abu Sofîân managed to effect a decent retreat*, and to arrive safely at Mecca, with the greater part of the caravan. The spoils, however, arising from the ransom of the prisoners, *and the partial plunder of the caravan*, amounted to a considerable sum, the division of which very nearly proved fatal to the victors themselves. * * * A furious altercation ensued, &c., &c."—pp. 60—63.

The main facts preliminary to the engagement, are these. Mohammed was on the watch for the return from Syria, of Abu Sofîân's caravan; and as the time drew near, despatched two spies northward to Hawrâ, who were to bring him intelligence of Abu Sofîân's approach. They waited there, however, until the caravan had passed. Mohammed, meanwhile, anxious at their delay, and suspecting that Abu Sofîân might have given them the slip,

marched forth towards Badr, before their return. The event justified his sagacity.

Abu Sofîân had received intimation, while in Syria, of Mohammed's designs, and from thence had despatched Dham Dham (not Omar, as Irving says,) to rouse the Coreish at Mecca, and bring them forth to his succour. As Abu Sofîân approached Medina, he was kept in continual alarm, and travelling by forced marches, anxiously looked out for the Meccan succours; and well he might, for Mohammed's army was not far off, and by a rapid detour towards the sea coast, might possibly have cut him off. As Abu Sofîân approached Badr, he rode forward to reconnoitre the spot, and by the well of Badr, came upon the traces of two scouts of Mohammed, who had shortly left, and whom he recognized by the Medina shape of the date stones in the dung, where their camels had been tied up.* In dismay he hurried back to his caravan, and, without a moment's delay, leaving the road to the left, struck off towards the coast, and by forced and rapid marching, was soon out of danger. He then sent off a messenger to the Coreish army, to inform them of his safety, and to recall them; but his mandate not being obeyed, he joined the army himself.

Soon after he left Medina, Mohammed had gained intelligence, that a Coreish army had set out from Medina, and he likewise learnt, from the two scouts, on their return from Badr, that the caravan was expected there immediately. After a council of war, he determined to set forth and attack the army. When he came up to Badr, he was still ignorant that the caravan had passed, and a watering party of Coreish was seized and beaten by the Moslems, in the vain hope of extorting from them a confession that they belonged to the caravan and not to the army. It was a day or two after this that the battle occurred.

We have been particular in noting these facts, to show that the statements of Mohammed's army "being posted between the caravan and the approaching succour," of "the partial plunder of the caravan," and the account of Abu Sofîân, "notwithstanding the defeat, *managing to effect a decent retreat*, and to arrive safely at Mecca, with the *greater part* of the caravan," are not correct.

* Irving's inaccuracy here deserves notice. "At length he came upon the track of the little army of Mohammed. He knew it from the size of the kernels of the dates, which the troops had thrown by the wayside as they marched," p. 98. Mohammed's army had not passed that way, but was, at the time, far behind. The date-kernels were not thrown by the way, but were contained in the camels' dung; and the traditions are particular in describing how Abu Sofîân took up the dung and crumbled it in his hands, scrutinising the kernels.

So likewise the description of the "rivulet" flowing past the encampment, is not borne out by native authorities, which speak only of wells there.* The assertion that Mohammed mounted a "kind of throne or pulpit," and that he threw himself upon a horse, "when the troops began to waver," are equally unfounded, and occur in no original authority that we know. The disputes as to the distribution of the spoil, are also much exaggerated. There is no foundation for holding that they had "very nearly proved fatal to the victors themselves."

The Mohammedans regard the victory of Badr, with more than even their usual pride and vain glory. It is therefore of the last importance, that in any history we put into their hands, the facts should be so supported by acknowledged authorities, as to inspire them with trust and confidence in our means of information, and the care with which we use them.

Let us take another instance of the looseness with which Mohammed's military excursions are related. The expedition to Muta, against the Greeks, three years before the prophet's death, is represented as ending in a triumph; it is added, "the account of this victory so delighted Mohammed, that he 'bestowed on Khaled the title, 'One of the swords of the Lord,''" (*Bombay Life*, p. 91; *London Life*, p. 75) Irving goes farther, and says that the Greeks "were pursued with great slaughter. Khaled then plundered their camp, in which was 'found great booty.'"

The Mohammedan historians are, no doubt, particularly sensitive in describing anything like a reverse, and have endeavoured, in the present instance, to patch up their utter discomfiture, by counter-traditions of a later fabrication. But the facts of the case, as delivered in the earliest accounts of Hishâmî and Wâkidy, are unmistakeable. The defeat of the Moslems at Muta was complete, and the carnage amongst them fearful; it was only by the most masterly generalship, that Khaled managed to save any portion of the army; and when its remnants returned in disgrace to Medina, the inhabitants assembled to meet them, and cast dirt in their faces, with taunts like the following, "Ah ye runaways! shame upon you, that ye dare 'to turn your backs when fighting for the Lord!' " Mohammed stilled the people, and comforted the fugitives, saying, "Nay! 'they are not runaways: but they are men who shall return 'again unto the battle, if the Lord will.'"+

It is very right to bring, formally, before the Mohammedans,

* Burckhardt (travels in Arabia, vol. II., p. 301) speaks "of a copious rivulet flowing through the town" of Badr, but the field of Badr lay a mile to the north.

† Hishâmî, p. 359. Wâkidy, 1251.

such defeats as this,—the reverse at Ohod, and the temporary, but nearly fatal, discomfiture among the defiles of Honein. They have an important bearing on some of Mohammed's own arguments in the Koran, where victory is quoted as a miraculous interposition of the divine arm in his favour.

Again, in the work before us, several essential features in Mohammed's life have been treated with great curttness, sometimes hardly alluded to at all. The frightful butchery of the Bani Coreitza,—the whole of whose adult males, to the number of from six to nine hundred, were murdered in cold blood, Mohammed himself looking on,—and the numerous assassinations conducted by the prophet's express sanction and direction, in the most dastardly and infamous manner, are sufficient to brand his character with an indelible stigma of disgrace. These incidents have not been developed with the fulness they deserve.

It is strange that Washington Irving, with all his sources of information, could have been led into so strange a misrepresentation as the following :—

He himself (Mohammed) is charged with the use of insidious means, to rid himself of an enemy : for it is said, that he sent Amru ibn Omeyd on a secret errand to Mecca, to assassinate Abu Sofîân, but that the plot was discovered, and the assassin only escaped by rapid flights. *The charge, however, is not well substantiated, and is contrary to his general character and conduct.*—p. 118.

The charge is proved on the evidence of the earliest and best authorities, and is in entire keeping with the character of Mohammed

Not to weary the reader with the specification of inaccuracies, which abound everywhere, let us take two from the closing scene.

After the death of the prophet, "the body *was placed in a magnificent tent.* * * * When these preparations were completed, his family *led the funeral procession*, followed by the surviving companions of his flight, by the principal citizens of Mecca, and by a silent crowd of men, women, and children."—(*Bombay Life*, p. 109 ; *London Life*, p. 84.)

This is pure imagination. The body was never removed from the little chamber in Ayesha's house, in which the prophet died, and there it was interred, under the couch on which he had breathed his last.

Throughout both works, there is an utter carelessness as to the correctness of the names ; the most palpable errors being admitted over and over again. As the most of these occur, both in the London and Bombay editions, it is evident, that the latter

has blindly copied from the former. The following are specimens of the mistakes common to both. *Jereera* for *Jezeera*: *Hamya* for *Hamza*: *Tajif* for *Tayif*: *Khazrai* for *Khazra*: *Ledra* for *Sedra*: *Amzu* for *Amru*: *Abdul Kahman* for *Abdul Rahman*: *Safiza* for *Safia*: *Ghaftan*, for *Ghatfan*: *Zeinah* for *Zeinab*. But the most curious instance is, the substitution repeatedly of *Hodeibirgia* for *Hodeibia*, the famous spot where the ten years' truce was concluded with the Coreish. So, also in quoting from Sura LIII. 8, the word "*pulpit*" has been inadvertently printed in the London edition (p. 46) for "*prophet*," and the mistake has been copied in the Bombay edition!

The reader of Washington Irving ought to be cautioned against similar literal errors, as *Otha* for *Otha*: *Gothreb* for *Yathreb*: *Raab* for *Kaab*: *Rueim* for *Nueim*, &c.

The historical part of the Bombay Life closes with the following paragraph:—

Such are the particulars that have come down to us of the life of Mohammed. The question arises, how far may we regard these accounts as trustworthy? When we consider that *Abulfeda*, the most judicious of Mohammed's biographers, did not live till 700 years after Mohammed, we may naturally entertain doubts concerning many things that are recorded concerning him. What guarantee have we, that the legends invented long after the death of the pretended prophet, have not assumed the rank of historical facts? If it were not for the Koran, we would be utterly at a loss for ground to stand upon. Many chapters, and a multitude of passages in this, have evidently sprung out of particular exigencies in the career of Mohammed; and they very safely guide us to some knowledge of the event as to which they refer. And, perhaps, we may aver that we have a sufficiency of credible information, to enable us to form an estimate of his character, and to understand the means by which his religion became established in the world."—p. 110.

The reference made in this passage to *Abulfeda*, is most inconclusive. With equal justice might it be applied to Charles the Fifth, and his historian Robertson—"when we consider that 'Robertson, the most judicious of Charles the Fifth's biographers, did not live till three centuries after him, we may naturally entertain doubts concerning many things that are recorded concerning him!'" There were many credible historians of the emperor before Robertson, and many of the prophet also before *Abulfeda*.

The remainder of the paragraph is sound and important; but the truth it contains, ought to have been developed, and not barely stated. It is evident, that a philosophical discrimination of the classes of alleged historical facts, handed down by the traditions of the first and second centuries of the Hegira, and the assignment to each class of its real value, constitutes, along with the Koran, the true ground for a satisfactory biogra-

phy of Mohammed. If the Mohammedan mind could be led to such critical study, it would rapidly produce distrust of the dogmas of Islam.

The concluding chapters of the Bombay biography, which contain general remarks upon the character and system of Mohammed, are, upon the whole, excellent, and the comparison with Christianity is striking and just. The estimate of the prophet is usually fair, but on some occasions it is too severe. While it is allowed that he deceived himself, lust and ambition are adduced, as the real and sole motives of his conduct. Doubtless, he was moved also by other less questionable principles of action: doubtless, he commenced with the sincere, and, perhaps, single, desire of setting forth *the truth*: and some vestiges of this sincerity unquestionably clung by him to the close of his career. It is not only unjust, but highly inexpedient, to indulge in such strong and unqualified abuse as the following!—

But Mohammed shadowed these truths, by mixing them with fables, contradictions and blasphemies: with foolish mummeries, and with fierce and bloody principles; and the entire system was moulded to the one base purpose of bringing the sanctions of religion to support his schemes of lust and conquest.—*Bombay Life*, p. 158.

Our chief object in discussing the subject now, is to show the inexpediency of publishing any Vernacular version of the *Bombay Life of Mohammed* in its present state. Much it contains that is admirable, and well-suited to the natives of India; but it requires a careful revision: the numerous errors in the biographical details should first be rectified by native authority, the gaps and meagre slurring over of important passages, should be filled in and completed, and a more equal proportion imparted to the various incidents, before it is presented to the Mohammedan or the Hindu public.

It is, indeed, high time for us to bestir ourselves, and give to our native fellow subjects a Vernacular life of the prophet of Arabia. We have as yet presented them with nothing of the kind: and their own current biographies of Mohammed are the veriest inanities, which, by any possibility, could be imagined.

To give some idea of the style of these biographies, it may be advisable to present extracts from a treatise in Urdu, which has met with a favourable reception, and is much sought after by Mohammedans.

It is called MAULUD SHARIF, or "THE ENNOBLED NATIVITY," but is not confined to the birth or childhood of Mohammed. Three editions of this work now lie on our table, the first printed at Lucknow in the year 1265, Hegira,

(1843) containing 48 pp. royal octavo: the second at Cawnpore, in 1267, Hegira, (1845), 68 pp.: the third at Agra, in the present year, much enlarged, pp. 94. No less than ten or twelve editions are said to have been already printed at Lucknow.

The author is Gholâm Imâm Shahîd, a polished and ornate writer of some celebrity, and formerly an officer of standing in the Court of Sudder Dewany, at Agra.

The work professes to be formed of traditions, each new story being introduced by the words *riwâyet hai*, or *naql hai*, "it is related," or "there is a narrative to the effect that," &c.

It is interspersed with pieces of poetry, generally in Persian, sometimes in Urdu, lauding Mohammed, and appealing to the hearts and affections of devout Moslems.

The great bulk of the book is composed of traditions of a late fabrication, such as are not to be found in the early biographies, as Hishâmî and Wâkidy; or are disfigured by gross additions. None of the early Arabic authorities appear to have been consulted, but such late and untrustworthy Persian works, as the *Rowzat ul Ahbâb*, the *Madrij ul Nabûwat*, the *Maddrij ul Nubûwat*, &c. Moulvî Ghulâm Imâm of course ignores criticism in any shape.

The legends recorded in this biography are incredibly extravagant. The improbabilities are so great, that the most childish intellect, honestly exercised, would not, for a moment, entertain them. And yet all is told,—the visits of angels, and their conversations, scenes of Heaven and Hell, both past and prospective, and above all, that wild fiction, transcending mortal imagination, of Mohammed's existence cycles of years before the creation,—with unhesitating credence, as mere matters of fact. The first eight pages trace the progress of the "Light of Mohammed," from its first creation, to the conception of the prophet. After the usual introduction, the work opens thus:—

Ye that are lovers of the face of Mohammed, and ye that be enamoured with the curls of Ahmed, know and be well aware, that the light of Mohammed is the origin of all existing things, and the essence of every thing that hath a being: because that when it pleased the Great Creator to manifest his glory, he first of all created the light of Mohammed from the light of his own Unity; and from the light of Mohammed produced every existent being. Now this glorious personage was made the last of the prophets, solely on this account, that, as the rising sun chaseth away the splendours of the moon and stars, so doth the glory of the religion of Mohammed supersede all other religions; had, therefore, that pre-existent light displayed its brilliancy at the first, then would all other prophets have shrunk into obscurity, and been shorn of their Apostolic dignity.

After tracing this light into the form of a star, its history is interrupted by some stories such as the following:—

A tradition runs, that in the days of the children of Israel, there was a

sinfel and flagitious man, who, for the space of 200 years, wearied every one by the enormity of his offences; when he died, they threw his corpse upon a dunghill—no sooner had this been done, than Gabriel coming to Moses, spake thus:—Thus saith the Almighty God, "This day my friend hath departed from the world, and the people have cast his corpse upon a dunghill. Now let that corpse be dressed and prepared for burial, without delay: and ye shall speak unto the children of Israel, that they forthwith recite the burial service over his bier, if they are desirous of pardon." Therefore, Moses marvelled exceedingly, and enquired why forgiveness was required; and God answered thus:—"The Lord well knoweth all the sins which that sinner hath, during these 200 years, committed; and verily he never could have been pardoned: but one day this wicked man was reading the Towrat, and seeing there the name of the blessed Mohammed, he wept and pressed the page to his eyes. This honour and reverence shown to my beloved, was pleasing unto me, and from the blessed effects of that single act, I have blotted out the sins of the whole 200 years." Lovers of the blessed Mohammed! Rejoice in your hearts, and be assured, that love for the holy prophet,—the Lord of the creation, is in every possible condition the means of salvation.—p. 8.

A tradition follows regarding the judgment day, the examinations of which are to be conducted solely with the object of showing to Mohammed, how much the Lord forgives for his sake! Again, when Adam sinned and fell, the sentence went forth to expel him from Paradise. He begged and prayed for pity, appealing, in every variety of way, to God's mercy and promise of future prophets. But it was of no avail; after every fresh entreaty, the command was repeated for the angels to carry him away. At last, as they were dragging him off, the blessed word passed his lips, "have mercy on me for the sake of Mohammed:" instantly the Lord commanded the angels to let him go, and even to treat him with reverence, "for he hath taken hold of a great intercessor, and his sins are forgiven for Mohammed's sake."

Where such absurd legends are received as facts, to what a state of superstitious credulity must the spiritual and intellectual faculties of the Mohammedans be reduced! Another example will suffice. Satan used every day to receive from an angel a blow upon his face, so severe, that the effects remained till the following day. When the Lord of creation, the prophet of Islam, appeared, Satan besought that he should not be shut out from the benefits of his advent, seeing that these are promised in the Koran to all creation: the Lord therefore commanded that from that day forward, the blow should be discontinued. "Oh Moslems, consider this! If the rejected Satan was delivered from these calamitous blows, by the appearing of the blessed Mohammed, what wonder that his followers shall be kept safe from the pains of hell-fire?"—p. 6.

After this digression, the history of the "Light of Mohammed"

is resumed. The following is a brief sketch of the wearisome details. When God wished to manifest himself, he formed the "Light of Mohammed," a thousand years before the creation. This light performed in the Heavens, the duties of circuit and obsequance for a long space of time. It was then formed into a substance, and divided into ten portions, viz., the throne, the tablet of decrees, the sun, moon, &c., and last of all, the SPIRIT OF MOHAMMED. This spirit spent 70,000 years in adoration about the throne of God, and 5,000 upon the foot-stool. Gabriel and other angels then descended, by order of the Lord, to obtain a small portion of the earth; and the earth, hearing the name of Mohammed, split asunder and produced from the spot of the prophet's grave, a white piece like camphor. This was then wrought up with aromatics into the essence of Mohammed's being, and carried round the worlds, by Gabriel, who sounded the glad tidings to all creation, "This is the earth of the beloved of 'the Lord of all worlds, the intercessor for the guilty,'" &c. Long before the creation of Adam, this remained suspended like a lamp, or sparkling star, from the highest Heavens. It was, in fact, the "Faith," which, according to the Koran, was offered to all creatures, but the responsibility was shunned by all. Rash men alone accepted it.

And thus the "Light of Mohammed" was given to man, and beamed forth from the forehead of Adam. It descended from generation to generation, through a favoured chain, and at last shone in the brow of Abdallah.

The prodigies related of Abdallah, may be imagined from the extravagancies of the preceding narrative. At times a brilliant lustre encircled every thing around him: the earth saluted him as "the Light of Mohammed;" at his approach, the withered trees revived, and again drooped as he departed; the idol demons entreated him not to come near and precipitate their destruction, and his father, Abdal Muttalib, prophesied, saying, "Hail Abdallah! From thy loins shall be begotten the lord of the prophets," &c.

Then follows the transfer of this light to Amina, Mohammed's mother. The night of Mohammed's conception was marked by prodigies in heaven and in earth: 200 damsels of the Coreish died of envy; the din of the angels' joy was heard even on earth: Gabriel affixed a green crescent to the caaba, &c.

The birth of Mohammed is at last recorded; pious Mohammedans are stirred up by hymns and prayers to rejoice and to bless the prophet. The prayers are composed of stale repetitions, but the hymns are curious, and might help to a model Christmas hymn, adapted to the native taste.

The following are a few specimens of wonders that followed the birth of Mohammed. Amina relates that she heard a fearful noise, which cast her into an agony of terror, but immediately a white bird came, and laying its wing upon her bosom, restored her confidence: she became thirsty, and anon a cup of a delicious beverage, white as milk, and sweet like honey, was presented by an unseen hand; heavenly voices, and the tread of steps, were heard around her, but no person was seen: a sheet was let down from heaven, and a voice proclaimed, that the blessed Mohammed was to be screened from mortal view: numerous birds of Paradise, with ruby beaks and wings of emerald, strutted along, regaling her with surpassing warbling; men from the mid heaven scattered aromas around her, &c.

No sooner was Mohammed born, than he prostrated himself on the ground, and raising his hands to heaven, prayed earnestly for the pardon of his people. He was then swept away in a cloud of light, and carried to the four quarters of creation, that all things might recognize the glories of Mohammed, and "know that in him all the excellencies of previous prophets centred;—the vicegerency of Adam; the beauty of Joseph; the grace of Jesus," &c.

Safia, Mohammed's aunt, was present at his birth: and testifies to six memorable incidents. *First*, the new-born prophet performed obeisance, and prayed with a slow and distinct voice, "Oh Lord; pardon my people, pardon my people!" *Second*, in clear and eloquent tones, he repeated the Creed, "I bear witness that there is no God but the Lord alone, and that I am his apostle." *Third*, the light of Mohammed obscured the lamp. *Fourth*, she was about to wash the new-born babe, when a voice from the unseen world said, "Oh Safia, trouble not thyself, I have sent forth the blessed Mohammed washed and pure." *Fifth*, he was born circumcised and with his navel cut. *Sixth*, on his holy back the seal of prophecy was visible in letters of light, more resplendent than the morning star, viz., "There is no god, &c."

Three persons, brilliant as the sun, appeared from heaven. One held a silver goglet; the second an emerald tray; the third a silken towel; they washed him seven times, then blessed and saluted him with a glorious address as the prince of mankind.

Abdal Muttalib, was, at the time, in the caaba, where a number of prodigies and voices from the holy temple apprized him of the wonderful event. He instantly repaired to Amina, and finding the light departed from her, insisted on seeing his grand-child. She informed him that its invisible guardians

had ordered that no one should see it for three days. Abdal Muttalib thereupon fell into a rage, and threatened to kill either himself or her. She was about to produce the child, when one, with a drawn sword, stepped between, and exclaimed, that no mortal should set eyes upon the babe, until all the favoured angels had visited him. Abdal Muttalib was affrighted, and the sword dropped from his hands.

All the Kings of the earth were struck with dumbness, and remained inarticulate for a day and a night: the vault of Kesra was rent; fourteen of its battlements fell to the ground, &c.

After further prodigies of this description, there succeeds in great detail the story of Halima, the nurse of Mohammed. This legend, in its earliest recorded form, is given by Dr. Sprenger (p. 143) with a sufficiency of fabulous matter. It will not be doubted that Ghulâm Imâm's version advances incomparably farther. A few of the marvels of the prophet's childhood may be added here:—

“There is a tradition, that the Lord of the universe—the blessed Mohammed, used to advance as much in one day, as other children in a year. When two months old, he made himself understood by signs and beckonings; in the third month he arose of himself and stood upright; in the fourth he began to walk, taking hold of the wall, and in the fifth, without assistance; in the sixth month, he could walk fast, and in the seventh he could run; in the eighth month he could talk, and in the ninth speak with the most perfect eloquence. After the tenth month, he contended with the boys in archery, and, when in his second year, he appeared like a full-grown youth.”

Halima adds, that the first words which issued from his blessed mouth were the Creed: that he never took up anything in his hands without saying, “in the name of the Lord:” that his infantile gear was never dirtied as is usual with children, nor ever required to be washed, &c.

Mohammed himself related to his uncle Abbas, in after years, that when an infant, his nurse happened to tie his hand rather tight, and that he wept sorely. But the moon addressed him thus, “If a drop of thy tears falls to the earth, it will never again be green and fresh, until the judgment day;” “so for the love of my people,” continued Mohammed, “I refrained from crying, and the moon talking with me, kept me engaged with her in prattle, lest I should cry.” Abbas expressed his astonishment that his nephew should remember incidents that occurred when he was six weeks old; but Mohammed only added to his wonder, by telling him, that he perfectly recollected facts which happened when in his mother's womb. The noise of

the eternal pen on the tablet of fate, and the sound of the sun and moon making obeisance before the Almighty!

Next occurs a long description of Mohammed's person and manners, to which is appended the following notable illustration of Mohammedan superstition:—

Mohammed Husein, manager of the *Mohammedy* press, respectfully urges upon all those who love the prophet of the Lord, that they transfer to the mirror of their hearts, this ennobled description of the personal appearance of the prophet, which is a literal translation from the traditions of Tirmidzy; in order that if perchance, in a true vision they should see the blessed prophet himself, they may know the vision to be a real one, and give thanks to the Lord for it. Because, according to his own words, "whoso hath seen me, hath seen the truth," that is, "whoever hath seen me in a vision, hath really and truly seen me the blessed Mohammed," such an one shall escape the deceptions of Satan: for Satan is unable to assume the glorious appearance described above, but oft times, shows himself in other forms, and claiming to be a prophet, beguiles the ignorant worshippers, in their visions and reveries.—p. 21.

The legend of Mohammed's chest being opened, follows in detail. And after that, the death of Amina and of Abdal Muttalib; Abu Talib's guardianship; Mohammed's marriage; the fits of inspiration; the conversion of the early Moslems, &c., are all disposed of, with a few meagre and apocryphal notices, in *two* pages! On the subject of miracles our author finds a more congenial theme.

To give one hundredth, or even a thousandth part of the notorious miracles performed by the holy prophet.—Even if the waves of the ocean were turned into pens, its waters into ink, and the expanse of heaven into one vast scroll,—would, be utterly impossible. The least of them are as follows.—p. 24.

This grandiloquent opening is but faintly sustained. The absence of all shadow, (which is followed by a most blasphemous application:*) the splitting of the moon: that birds would not fly over, nor flies alight, on him: the evidence of a corpse interred 100 years before, of the stones, of a porpoise, and of a golden peacock, which issued from the rocks, are stated to be too notorious to require farther description. But the author, as is usual, enters into a very copious detail of the Mirāj, or heavenly ascent, which occupies eleven pages. The absurdities and extravagancies of this narration are inconceivable, but it is needless to recount them.

* "Ah! ye who love the blessed Mohammed! a beautiful thought, of the amorous class, here occurs to me, which will be pleasing to the pure-hearted sufies. It is this, that God Almighty declareth himself to be in love with the great source of love (Mohammed :) but the lover doth not like to see his beloved accompanied by a shadow:—

"No shadow near thee let me see,
Lest love beget fond jealousy!"—p. 25.

Passing over the rest of his Meccan history, and the whole of his Medina career, the author hastens to the last scenes of the prophet's life, which he deems it necessary to introduce in an apologetic strain, as if it were a matter of astonishment "that he, for whom Adam, nay for whom 18,000 worlds, were created," should be required to die. The death-bed account is made up as usual of a number of apocryphal traditions and conversations. Gabriel visits the prophet with messages of condolence and enquiry from the Lord; and he offers him life and health, should he desire it: at last, he comes to him, accompanied by Azrael, the angel of death, whom Fatima takes to be an Arab, and refuses to admit. Gabriel delivers his message, that Azrael was commanded, implicitly, to obey the prophet's orders, and either take his spirit, or retire at once, as he preferred. Mohammed, in consternation and distress, applies for counsel to Gabriel, who then pictures to him the glories of Paradise, "the black-eyed houries adorned from head to foot, and waiting in expectation of his glorious approach," the safety of his people secured through his merits and intercession, &c. Mohammed, re-assured by these exciting prospects, gives the command to Azrael, and dies.

Till the hour of his burial, a thick darkness overspread Medina, so that one could not see his hand or his neighbour's face; when Abbas lifted up the winding sheet, the lips of the deceased prophet were seen to move, and to repeat the same prayer for his people, as issued from his lips when newly born. The angels offered to convey his body to Paradise, but Mohammed preferred not to be separated from the creatures he had come to save; a fact which is thus improved:—

Ye lovers of Mohammed! consider for a moment the wonderful compassion and grace, which showered such favours upon us, unworthy handfuls of the dust! verily, it is incumbent upon us to sacrifice our very selves for the sake of such a compassionate intercessor, and to become ennobled by visiting his glorious tomb, and sacred resting place.—p. 48.

There is much more in this strain: but we have already trespassed too far. Two more extracts will suffice:—

In his last illness, Mohammed entered the mosque of Medina, which was filled to overflowing; and as his final request, he besought that if any one had suffered wrong or injury at his hands, he would there, without ceremony, declare it, and taking retribution for the injury done, thus enable

* This is a good illustration of the way in which such marvellous stories grew up. The genuine traditions of Wackidy speak of the *gloom* (social) cast over Medina by Mohammed's death: this was transformed into a *physical* gloom; and that again magnified into *thick darkness*. The anonymous Urdu life quoted before, gives the following correct tradition. "Anis (Mohammed's servant) said, that no day was so light as that in which Mohammed entered Medina, and none so dark and dismal as that in which he died." The metaphor became a fact.

him to go to Heaven with an easy conscience. Hearing this, Okâsha exclaimed, "Oh Prophet of the Lord, on a certain stage, when marching with thee, thou once, without due cause, scourgedst my back. I should never have desired retribution, but when thou so straitly commandedst, I felt it incumbent upon me to declare the matter." The prophet answered: "The Lord have mercy upon thee, Okâsha! Dost thou desire retribution?" "Yea: apostle of God!" Then the Lord of the universe, the blessed Mohammed, commanded Balâl to go to Fatima's house, and "bring with thee," said he, "that scourge, which I used to take with me in the war." Balâl, in consternation and distress, proceeded to that noble lady's house, and brought the scourge. Then the prophet made it over to Okâsha, and sitting in the yard of the mosque said, "the mercy of the Lord be upon thee, Okâsha! Take thy retribution, without fear or favour." Okâsha receiving the whip, prepared himself to administer stripes upon the prophet. But a mighty noise, like that of the judgment day, arose from the assembled throng. The prophet's companions, one after another, stepped forward, and expostulated with Okâsha on the fearful temerity of scourging Mohammed, the messenger of God, who was moreover in so infirm a state, and close upon his heavenly journey. They offered to receive upon their own backs a thousand lashes in his stead; but Okâsha replied, that vicarious retribution was not permitted by the Lord. At last Mohammed, becoming impatient, said "perform thy work quickly, oh Okâsha! God forbid that death should rob me of the opportunity, and that this claim should remain against me to all eternity."

Okâsha replied, "Oh blessed of the Lord! when thou scourgedst me I was naked, and thou art at this time clad in raiment." The blessed prophet thereupon took off his raiment, and forthwith the whole assembly burst into the wildest grief and passionate lamentation; and the angels nearest to the Throne, poured forth their deprecations, expostulating with the Lord, &c.

At last Okâsha arose, and kissed the seal of prophecy,—the signet of apostleship: and then he spake as follows. "Oh, beloved of the Lord! It was my earnest desire that at thy last breath, I should be ennobled by looking upon the seal of prophecy; and by the stratagem of retribution, I have obtained this blessed fortune; and neither didst thou, most holy prophet, ever touch me with the scourge, nor could I have had the temerity, really, to demand retribution."

The prophet invoked a blessing upon Okâsha, and departed to his own abode.—p. 88.

It is hardly necessary to add that this, from beginning to end, is a pure work of fancy, and that the early traditions contain not a vestige of the tale.

The following is a common type of the childish legends, by which the later traditionists have endeavoured to discredit our scriptures:—

A narrator relates, that there was, in the kingdom of Syria, a Jew, who, while busily engaged one Sabbath day in perusing the Old Testament, perceived the name of the blessed prophet written in four places; and out of spite he cast that leaf into the fire. On the following day, he found the same name written in eight places; again he burnt the page. On the third day he found it written in twelve places. The man marvelled exceedingly, saying within himself, "the oftener I cut out this name from the Old Testament, the more do I find it written therein. If I go on at this rate, I shall soon have the entire scriptures filled with the name." At last he

became desirous of visiting the prophet, and filled with this anxiety, by day and by night, he travelled from stage to stage, till he reached Medina.

The story goes on to say, that when he arrived, Mohammed had been dead three days. His followers concealed the fact from the Jews, fearing it might stagger his faith. At last, learning the truth, he tumbled senseless on the ground, beating his head and calling out: "Alas! alas! my journey is in vain. Would I had never been born!" He then entreated to be shown the clothes Mohammed wore, and they were brought forth from Fatima's house, patched in seven places. Immediately he smelled the fragrance of them, and clasping them to his eyes, exclaimed, "Let my soul be a sacrifice to the sweetness of thy fragrance, oh Mohammed! Alas, that I missed the sight of thee!" He then repaired to the tomb, repeated the creed, and prayed thus: "If my cry be accepted in the court of heaven, then call me, this very moment, to the presence of my beloved!" He fell to the ground, exclaiming, oh Mohammed! oh Mohammed! and expired in the arms of his love.—p. 46.

It may be thought, that far too much attention and space have been allotted to this pitiful work. But a little reflection will justify the pains we have devoted to it.

The book is a type of the Mohammedan mind of India;—credulous beyond belief. It is an important illustration of the position laid down in a previous number of this *Review*,* that although Mohammedans are captious, and pseudo-critical to the utmost, when attacking other religions, they are incredibly simple and superstitious, it may be wilfully blind, in reference to their own faith.

This biography has been favourably received by the mass of the people: it has been eagerly bought up, and has gone through repeated editions.† It therefore bears the stamp of popular approval. Farther, its author is a man of letters and intelligence: for many years he held a ministerial office in our highest court of judicature; and was there promoted to an honourable post, implying that he possessed more than usual intelligence and ability. The work of such a man may fairly be viewed as a gauge of the *educated* and *literary* mind of India.

Regarded thus, as an index of the ideas and dogmas, against which we have to contend, too much stress cannot be laid upon such treatises. It is incumbent upon us to know well our adver-

* No. VIII. p. 470.

† The last edition was forwarded to us by the publisher, at Agra, just as this article was going to press, with the following note. "The work *Maulûd Sharîf*, composed by our patron, Ghulâm Imâm Shahîd, is well known throughout every kingdom and district. In such demand is it, that ten or twelve editions, and thousands of copies, have been printed at Lucknow, and are still being printed. There will be found hardly a village or town in the country whither this book has not reached." This is, no doubt, somewhat exaggerated, but it is still proof of immense popularity. The new Agra edition is considerably enlarged; containing ninety-four quarto pages. A great deal of Urdu poetry has been added to it.

saries' ground; and it is only by such enquiries as the present, that we can hope to reconnoitre it.

It is very sad to find, amongst educated men, so utter a want of the faculty of historical criticism, as we see here. With such persons, our great difficulty will lie in placing before them the means for discriminating the grains of truth from the masses of fabricated traditions. The Bombay biography has but alluded to the subject. Even for the unbiassed mind and intelligence of the European, the work of disentangling truth from falsehood in these traditions, is one encompassed by great difficulties: how much more difficult then to lead the Mohammedans themselves, to such principles of criticism! It is however a task, towards which much has been contributed already, by the studies of our learned men; and we should not shrink from its farther prosecution.

The consideration of this subject is also useful, in pressing upon us the necessity of extreme care, that the historical details which we place before the natives, are thoroughly correct. Under the best possible auspices, they will receive our advances with distrust, and our criticism with incredulity. But if we give to them such histories as our English "*Lives of Mohammed*" have generally been, we shall place ourselves in a still worse position. Perceiving want of accuracy in our relations, and imperfection in our means of information, they will naturally doubt all our assertions, and summarily deny our conclusions. But if, on the contrary, we carefully avail ourselves of the original sources of knowledge, which the investigations of a Sprenger and a Weil have placed in our hands,—(sources as good as any open to them, and far better than those to which they are in the habit of referring,) they will be compelled to give credit to our facts, and to listen with deference to our conclusions.

If we can, *from their own books*, prove to them that they are deceived and superstitious in many important points, and can thus establish the untenableness of some of their positions;—while we at the same time admit those statements which are grounded in fact;—we shall have gone a great way to excite honest inquiry, and to induce the sincere investigator to follow our lead.

The native mind is at present not insensible to the subject. The Urdu biography of Ghulâm Imâm is, by no means, a solitary instance. There are many others. One of the most remarkable is, perhaps, that which appears weekly in an Urdu newspaper, the *Asad ul Akhbâr*,—published at Agra. Ever since its commencement, on the 7th June, 1847, the biography of Mohammed has formed the leading article of this paper, and the sub-

ject is not yet concluded. This biography is consequently much more extensive and elaborate than Ghulām Imām's "nativity," and goes in great detail into all the historical traditions and legendary narratives. These are translated from the late and credulous Persian biographers of Mohammed, whose narratives are possessed of no historical weight whatever.*

That an article on the biography of Mohammed, should have regularly appeared for the last five years, as the leader in a miscellaneous Urdu newspaper, is certainly not one of the least remarkable signs of the times, and warrants the hope, that intelligent and thinking Mohammedans are turning their attention to the historical evidences of their faith, and are comparing them with those of Christianity.

These stirrings, however, of the native mind, bear but indirectly upon Christianity. Let us enquire what has been done of late directly towards the MOHAMMEDAN CONTROVERSY. And first it may be stated, that large reprints of Mr. Pfander's treatises, both in Urdu and Persian, have been published during the last few years. This has been effected by the contributions of the public (to whom an appeal was, not in vain, made in a former number of this *Review*), and by the ever liberal aid of the noble London Tract Society.

The long threatened work of Mr. Pfander's opponent, Syad Ali Hassan,† made its appearance in 1261, Hegira (A. D. 1845). It contains 806 large octavo pages; and is denominated "KITAB ISTIFSAH," or the BOOK OF QUESTIONS. * It is written in an easy but desultory style, rambling from one subject to another, with little logical precision or arrangement.

* The editor, Camrūd Dīn, is not very familiar with Arabic, but even had he been qualified to consult the original Arabic authorities, it is doubtful whether he would have done so, as the Persian writers, with their marvellous additions, are the authorities generally referred to by natives. The earlier portion of the articles, is translated from the *Madārij al Nubūwat*, the later from the *Ronuzāt al Akhbār*. Camrūd Dīn was long employed by Mr. Pfander, and assisted him in translating his works into Urdu. He is therefore thoroughly acquainted with the Christian arguments. His style is very neat and elegant.

† See no VIII. of this *Review*, p. 450, where notice was given that Ali Hassan "is now printing a work at Lucknow in refutation of Christianity, and in defence of the Koran, at which he has been labouring for fifteen years, and which is, by the way, to contain a full reply to the *Mizān* as well as the Dīn Haqq." It was stated in the same article, that this author, as well as Ghulām Imām, was an officer in the Sudder Court at Agra. After publishing his book, and holding his controversy with Mr. Pfander, he was promoted to the independent post of Munsiff, or native judge;—a fact which must have satisfactorily proved to his countrymen that, under the Company's Government, every man is free to hold, and publicly to maintain, his own religious views, without prejudice to his worldly prosperity, or official standing. Since that time, however, both he and Ghulām Imām have been obliged to resign their posts, and the Company's service, in consequence of their having been implicated in the accusations lately brought against the ministerial officers of the court.

The first four questions, occupying forty-six pages, are devoted to the refutation of the doctrine of the Trinity. The next ten, extending over 137 pages, attack the genuineness and authority of the Bible. The main argument here is deduced from variations in the different oriental versions,—each variety in the translations being triumphantly adduced as evidence of variety and corruption in the *original*! The word of man, it is asserted, is mingled with the word of God, throughout our scriptures; and, unlike the Koran, there is no proof that every writer was inspired. There is farther no proof of the early existence of the several books, from the time of the prophets to whom they are attributed, to the period of publication; *e.g.*, from the time of Ezra to Ptolemy, and from that of the Apostles to Constantine.

The fifteenth question, or proposition, asserts, that the miracles of Mohammed are the only ones of any prophet that can be proved by testimony, those of all others being dependent upon his evidence, (pp. 183—245.) The sixteenth holds that, notwithstanding the corruption of the Bible, it contains more prophecies in favour of Mohammed than in favour of Christ. This subject is treated at great length, and with much sophistry, (pp. 245—385.)

The seventeenth and main proposition is that the same objections may be brought against Moses, Jesus, and the other prophets, and their books, as against Mohammed. Under this head is embraced the refutation of the *Mizán*, and *Din Haqq* (pp. 385—709.)

The eighteenth proposition closes the book, with a chapter on the beauties and excellencies of Islam.

This work is written in pleasing language, and in a more respectful style than generally characterizes such productions: but this praise is only comparative; for religious bigotry and ignorant pride often overbear the author's natural good feeling, and dictate passages respecting Christianity, which the dogmas, even of Islam, should have led him to shrink from. Added to the usual materials brought forward by Mohammedans on such occasions, there is an ostentatious display of some shallow English learning, and ideas which the author has picked up from translations and conversation. On the whole, the spirit of the work, though abounding with the usual blasphemies which make the ears of Christians to tingle, is better and more reasonable than we usually find. A few specimens, taken pretty much at random, will, perhaps, be interesting to the reader.

Thirteen pages are spent in labouring to prove that Mohammed is "the prince of this world," spoken of in the New Testament. In disposing of the objections to this view, he endeavours to explain away John v. 19. "The whole world lieth

in wickedness": finding that other versions translate the latter words "in the wicked one," he adds:—

Behold! Two copies give it one way, and three the other. To which shall the preference be given? How conclusively the corruption of the original text is here proved! This is what I call corruption, (*tahrif*.)—*p.* 336.

In treating of the variations, or as he will have it, corruptions of the MSS. of the Bible, such arguments as the following frequently occur:—

Urbanus VIII., of the Romish Church, Sergius Harūnī, and other learned Christians, admit, that in the original manuscripts, both Hebrew and Greek, some degree of corruption has crept in, and that words and modes of construction, opposed to the genius of the original languages, are found in these books. See now, how my argument is proved by confession of the defendants! There is this attempted explanation, indeed, that these errors originated in the carelessness of the writers, or want of ability in the translators. But such a fanciful theory cannot impugn the confirmation afforded by this concession, to my claim. Again, they say, that the Holy Ghost, and the prophets themselves, were accustomed to write in this strange and erroneous manner (*ghalat palat.*) But this is in effect my very argument, "that" (in the words of the Koran) "they write passages with their hands, and then say this is from the Lord," *i. e.*, they say of what they have themselves composed, that it is the word of God. Now to attribute such errors to the Holy Ghost and to the prophets, is the same as attributing them to God.—*p.* 433.

He endeavours to rebut Mr. Pfander's argument, that the Bible was from an early date in the hands of multitudes throughout the world, and that it was impossible all should unite in corrupting it, in the following manner:—

Twelfth proof. It is evidently *possible*, that any book, say the *Shah Nameh*, might be in the hands of every man throughout the whole world, and that every man might, in his own place, make the same alteration therein. This is not an intellectual impossibility: at the very most it would be a miracle. Seeing, then, that this is not a logical impossibility, the proof of it might be established by the same species of evidence as that by which the mission of Moses or Jesus is established:—that is to say, by him who is endowed with prophecy, and showed evident miracles,—the last of the prophets,—and who hath evidenced both facts equally by an inspired declaration.

Seeing how that copies of the Bible, at that early epoch, were not spread abroad to so great an extent as is now the case, but remained for the most part in the hands of those alone whose perfidy was foretold by Jesus and his Apostles, and that it afterwards reached you, through those regarding whom you yourselves testify, that for centuries they held an undivided power and authority over that book, it results that its corruption would not amount even to a miracle, and must consequently be admitted on the testimony of the prophet of Islam; and under any circumstances, the assertions of such corruption cannot be regarded as reflecting on the prophetic claim of Mohammed (as if he had advanced an intellectual impossibility.)

And the great injustice, and departure from right, which ye commit, is this, that ye do not regard the assertion of a logical impossibility to be an argument against a claim to prophecy, while you here hold the assertion of a simple miracle to be so. That is to say, the statement of the incarnation and manifestation of God, and of the equality of that which is produced to

that which produces it, (as you hold with regard to Jesus on the authority of the Bible,) is not regarded by you as falsifying the claim to prophecy; and yet ye hold a statement regarding the corruption of the Bible, which would not amount even to a common miracle, to be a disproof of the prophetic rank of the blessed prophet of Islam. Verily, this is a marvellous thing.—*pp.* 438—440.

Mr. Pfander had referred to the evidence of the Koran as proving that our Scriptures were not altered prior to Mohammed's appearance, and to the evidence of ancient manuscripts, that they had not been altered since. The following is an example of the way in which Ali Hassan endeavours to avoid this conclusion:—

According to the above interpretation of the passage* (*Sura xviii., v. 8.*) it might indeed be held, that the *prophecies* regarding the last of the prophets, were not corrupted until his appearance, else why were the people in expectation of his coming, and ready to believe upon him? My reply is, that even supposing this argument to be correct, all that would be proved therefrom, would be that only those passages containing predictions of Mohammed remained uncorrupted until his appearing; not by any means, that throughout the whole Bible no other passage had been corrupted. The padre's deduction that the *entire* Bible remained intact, thus falls to the ground.

And if any one say that the passages which contain those predictions (thus asserted in the Koran to have been altered after Mohammed's appearing) are still identically the same with the corresponding places in the ancient manuscripts to which the padre has referred; my reply is that the naked claim, of the padre, as to the existence of manuscripts thirteen or fifteen hundred years old, is not worthy of being listened to, especially as his stories, contradictions, and bigotry, have already been fully exposed. That paper and writing should remain so many ages, and yet be legible, would be miraculous indeed. Some pope, or other such personage, in order to cast suspicion on the Mussulmans, must have produced forged manuscripts, and declared they were older than the time of Mohammed. It is moreover very unlikely that the character of such a manuscript could be even decyphered, by any one now-a-days—*pp.* 448, 449.

To Mr. Pfander's account of the ancient manuscripts of the New Testament, the Vatican, Alexandrine, &c., and explanation of their value, Ali Hassan makes the following reply:—

It is evident that the padre sahib is not on terms of intimacy with any of the distinguished gentlemen who preside in our courts, otherwise he would have known, that if contending parties adduce ancient documents in favour of their claims, no reliance whatever can be placed on the mere ancientness of the paper, and of the date. If then in worldly matters the oldness of the paper is no test of the age of the writing, how shall it become a test in religious affairs? And, especially, is this to be doubted, when we recollect that the heads of the Christian religion, in those days, were not such as we find the English gentlemen now to be, but were very perfidious and deceptive in their faith, such as those whom they call "*Pope*" and "*Papa*." Therefore, until due proof be advanced, I cannot concede the

* "Neither were those who possessed the Scriptures, divided among themselves, until after the clear evidence (Islam) had come unto them." See Sale's note.

ancientness of these manuscripts, as assumed by the padre. And the more so, as such a conclusion would be in opposition to the commentators of the Bible, Urbanus VIII. &c, for if these ancient manuscripts be really genuine, whence and how came the corruptions of the text, which they admit to exist. But all this reasoning would only then be necessary, if it were really admitted, that the padre spoke the truth, and that these manuscripts really do exist, and bear the date of completion inscribed on them, and are clearly legible; otherwise, the whole statement seems to me to be unfounded.—*pp.* 454, 455.

With respect to the writings of the fathers, and the quotations from the Scriptures contained therein, the following is one of his replies:—

It is evident, from the way in which the reverend gentleman speaks, that these books are not written like our commentaries, which give the whole text piece-meal; but that the words of Jesus are quoted in them as in our scientific or religious works, in which the Koran and the traditions are often referred to. But where have I ever held that the *whole* of the Old and New Testaments has been altered, or that the pure Gospel was not written by some of the Apostles? Thus even admitting, which I do not, that these books are really true and correct, and the authority of their writers acknowledged, their correspondence with the manuscripts handed down, would neither injure my argument nor benefit yours.—*pp.* 458, 459.

The Moulvi's remarks on the advantages of conquest, and its legality, as a means of spreading Islam, are very curious, especially as he makes many references to occidental history, to the spread of Christianity in Britain under Edgar, and to its present favourable prospects under the prestige of British victory in India.

In concluding his answer to the *Mizân ul Haqq*, he explains why he has not quoted his adversary at length, and answered him word for word. "If these unprofitable disquisitions were confined by the padres, to two or three treatises, and they were such sort of people that when the groundlessness of their assertions had once been proved, other padres would hide their heads, and English gentlemen would keep them back from advancing such absurdities in future,—then, indeed, there were some object in replying to their arguments word by word. But such is far from being the case: nay, thousands of padres earn their bread by this very trade, and their livelihood consists in attacking the religions of other people,—quite apart from the consideration of whether those religions are supported by reason or not. They are constantly writing and printing new treatises, without any sort of rational ground; but simply, in order to support their families, they labour night and day at this work. Besides, if you prove never so well the unreasonableness of a padre's statements, it seems to have no effect whatever upon any other Christian, and no one endeavours to persuade such a writer to give up

these irrational arguments. Seeing therefore that it does not constitute *our* livelihood to spread abroad religion, and that English gentlemen, though they be lovers of fair argument, yet maintain only these padres in their service, and give nothing to the professors of *other* religions, for the same purpose, say, how can it be expected of us to reply word for word to the arguments of these padres? Indeed, we ought to regard ourselves as fortunate in not being hindered by the officers of the Sirkar Company, from replying even to the pith of our adversaries' objections; and such of these officers as are of a philosophical turn of mind, can themselves appreciate a well-framed refutation. The real objections, too, are, in fact, confined to narrow ground; it seemed, therefore sufficient to reply only to them."—pp. 605—607.

Ali Hassan does not treat the *Din Haqq* with so much respect even as the *Mizân ul Haqq*.

"Know," says he, "that whatever grounds of reasonable dispute,—such as they are,—the Christians have against the Moslems, are (along with much unreasonable matter,) contained in the *Mizân ul Haqq*. Now as to the other treatise,—the *Din Haqq ki tahqiq*; wherever in some little measure it is the shadow of certain portions of the *Mizân ul Haqq*, it is upon the whole reasonable. But the remaining, and by far the greatest portion, is much more unreasonable than the unreasonable statements of this *Mizân*."—p. 607.

We had marked many other passages for translation, but shall confine ourselves to one only.

The author of the *Din Haqq*, after alluding to the prophecies and historical testimonies, Jewish, Roman and Christian, in favour of Christ's death, adds that the Koran opposes them all, and that "if its author had had the slightest acquaintance with history, he would never have written so."

The Moulvî denies the predictions, and proceeds thus:—
"The padre does not perceive that the Koran itself admits, nay expressly asserts, the fact, that both Jews and Christians hold the crucifixion of Jesus; and yet he writes, that the author of the Koran was unacquainted with this historical fact! such a babbler shall have his answer from the Lord. Reflect for a moment, and hide your face with confusion. Say, what advantage could he, who gave forth the Koran, possibly have in view, when he asserted, in opposition to a vast and influential multitude, that Jesus was not slain, but had ascended to Heaven in his mortal body! Had he made his assertion to accord with the views of these immense multitudes, then indeed he had gained an object, viz., the lessening of their opposition, and he had obtained likewise an argument to strengthen his opposition to the Divinity of Christ (drawn

‘from the fact of his mortality.’)—p. 637.* He proceeds to say that the Gospel is perfectly correct, because the *semblance* of Christ was actually taken and crucified; “but there is no replying,” he adds, “to the argument you bring against us, viz., that where we agree with the Bible, it is plagiarism—where we disagree, it is false!”* No less than eighteen pages are devoted to the explaining away, with extraordinary sophistry and disingenuousness, the plain declarations of the Gospel on the subject of the crucifixion; but it is needless to multiply examples of this style of reasoning. It has rather been our object to give specimens of the more uncommon and less unreasonable portions of the book.

In 1847, Mr. Pfander published a treatise called “HALL UL ISHKAL” (“the solution of difficulties”), “*A reply to KASHF UL ASTAR and KITAB I ISTIFSAR.*” The *Kashf ul Astâr* has already been noticed at some length in No. VIII. of this *Review*. Mr. Pfander’s rejoinder is brief and pertinent, occupying eighty-four lithographed pages. It is followed by a translation of the remarks on the *Kashf ul Astâr* which appeared in this *Review*. Then follow ten questions put to Mr. Pfander by a Moulvî Syad Abdallah Sabzwari of Lucknow, with their replies.† After these comes the reply to Ali Hassan’s *Kitab i Istifsâr*, the work we have just been reviewing, (p. 99—164.) The chief points of the Moulvî’s desultory attacks are ably noticed and well refuted. The book concludes with the entire correspondence, which passed between Mr. Pfander and Ali Hassan, and which has been previously described in the No. referred to above.‡

* It may be profitable to observe in what light this Moulvî regards one of our social practices, that of dancing.

He endeavours to turn the tables against the *Dîn Haqq*, in which are advanced some just strictures upon certain indelicate passages in the Koran, by asserting that we are in the habit of justifying indelicate practices by the authority of the Bible.

“Miffam’s dancing with cymbals is adduced by Christians as proving the innocency of any kind of dancing: and supported by this and other instances in the Bible, your countrymen take their wives, daughters, and sisters, to dancing parties, and regard the custom as one approved by religion: nay, you look upon the kissing of the grown-up daughters, sisters and wives of other people, and passing the hand round their waists, pretty much in the same light as we do for men to shake hands with each other, or to fondle little children;—i. e., as right and proper. If it be really thus as I have heard, and such things are, in truth, not held by you to be forbidden by the Divine law, then it is deep disgrace to you.”—p. 622.

This passage (of which from necessity we have softened some of the expressions) shows that either the Moulvî’s informants or his own bigotry have greatly misrepresented our social practices; still it is matter for serious consideration whether some of our dances,—as the Polka and the Waltz, do not really offer to the Mussulmans a vulnerable point, of which they are not slow to avail themselves in their attacks upon our faith, and in bolstering them in their self-conceit with their own.

† A translation of these appeared in the *Christian Intelligencer*, and was the cause of some correspondence in that Journal.

‡ Vol. IV. No. VIII. p. 449.

Mr. Pfander has not, since the publication of this volume, entered into any farther written discussions with the Mohammedans. But although this controversy is for the present suspended,—and it is perhaps well that it should be so for a time,—it must not be supposed that the native mind is inactive, or that the attention of intelligent and thinking men is withdrawn from the subject.

The following extracts from the Report of the Agra Tract Society for 1852 will be read with interest, as giving satisfactory evidence on this point:—

At Dehli copies of the scriptures, and Christian books of a controversial character, have been in great demand, in consequence of the controversy between some Hindus and the Qazî, mentioned above. Many Mohammedans seem to have been aroused from the slumber of their blind confidence in their pretended prophet and his book, by the astounding fact now presented to them, that they are attacked not by the Christians only, but even by the Hindus, and that with a result not in any way flattering to themselves. To prepare for the battle, they have betaken themselves to reading our books, many, no doubt, with a desire to find arguments against us; but still this excitement amongst them can only be viewed with interest, and we cannot but hope that it will have a beneficial result in some way or other.

A Hindu friend at Dehli, through whom many Mohammedans have received tracts and books, writes on the subject: “I beg to inform you that I have received the books you forwarded to me. They have all been given away to learned Mussulmans, who required them very earnestly. At their own request, I made over to them all copies of the *Mizân ul Haqq* I had; I have even been obliged to give them my own copy. But they require still more copies, and, consequently, I beg that you will send me another supply at an early opportunity.”

In another letter he remarks, “In my opinion it would be very desirable to publish a great number of small pamphlets, containing that part of the *Mizân ul Haqq*, which shows that Mohammed performed no miracle, and that also the Koran is no miracle. This will bring numerous Moslem readers to one point, a point which is quite sufficient to show that they have no firm ground to stand upon in defending their creed. It is this point in which the Mohammedan religion is most palpably vulnerable. The ignorance of this very subject, in my opinion, makes the majority of the Mussulmans think, that Mohammed was as good a prophet as Moses and Christ.”

In a subsequent letter he writes: “A learned Mohammedan of Kurnaul has written a large work, of about 960 pages, the chief object of which appears an attempt to show that the same objections which Christians make to the Koran, can be reverted to the Bible. He has studied, I believe, with great care, all procurable translations of the Bible in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and all controversial works, and he is very probably sincere in his enquiries. As to his book, part of which I have read, I think he will find that he is highly mistaken.”

“The other day I saw two Mohammedans disputing among themselves about the objections contained in the *Mizân ul Haqq*, regarding the miracle of Mohammed. One of them was endeavoring to solve the difficulties; but the other was altogether dissatisfied with his explanations.”

The same intelligent Hindu, with another Hindu co-adjutor (both of them, by the way, specimens of the good effects that may be produced by the system of education pursued in our Government Colleges,) has himself entered the lists with the Mohammedans. The following account of a controversy held by them with the Cazi of Dehli, is extracted from the same Report :—

A Controversy between a Hindu, and Qazi of Dehli.—This is a very interesting argument : it is the one referred to at page 12 of the last year's Report : and was made over to the Committee by the Hindu, who is desirous that it should be printed. It is entirely aggressive on the part of the Hindu, who carries the battle into Mohammedan territory ; the chief ground occupied, being the insufficiency of the evidence for the miracles alleged to have been wrought by Mohammed. The argument opens with a short paper by the Hindu, who states his doubts, especially as regards the "splitting of the moon," and asks for evidence. The Qazi answers in a paper of considerable length, endeavoring to bolster up the tottering edifice of traditions ; and to explain away the damaging admissions which pervade the Koran. The Hindu rejoins in a long paper, in which he completely demolishes the Qazi's argument, proceeds to impugn the morality of the Koran, and closes with a decided expression of preference for Christianity and its evidences. The Qazi made no reply.

The Committee are preparing a short paper by way of conclusion, and opportunity will be taken to add something on the insufficiency of the Historical evidence in support of the Mohammedan traditions. The Committee trust that this publication will be received with acceptance by the Hindu community, and with interest by all.

This work is now in the press : and a most important document was placed in the hands of the committee, in time to be added as an appendix. It consists of twenty-three questions sent by a Mohammedan of Kerach, to his brother Moslems, with the view of eliciting proofs—if any exist—of the truth of Islam. The paper opens thus :—

"I was born a Mohammedan, and, at my twenty-fourth year, am still of the same religion : but I now perceive by the exercise of my intellect, that the Mohammedan religion is false, and the Christian true : because there is no proof whatever of the inspiration of Mohammed." He proceeds to state that he considers Islam to be wanting in evidence and miracles ; that there can be but one true religion in the world given by God, and that if he neglects that, he incurs the perils of hell. "Therefore I am urged by the fear of future punishment to ask the sages of Islam, if their religion be really true, to prove it to me. And it is their bounden duty either to prove or to forsake it. With this view I have prepared a few questions for my own peace of mind, and entreat a fair and reasonable answer, such as shall aid me in reaching the truth. May the

‘ Almighty direct me to Himself, and let Him not be displeased with me !’

We believe this to be the genuine effusion of an anxious, burdened spirit, and heartily join in its concluding prayer. The twenty-three questions embrace the grand points of controversy discussed in the *Mizân ul Haqq*: and are short, but conclusive.

Such appearances are encouraging. We receive them as types of the intellectual enquiry and spiritual thought now at work both among the Hindus and Mohammedans. A few singular cases have risen to the surface and attracted our attention. How many similar instances may be occurring, deep and unknown, among the masses of the people, we have no means of knowing. It is undoubted, however, that more correct and extensive knowledge of Christianity is gradually permeating all classes of our fellow-subjects, and that a slow, but sure, advance towards enlightenment is in progress. It is true that, in the view of human agency, there are more hopeful tokens among the Hindus than amongst the Mohammedans, but this should not discourage us from our controversy with the latter, which indeed must exercise a powerful, though indirect, influence upon the Hindus also. This important fact has been established by the controversy at Dehli. The Hindu, sickened by idolatry, turns to the other two religions which surround him, and enquires into their respective claims, and we must be ready at hand to meet him with the proofs of our most holy faith. It is interesting to watch on such an occasion the convincing effects of a comparison between the *morality* of the Gospel and of the Koran, apart from all questions of external proof. The Hindu, who has cast off his hereditary idolatry, is bound by no family shackles or national prejudices to Islam, and if his conscience be really awakened, the comparison of the two religions—Christianity and Mohammedanism, cannot fail to be of essential service, and, under God’s blessing, to lead to practical results.

We must not then grow weary in following this noble vocation. Britain must not faint until her millions abandon the false prophet, and the idol shrines, and rally around that eternal truth, which has been brought to light in the Gospel. At every point of contact with Islam, Christianity has the temporal ascendancy. The political prestige of Mohammed is departed for ever. The relation of France to Africa, and of Russia and Austria to the Turkish and Persian dynasties, evinces in a striking light the depression of Islam. But it is to be feared that the *spiritual* influences brought into play by these European powers are comparatively puny and ineffective. The

corruptions of the Greek and Roman Churches cannot but injure the usefulness of any efforts made by Russia or Austria,* if any such be in progress; while the Government of the former, by their expulsion from Shusby of Mr. Pfander and his band, have cast aside the Protestant assistance that was so generously afforded by Germany. Little is to be hoped for from the Roman Catholics of France; and we have no information of the proceedings of the Evangelical Churches there. They have a noble field opened for their endeavours in Algeria, and ought not to be slow in occupying it.

From this review the mind reverts with pleasure and with hope to the efforts now made in British India. Let them be prosecuted with patience, with vigour, and with dependence on the Divine blessing, and in due time that blessing will be vouchsafed.

* A late journal illustrates the practical effects of this corruption in a very painful manner. After describing the long standing disputes between the Greek and Roman Churches, for the sacred places in Palestine, the rivalries and hatred which not unfrequently end in "bloody battles even within the interior of the Churches," and inspire the Mohammedans with contempt and disgust,—the writer proceeds:—

"The quarrel of these monks and pilgrims has lately reached its greatest height. Diplomacy ensued. On the one side the chair of Rome, and France, supported the demands of the Latins. On the other side the cabinet of St. Petersburg defended the cause of the Greeks. * * * The negotiations lasted a long time. The Ottoman Porte was very embarrassed by these opposing claims, and knew not how to reconcile them. At length the disputes appear to have been arranged. This was the decision. First, the Latins shall have the outer key of the grand church of Bethlehem, and the two keys of the side gates, &c. * * * Thus all the noise that has been made, these strifes, battles, negotiations, diplomatic despatches, and long deliberations of the Ottoman Porte, concerned—what? The restitution of two or three keys, the fabrication of a silver star, the participation in such and such a compartment of an old edifice; what puerility! what pity!"—*Evang. Christendom*, April, 1852, p. 104.

This is the Christianity displayed before the Turks, these are the efforts made by the Greek and Roman Churches, such the contrast between our political ascendancy, and the spiritual humiliation to which the corruption of our faith has subjected us!

ART. VII.—*The Times Newspaper.* 1852.

A YEAR ago, our brief remarks on the subject of the future administration of India, were introduced by quoting a touching lamentation of that eminently liberal member, Mr. Joseph Hume, who had bewailed the sad fate of India, treated in general, by the House of Commons, as if it were some minor colony, scarcely worthy of a moment's consideration. The observations of the aged economist were not only perfectly just as respected the past, but they also prove to have been singularly prophetic; and that too in a manner which was hardly to have been anticipated, unless the theory be adopted that a prophecy has a tendency to originate and cause its own fulfilment. In the present instance, the year scarcely completes its circle when, *proh pudor*, our Nestor himself catches the infection, and, oblivious of the rights of India, which he had so lately championed, most unceremoniously cuts short a conversation between Mr. Herries and Mr. Anstey on the subject of a Committee of Inquiry into the laws and general management of our Anglo-Indian empire, by asking the intentions of Her Majesty's Government, not with reference to the East Indian Charter, but with regard to the future general policy of the Derby administration. A question of such universal scope, even if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been present, was not likely to elicit a very specific or satisfactory reply: but when Mr. D'Israeli was not in the House, the question was as apropos as would have been the transition to a question as to the length of a lady's bodkin, or the range of a Minie rifle. The occasion was favourable for evincing a sense of the importance of that investigation, which the President of the Board of Control, scarce installed in his office, rose thus early to promise the House; surely a word of encouragement to induce him to persist in his avowed intention, would not have been out of place; and a timely show of cordial support to Mr. Anstey, could not but have strengthened that gentleman's laudable zeal for the welfare of our Eastern Empire. But the veteran chartist preferred an abortive attempt at catechizing the understrappers of the ministry, and got his due,—a quiet snub from Mr. Walpole, for his pains. This little episode of consistency is, however, perfectly intelligible. Last June we noted Lord J. Russell's disingenuous mode of evading the weighty questions raised by Mr. Anstey's motion, and the premature development of the tactics of the Court of Directors, through the incautious eagerness of Sir J. W. Hogg and Mr. Mangles to secure

the accomplishment of their notion of a "satisfactory" inquiry, by early disseminating their ideas upon this important subject. Whig measures, or promises of measures, like soap bubbles, had become proverbial; so that at that time a general expression of sympathy for India, at the expense of the character of the Houses of Parliament, formed as good and as safe a cloak under which to convey homage, and adulatory remarks to the East India Directors, as the most astute friend of that body could have desired. The cravings of liberalism were thus cheaply satisfied, at the same time that Mr. Hume not only be-praised his allies to the public, but also avoided compromising himself on the score of any real practical endeavours for improving the administration of this great empire. The case was different when a President of the Board of Controul, new in office, but old in official experience, rose, and without any flourish or exordium about that "body of very able, and very experienced men," simply enunciated the fact, that it was "his intention, on a very early day, to move for a select committee to enquire into the operation and result of the Acts in force for the management of Her Majesty's territories in India." Decked out with no prefatory compliments, this plain, straightforward announcement betokened a purpose of acting rather than talking—of earnest rather than of make-believe; it was even free of the conventional compliment inherent in the periphrasis used by Mr. Anstey; for, instead of "the territories under the Government of the East India Company," there was the shorter, and more regal formula of "Her Majesty's territories in India." Now, the general feeling in England at that time being, that, so far as a factious opposition would permit them, the new ministry were bent on having no shams, Mr. Herries's words were ominous of no mere matter-of-form inquiry; portended no mere parade of selected information, etherealized in the Leadenhall-street alembic, but good honest investigation, and an impartial grappling with this great question. Mr. Hume, with his directorial leanings, shrunk from the very shade of such a probability; and to divert attention, threw his sparrow-hawk at nothing, or every thing, as the case might be. Meanwhile, the *Times* was blowing hot and cold with the same breath,—a strong and but little disguised partiality for the Court of Directors was evidently somewhat painfully in conflict with a shrewd perception of the real exigencies of the case; the wants of India, and of England as respects India, were but too much apparent, and difficult wholly to put aside; so, to reconcile antagonist influences, a little incense was judiciously burnt, which, doubtless, was fragrant to the

people of England, and to the magnates of Leadenhall-street; but which could not have proved quite so agreeable to the senses of the new ministry. The latter, at the same time that the possibility of improving the Home administration of India was represented as most problematical, found themselves twitted with shunning a matter of paramount importance; and the anticipated neglect of Lord Derby and his colleagues, on so momentous a subject, was adroitly turned into a charge of deliberately sacrificing the interests of India, to the satisfaction of a blind, uncalculating hostility to Free Trade.

Keeping entirely out of view the consistency and justice of a charge gravely advanced after such admissions, there was something galling in the purpose to which it was applied;—India made a lance for the champion of Free Trade, and rather unhandsomely dug into the ribs of the conservative leader. This could not have been agreeable, seeing that as both combatants bore the same device on their shields—the Company's lion, with his paw on the Crown—there was somewhat traitorous in the tilt, and, possibly, this passage of arms may have aided in precipitating Lord Derby into a measure which, unprovoked, he would evidently have preferred avoiding; namely, the appointment of a committee to take into consideration the future administration of India.

This measure, though only a preliminary one, seriously alarmed and took by surprise the staunch adherents of the East India Company. They were very confident, that the embarrassments of a new Government, insecure in its tenure of power, and struggling against a formidable and factious opposition, would find the Derby administration enough work, without any augmentation of its perplexities, by so serious an enterprise as the revision of our Anglo-Indian administration. Sanguine, therefore, has been the tone of the letters to India, that all was well in the citadel; and considerable has been the exultation accordingly at the consolatory prospect that the *status quo* was good for the next two-and-twenty years. Suddenly these comfortable anticipations were over-clouded, and the question of the future administration of India, instead of being "rudely shelved by the animosities of parties at home," is made an open question, and the Government pledging themselves to be guided by the reports of the committees, lay the subject before the House of Lords for deliberate consideration, "by what means and by what instrumentality (remembering that this is no party—no political question—it is a question of empire) the great and important interests of that overwhelming empire of India can best be promoted, and most steadily

‘advanced.’ Thus spoke and pledged the head of the administration; and although crumbs of comfort are sought in the evident leaning of Lord Derby, the “strong opinion,” which was implied, but not developed, it was felt by the interested advocates for the permanence of the existing state of affairs, that the point of the wedge was in; that able and sturdy men were at hand to impart cleaving blows, and that the probable results scarce warranted the sanguine prospect hitherto entertained, and sedulously disseminated in India, that the directorial monopoly of patronage and influence would outlive, for forty years, the conclusion of the Company’s trade monopoly.

Lord Derby, on the subject of monopoly of patronage, spoke apologetically for the Court of Directors. He seemed to feel that it was a weak point, and labouring to place the matter in as favorable a light as possible, he over-did it. Far be it from us to hazard a surmise, as to the venerable and patriarchal director, whom Lord Derby may have selected as the original of his portrait; it may have been any octogenarian whatsoever of past or present times; but, certainly, unless there was a vein of sly, but subdued and dignified humour pervading his remarks, the impression left upon the mind by the picture of his Lordship’s drawing,—sons, nephews, and also grand-sons, grouped around the feet of a Leadenhall-street sage, who is holding forth upon the good things of their land of promise, India,—is not precisely that at which the Premier’s harangue ostensibly aimed. On the contrary, it was well calculated to bring down upon his ideal patriarch the quotation that patronage, like charity, “will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool,” and that in this case there must be filled not one pool only, but thirty pools, before there could be an overflow of patronage to be distributed among those who were deserving of it, for the services they had rendered. Thirty pools, each of that depth of sons, nephews and grand-sons, which, for some reason or other, seems always to appertain to those who have the precious liquid to dispense, undoubtedly swallow a great deal of patronage; and Lord Ellenborough incontestably had it all his own way when he quoted Bacon on so abstruse a problem. We are not, however, going to repeat what we said upon this subject in September last; but we are tempted to give instances, and those very striking ones, illustrative of the powers of absorption of the pools in question, and as a necessary result, glaring instances of the “utter hopelessness” of obtaining the least from the Directors for the benefit of their ‘families,” by distinguished servants of the Company and of Her Majesty, who, though the best years of their lives had

been conspicuously devoted to India, had not the more profitable merit of belonging to one of the thirty pools. This subject, however, would be a trifle too personal; and the observations it must elicit more caustic than might be agreeable: for we should have to dissect the statement of Sir J. W. Hogg, "that an inquiry which had been instituted, had shewn that out of 2,900 appointments, 1,100 were given to the sons of servants of the Company, 1,700 to the sons of the nobility, gentry, and professional men, and the rest were given, as they ought to be, to the sons of naval and military officers in the Queen's service, and the largest proportion of all to the clergy." This sort of grouping goes with us for as much as it is worth, extremely little; but Sir J. W. Hogg understands his craft, and he must have laughed in his sleeve, at the simplicity of Sir R. Inglis's gratitude "for his very valuable contribution of facts and arguments." Having no wish or intention to wound individuals, we turn from the subject of the distribution of patronage, to a consideration of some of the more general views which were broached by Lords Derby and Ellenborough; the former nobleman with evident hesitation, and an avowed consciousness of his comparative ignorance of the vast seas of enquiry on which he was launching the House of Lords; the latter Peer, on the contrary, with a confidence and knowledge of detail characteristic of the man, and of his admitted ability. We cannot, perhaps, do better than make a few running comments upon the Earl of Ellenborough's notice of motion; not foregoing, however, our intention of ultimately treating, in separate articles, if necessary, the several heads noted at the conclusion of our second article, viz., the home branch of the Indian administration; the Court of Directors; and the army, with its associated departments.

Fictions, in the present day, whether judicial, or political, do not meet with much respect; their day is pretty well over; and every fresh inroad upon the still extensive territory of those two trusty allies, fiction and fallacy, is pretty sure of success. The advocacy of avowed fictions has become a forlorn hope, and he must be both a very bold and a very dexterous pleader who fights under that banner. Now, the boldness of the Premier was apparent enough; but we think his dexterity failed him entirely, when, after a tolerably succinct review of the series of changes in the home branches of the administration of India, he closed his retrospect with the following candid summing-up:—"When looking thus to the working of this anomalous machine, conducted, in the first place, apparently, by Directors, elected by a body of

' proprietors, who have little or no interest in the affairs of the
 ' country which the Directors are to govern;—conducted
 ' again by those Directors under the controul of the President of
 ' the Board of Controul, and literally reduced to be, in fact, a sub-
 ' ordinate Government Board,—the question naturally suggests
 ' itself, to what purpose is it to continue this complex and
 ' anomalous machinery? Why not vest the nominal authority
 ' in the same hands which are now possessed of the real? and
 ' why not altogether dispense with the unnecessary intervention
 ' of the Board of Directors?" This comes of defending a fiction;
 and the important question thus concisely and correctly put,
 will be readily enough answered by the public. Simplify your
 cumbrous and expensive machinery, which presents no advantage,
 except the sinister one of eluding responsibility; and wipe off
 another legislative falsehood, another practical imposition on the
 people. There was more of dexterity in the leading article of the
Times on this subject; but, of course, less of candour. The defence
 of fiction is necessarily disingenuous, and that able journal could
 only escape a controversial dilemma, by having recourse to transparent
 fallacies, and to the assumption of that which is the main point at
 issue. After stating that "the Government of India, by the agency of
 the East India Company, is a fiction, inasmuch as the real authority
 is vested in the Board of Controul, which can dictate unconditionally
 to the Directors,"—it asks the question, "Why, then, should this
 cumbrous machinery be retained? and why should territorial
 dominion be nominally lodged in a Court of Directors, when it
 is actually exercised by a ministerial board?" To this most
 rational question it proceeds to reply, by adroitly confounding the
 essentially disconnected subjects of patronage and dominion,—of
 the first appointment of writers and cadets in Leadenhall-street,
 with the Government of India; and then concludes with doubting,
 whether "it will prove desirable to disparage an authority which
 we are forced to preserve, and which must needs be the visible
 representative of British dominion in the East." This mode
 of reasoning is novel; the very question at issue is, whether this
 fiction of the Company's rule, with all its acknowledged anomalies,
 must needs continue, or conclude; and because there is a general
 willingness to leave the bone of contention, patronage, which has
 nought to do with sovereignty, a good deal in the hands of Directors,
 rather than wholly in those of the Crown,—to argue from this, that
 such initial patronage-holders must remain the visible representatives
 of our Anglo-Indian Empire, is to confound the administration of a
 mighty dominion with the function of satisfying some thirty deep
 thirsty pools of sons,

nephews, and grand-sons, to place the privilege of starting in life some fourteen or fifteen young gentlemen, bearing the honored name of their progenitor, upon the same footing as that of bearing the responsibility, and the honor, of the cares of an "overwhelming Empire." The Commissioners of Excise enjoy some degree of patronage, so do various corporate bodies in England; but we never heard it argued, that any of these corporate bodies, in virtue of their patronage, must needs be the visible representatives of British dominion. Argumentation of this description may be all very passable as a *jeu d'esprit*, but if meant for more, it certainly fails of effect. Single-speech Hamilton's book of *Parliamentary Logic* is not now very frequently to be met with, but *Bentham's Book of Fallacies* is often enough to be seen; and among the amusing parts of that work, the fallacies of confusion and fallacies of authority hold a high place. The Premier seems to have devoted a good deal of attention to the latter, and to have appropriated what Bentham designates the Chinese argument, glancing occasionally at another section, in which the hobgoblin argument, or that *ad metum*, figures; but the leading journal, with greater tact, has evidently been revelling in the former, taking care, however, to blend the fallacies of confusion with no small spice of those which belong to another department of this world-wide subject, and which the great purist has designated vituperative personalities, the fallacies *ad odium*. "Of the fallacies belonging to this class," says Bentham, "the common character is the 'endeavour to draw aside attention from the *measure* to the 'man; and this in such sort, as, from the supposed imperfection 'on the part of the man, by whom a measure is supported or 'opposed, to cause a correspondent imperfection to be imputed to 'the measure so supported, or excellence to the measure so opposed." However exquisite the use made of this suggestive sentence, we hold it entirely irrelevant to the matter in hand, whether the impugner of Lord Derby's laudatory remarks were influenced by love or hate of the East India Company; the question with us is not whether the Earl of Ellenborough and the Court of Directors have a brotherly affection for each other or the reverse. Judging from the articles of the *Times* on Indian affairs, it is clear that there is no love lost between the magnates of Leadenhall-street and the man whom they are pleased to consider as siding with the regal, against the corporate element of Indian Government, and whom they seek to render obnoxious by inculcating, that he is a partisan with the European army, as against the Civil Service and the sepoys. These animosities are nothing to the purpose; and we venture to predict, that,

ultimately, few thinkers will be cajoled by recourse to such well-understood modes of diversion, but at last the simple question will be, how does this very obnoxious individual grapple with the monster fiction? This is the question we propose to ourselves to answer, and we leave the adjustment of the balance of prejudice and hate, to those who have time and inclination for the discussion. If it be true, that a fiction of law may be defined, "a wilful falsehood, having for its object the stealing of legislative power, by and for hands which could not, or durst not, openly claim it, and but for the delusion thus produced, could not exercise it,"—we affirm that a fiction of politics is singularly analogous, and that the consequences of the delusions it produces are practically far more noxious and objectionable.

At the same time, we are willing to admit that the line of argument adopted by the leading journal, was for the time remarkably successful. Mr. Herries, when moving for a committee in the House of Commons, threw off the reserve which the Premier had deemed it expedient to observe; instead of merely adumbrating his favorable opinion of the existing machinery of the Home Government, he spoke with more confidence than Lord Derby, and concluded his laudatory exposition of the working of the existing system, by deferring, indeed, to the wisdom of Parliament to adopt any new mode of managing the affairs of India, which it might please to approve, though, at the same time, "he contended that the present was the best." With the exception of Mr. Anstey, others took up this key-note, with more or less of reserve, according to the party to which they chanced to belong, and the possibility of the question becoming, at a future day, somewhat of a party question. But our friend, Mr. Hume, made out the ryots extremely comfortable on the whole! the Court of Directors impeccable save on the score of irrigation and road-making; made an *auto-da-fe* of the Board of Controul; and proposed as a panacea for the maladies of India, free Trade, and that the Court of Directors should be the Council of the minister of the day! This display of the "wisdom of Parliament," proved somewhat consolatory to the alarmed dependents of Leadenhall-street; but the *Times*, rather more astute than its followers, and feeling the dangerous weakness of the cause, when it came before the public in such guise; one in which the public might chance to perceive no great difference of opinion between an Indian Council, as proposed in the Upper House, and the burking of the Board of Controul as proposed by Mr. Hume, with the view of rendering the Court of Directors the

Council, adopted the very extraordinary line of argument which, in order that we may not be said to misrepresent, we give *in extenso*, for the editorial is admirably penned, and its only fault is, that truth is misapplied :—

“ The vast questions involved in the debate on Indian affairs were treated by the speakers in the House of Commons, on Monday evening, with more than usual earnestness, and by the House itself with its ordinary inattention to remote dependencies. Any one unacquainted with the manner in which business is got through in the House of Commons, would find it impossible to believe, that during a discussion involving the destiny of one hundred and fifty millions of people, whom Providence has committed to our care, it was several times difficult to keep together the forty members required to form a quorum. There was nothing about beer or highway rates, to interest the country gentlemen ; no question of taxes or tariffs to arouse the zeal of the man of commerce ; free-trader and protectionist found no ground for contest in the affairs of a Company whose exclusive privileges have long been cancelled ; the debate was only as to the affairs of an Empire as large as Europe, and five times more populous than the British Islands, for whose welfare we are responsible before God and man. It is sad to think how little sympathy the chequered annals of the East have raised, either in the minds of our leading statesmen, or of the great body of our legislators, from the time when Burke almost schooled himself to feel as a Hindu, in his intense desire to present to Parliament and the country, a true and lively picture of Indian manners and sufferings.

And yet we cannot imagine a study more fruitful in lessons of weighty and practical experience, and more rich in important results, than a careful consideration of the principles which ought to regulate the relations between us as a governing state, and this vast and dependent empire. Shall the Government be vested, like that of our Colonies, in a minister responsible to Parliament for patronage and administration?—shall the Government be more localized than it is, and less interfered with from home?—or shall we adhere to the present system, anomalous, apparently provisional in its character, but possessing on its side, the testimony of experience, and the advantage of having been practically worked, and thoroughly understood ? Without pretending to solve this weighty problem, we may, without temerity, adduce some considerations which may tend to assist others in its solution.

In the first place, we may learn from the scanty attendance on Monday night, how impossible it is that any minister, to whom the affairs of India may be committed, should ever act under a really efficient Parliamentary responsibility. India is proverbially the dinner bell of the House. The minister will never seriously dread his responsibility, because he is well aware that complaints against him will always be made before thin, and inattentive audiences. The House will not understand the accusation or listen to the defence. It is not every century which produces a Burke ; and yet even his genius and devotion were unable to prevent the prosecution of an Indian delinquent from languishing, and dying out. The case of our Colonies ought to teach us this. Inhabited by people of our own race, speaking our own language, connected by blood and affinity with many of ourselves, and possessing our national impatience of arbitrary and centralized power, the Colonists have never been able to interest Parliament in their behalf, sufficiently to make the Colonial minister feel the weight of a real responsibility. How then shall Asiatics, aliens in race, in language, and in institutions,

and ignorant of, and unable to comprehend, our Parliamentary system, create for themselves that sympathy, and for their minister that consequent responsibility, which persons, in every way so much more favorably situated, have failed to obtain? The condition then, of governing India more entirely from home, would be irresponsible administration and patronage, the appointment of incompetent servants, and the adoption of ill-considered measures. The Colonies, up to a certain point, may be mis-governed with impunity, but in India we can neither afford to act with rashness, nor to persist with pertinacity. The stake is too great, the game too hazardous, the consequences of failure too disastrous, to permit of our handing over our Indian Empire to irresponsible caprice and ignorance.

In the Colonies every one sees the remedy for such a state of things. That responsibility which is sought in vain within the British Parliament, is easily found within the walls of Colonial assemblies. Make but the Government responsible to the Colonist, and its principal evil is remedied. But this analogy entirely fails when applied to India. Mr. Anstey does indeed say that two establishments, one in Cannon Row, and one in Leadenhall-street, are kept up to do that which the people of India can do better for themselves; but there will be very few found to echo an opinion so manifestly at variance with the teachings of experience. We cannot look to self-government as a remedy for the difficulties of Indian Government, because that Government is established over a race, which from the times of their heroes and demi-gods, never dreamt of any rule except that of an absolute Monarch. Nor can we trust very much to native aid in directing the higher functions of administration. The extraordinary code of morals, which most Hindus possess, and which teaches them to consider forgery and perjury among the most venial of offences, renders it quite necessary to place our reliance on something more trust-worthy than native purity or integrity.

It seems from this review, that we are driven to look for good Government for India, from sources quite different from those on which we rely in regulating the affairs of the British Islands or their Colonies. An Indian Government, responsible to the natives, is impossible, from their incapacity for self-reliance and union, and to Parliament from its ignorance and apathy on all but domestic questions. We must then be content, from necessity, to suffer our noble eastern empire to be ruled on principles which we would neither tolerate as applied to ourselves, nor wish, if it were avoidable, to apply to others. There is no help for it. We may alter names and forms. We may substitute an Indian council for a Board of Directors, and the name of Queen Victoria for that of the Honorable Company. But still the result will be, that whereas in this country Government is guided by public opinion, in India its course must be directed by the personal character of those to whom it is entrusted, and by the amount of their local knowledge and experience.

The main problem then of Indian Government seems to be to select persons for the office of administering its different functions, possessed of the integrity, ability, and humanity, requisite to counteract the vices of a system of necessarily imperfect responsibility. It may be doubted whether this can be better effected than by the present plan, under which a department of the Government, and a number of gentlemen possessing local experience, act and re-act upon each other, so that each in some degree checks and controls the other's motions. This is a fit subject for inquiry and discussion; and any suggestion, which may have the effect of elevating the character of the Board of Directors, by relieving them from the necessity of a laborious and humiliating canvass, or which could secure a better

disposal of the patronage, would be of the greatest practical benefit. Possibly, also, a system might be devised, by which the recent precedent of making writerships the rewards of superior merits, might be extended. At any rate, we trust that the time of the committee will not be wasted in speculations how to impart to our Indian Government an excellence which the nature of things forbids it to possess, but rather in the consideration how to train and appoint executive officers possessed in the highest possible degree of those qualities which are required for the direction of a semi-civilized empire. It is, after all, not so much by force of arms, as by superior intelligence and high character, that we govern and retain India, and the best reforms will be those which elevate that intelligence, and exalt that character, to the highest possible standard.

Now reduce this argument to its simple terms, and it amounts to this, that because India is the dinner-bell of the House of Commons, and under existing circumstances, from the present difficulty of fixing responsibility on any one, the responsibility of the President of the Board of Control to Parliament is shadowy, therefore, no attempt is to be made, by simplifying that complex machinery, which is a main cause of the evasion of responsibility and of the indifference of the houses, to mitigate an evil which all deplore, and which evidently cannot be remedied otherwise. The question is not that of governing India more entirely from home than at present. That is not practicable, and no one wishes it; but the real question is, whether the present wholly irresponsible, and avowedly anomalous administration can, by being simplified, be rendered practically responsible to Parliament, and freed from those fundamental errors of constitution, which render the defecation of the local administration of India virtually impossible. This is the main problem; and the matters advanced by the leading journal as the fit subjects for consideration by the Committees, are, however important some of them may be, quite of secondary and ancillary importance. Moreover, they are involved in the decision of the main problem as natural consequences of real, instead of purely fictitious responsibility.

Throughout the debate in the Lower House, there was a constant reference, mentally, if not verbally, to the following notice; all more or less spoke at it. Although differing in some essential points from the propositions contained in this motion, the fact of its thus influencing the debate, renders a comment upon its provisions advisable.

The notice is as follows:—

The Earl of Ellenborough. To move that it is expedient to amend the laws relating to the administration of Indian affairs as follows:—

1. That from and after the 30th day of April, 1864, the connexion between the East India Company and the Government of India do cease and determine.

2. That provision be made for the due transmission from India of the requisite funds to meet the dividends on East India stock, and the interest on East India bonds, and for the payment of such dividends and interest at the Bank of England on the usual days.

3. That the powers now vested in the Commissioners for affairs of India, and in the Directors of the East India Company, in regard to the Government of India, be transferred respectively to a President of the Indian Council appointed by the Crown, and to the members of the Indian Council elected as hereinafter mentioned.

4. That the persons qualified to vote at the election of Directors of the East India Company, and all such persons as shall have actually served ten years in India, as Judges in the Supreme Courts, or as Bishops, or in the discharge of an ecclesiastical function, or in any civil employment under the Government of India, or as commissioned officers of the Royal, or of the native army, or of the Indian navy, shall be entitled to vote at the election of members of the Indian Council; provided that no vote at any such election shall be given by proxy, and that no person shall have more than one vote, and that every person claiming to vote shall have been duly registered as a voter thirty days before the election.

5. That the Indian Council shall consist of twelve Members, elected for five years, and re-eligible; and that nine of such Members shall be persons qualified to vote at the election of such Council, by reason of actual service in India.

6. That the President of the Indian Council shall have control over all payments made from the Home treasury.

7. That an Auditor of Indian accounts be appointed by the Crown.

8. That one-fourth of all cadetships and writerships be sold at a fixed price; the cadetships at the discretion of the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces, and the writerships at the discretion of the President of the Indian Council.

9. That the Commander-in-Chief of the army in India, and of the native army of each Presidency, shall be appointed by the Crown, and that such Commander-in-Chief shall be ex-officio a Member of Council at the Presidency whereof he shall command the army.

10. That the Crown shall, from time to time, fix the number of the Royal troops it may be deemed expedient to employ in India, and, that the whole charge of all such Royal troops shall be borne by the revenue of India.

11. That the appointments of Members of the Council of India, and of the Councils of the several Presidencies, be subject to approval by the Crown.

12. That the Crown alone shall have the power of removing from office the Governor-General, and the Governors of the several Presidencies, and the Members of the Council of India, and of the several other Councils.

13. That one Member to be selected from the Presidency of Madras, and one Member to be selected from the Presidency of Bombay, shall be added to the Council of India.

14. That provisions be made for defining the respective powers of the Governor-General and of the Council of India, when the Governor-General shall deem it expedient to be absent from the Council.

15. That provision be made for removing all doubt as to the power of the Governor-General to over-rule the Council whenever he may deem it expedient.

16. That all appointments in India be made by the Governor-General and the Governors of the several Presidencies; and that the Indian Coun-

oil shall have power to cancel any appointment, and to direct the re-appointment of any person removed without sufficient cause.

17. That the Governor-General and the Governors of the several Presidencies shall have the power of appointing military officers to situations in the Civil Service; but the special grounds of any such appointment shall in each case be recorded, and forthwith reported to the Indian Council; and at the expiration of one year, every officer holding such appointment, shall be deemed to have retired from the military service.

18. That the provisional appointment of a Governor-General be deposited with the Council of India in a sealed packet, to be opened only in the event of death, resignation or departure of the Governor-General, with the intention of leaving India.

19. That all orders addressed to India be signed by the President of the Indian Council; and that the Government of India be conducted in the name of the Crown.

There cannot be a doubt upon the mind of any impartial person, that the tendency of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, and 7th sections of this notice are eminently calculated to annihilate complexity, and to simplify the Home Branch of the administration of Indian affairs; to substitute responsibility for irresponsibility, economy for profuseness; and to secure all advantages of the present system, without its manifold disadvantages, contradictions, and baffling involutions. In lieu of two Indian councils, in which the one paramount and controlling authority was always so composed, as to have not a soul in it practically acquainted with India, whilst the other, entirely subordinate, and only by fiction governing, was composed of sea captains, London bankers, and men of antiquated connection with India, these sections substitute one Indian Council, the President of which; as a member of the ministry, must necessarily be directly responsible to Parliament, whilst the members of that Council, by its very constitution, must, in great part, be men experienced in Indian affairs; and their tenure of office not being permanent but subject to a real, and not a nominal re-election after five years of incumbency, there would be a strong stimulus to exertion and to efficiency. Every member would feel that the Council need not suffer under the incubus of a useless or ignorant man, beyond the period of the next election; whilst glaring cases of an intolerable nature would be open to remedy, under the provisions of the twelfth section, which lodges the power of removal in the Crown, and thus renders the members of the Council, as well as its President, directly responsible to the Parliament of Great Britain. This would be a great point gained, and one which last year was, in this journal, marked out as of primary importance.

On the score of economy, not a doubt can be entertained of

the value of substituting one complete and efficient establishment, for two neither complete nor efficient, but very costly; that in Leadenhall-street being notoriously extravagant, and alone amounting to upwards of £132,000 per annum, in salaries to Directors (£7,558,) to secretaries and clerks (£95,572) and contingent expenses (£28,972). Were its influence in originating extra and unnecessary expense, traced through every department, and the burthen of pensions to home servants also estimated, we should be found far under the mark in considering that the substitution of one well-organized Council, and its establishment, for the two inefficient ones now existing, would produce a saving to India of at least £150,000 per annum. This sum, added to that which we before estimated as easily to be retrenched from expenditure in India without detriment to the efficiency of administration, viz., £250,000 per annum, would give a total on the lowest calculation of £400,000 per annum saved to the State, and which we should rejoice to find devoted in equal portions to education, and to great public works in India.

The advantages from such a simplification of the Home Branch, would not be limited to a real, instead of nominal responsibility, —nor to an economy favorable to the public purse, and not mutilating real efficiency of administration;—but they would extend farther, and be of a higher order. Fictions cannot be worked without additional fictions; and they, invariably, entail questionable, if not dishonest evasions. Thus all the Acts of Parliament may be searched in vain for authority, sanctioning the system of unofficial communications, styled “previous communications.” These are an expedient for avoiding constant collision between the India Board and the India House; but it is an expedient, destructive of the responsibility of either of these Boards, for it has the effect of blending and commingling the action and reaction of both upon any question in such a manner, that it becomes the interest of both, if it be sought to ventilate a subject by inquiry, to mistify the public as much as possible. However divergent the opinions of the respective Boards may originally have been, they lose, in the course of these unofficial previous communications, their individuality: and it would often be extremely difficult to dissect the ultimate official dispatch, and to push home responsibility to its proper quarter. Hence the battledore and shuttle-cock game, in which these two Boards excel before the Houses of Parliament, except when on an old, and from elapsed time, a pretty safe subject, a Hobhouse chooses to avow, that he alone did it, *i. e.*, lit the Affghan war. All this is bad; utterly defeats responsibility; arrays two

organized Boards against the public and on the side of mystery ; and drives a coach and four through the provisions of an Act of Parliament, which sought to render each Board, both the controlling and the subordinate, clearly responsible for its own opinions, instead of inviting them to confederate for the concealment of their several views, and thus to shun individual responsibility. Section XXX. Cap. 85 of 3 and 4, Wm. IV., authorizes nothing but official and recorded communications, whilst Section XXXII. and XXXIII. confirm this view, by the provisions they make in cases where representations have to be made by the Directors upon the orders of the Board. The act evidently never contemplated such an evasion of its intentions as that to which we have adverted, and which is contrary to its whole spirit and purpose. The proposed Indian Council would have no need for any such questionable, if not positively illegal shifts.

Though the modification now proposed, be thus in general harmony with the views before expressed in this *Review*, some of the details, as concisely stated in the notice, appear to need revision or further explanation. Thus the nineteen sections of this motion leave it uncertain whether members of the Court of Directors are, or are not, to be eligible to the Council of India. Now this is an omission of very grave moment, for if Directors are eligible to the Council of India, the whole scheme is vitiated, and that separation between the chief dispensers of nominations to the services, civil and military, in India, and those charged with the control of Indian affairs,—a separation of distinct functions, which is essential to the future good government of India,—will not practically exist. Patronage will give the Directors a monopoly of the nine seats in Council, and that body will thus become far more mischievously influential than at present, from enjoying a permanent majority in a Council of greater direct weight and dignity, than is the subordinate Board, now called the Secret Committee. This we regard as an omission calculated to increase vastly the difficulty of carrying out measures of economical and ministerial improvement in India ; and as one so quick-sighted as the recorder of this motion, was not likely to have over-looked the point, we can only suppose that he considered the first section effectually to prescribe against any Director being of the Indian Council. But this the wording does not seem to bear out ; as though the connexion between the East India Company, in its corporate capacity, and the Government of India, should cease and determine by its provision on the 30th April, 1854, yet, there is nothing to prevent a Director of that Company, in his

private capacity, canvassing for a seat in the Indian Council, unless it be clearly stated that they are disqualified by the fact of being Directors of the East India Company, which is not done. Either Lord Ellenborough is no enemy, or his enmity was asleep when he recorded this motion, without a distinct disqualification of the patronage-dispensers from a seat in Council. We do not observe that in the notice, or in the speech in the House of Lords, the Directors of the East India Company are to be reduced in numbers to twelve; but if this were the case, the greater increase of patronage, and therefore of influence, which such a modification would yield to the lucky twelve, would render the seat of eight or nine of them in Council pretty certain, if not of the whole round dozen. The proposition under this aspect virtually coincides with that of Mr. Hume. To the constituency, to whom the election of members of the Council of India is, by section 4, proposed to be entrusted, we have little objection to offer, except that it might, in these days of rapid communication with India, be extended with marked advantage to such persons, whether in the services or out of it, as are possessed of a certain amount of Company's Paper. None are more interested in the stability of the Indian Government, and the proper administration of its affairs, than those whose incomes depend on the state of its public funds; and fixing this money qualification at a good high figure, say Rs. 50,000, held at least two years by the voter at the time of registry, the number of voters on this qualification could never over-bear those qualified to vote on other grounds. This portion of the constituency, and this alone, should be permitted to have more votes than one to each voter, and to vote by proxy, under carefully prepared rules.

The suggestion is made with reference to a variety of considerations. Among them may be stated that it would, in a thoroughly safe manner, give the wealthy natives of India an indirect voice in Indian affairs; would encourage them to place confidence in the public funds, and facilitate Government transactions, whilst, at the same time, it would give a higher value to Government Securities, than they could, in any other manner, attain. We are convinced that were a vote attached to each £5,000 of Government Securities in a man's possession, not only would Government Paper be in greater request among the rich and influential natives of India, but also British capital would find its way much more freely to India than at present. As the Government has guaranteed a certain profit upon the capital embarked in Rail Roads for India, the rule might be extended to all proprietors of stock of that description, upon which £5,000 had been *bonâ fide* paid up; and, as in

Government Securities, every additional £5,000 *paid up* should vest the holder of the stock with an additional vote. Such an addition to the provisions of section 4 would work well for India; it would afford to those most interested in its peace and welfare, a voice, though an indirect one, in the controlling Council, and it would encourage the flow of British Capital to India, and in some degree make amends for annual drain on account of East India Stock and Bonds. The noble Lord, who proposed section 4, and who, at the close of his administration, left the 4 per cent. Government Securities nearly at par, a phenomenon not since witnessed, would surely not oppose a modification calculated to benefit India, and to facilitate the financial transactions of its Government; it might even possibly re-produce the wonder of the 4 per cents. being some day again nearly at par.

However just his remarks may have been, as to the proprietors of India Stock representing nothing but their £1,000 of stock,—and that of 1,800 such, not above one-sixth of the whole were really connected with India,—these remarks could not apply to the holders of £5,000 of Indian Government Securities, or of £5,000 paid-up capital in Rail Roads. Rich, well-informed natives, public servants of considerable service and steady economy, and English capitalists engaged in developing the capabilities of India on her own soil, would form the classes enjoying the money qualifications; and these are the classes whose influence could not but prove advantageous to India. Such a step would be a safe advance towards the gradual admission of the natives of India to the benefits of self-government; a step in the right direction, that is, by the enlistment of those whose wealth and general intelligence led them to appreciate the privilege of co-operation with the Anglo-Indian community, in the selection of fit instruments for the Indian Council. We are aware that difficulties of a minor character may be raised against such an extension of the suffrage to India; but as before observed, in these days of rapid steam communication, such difficulties may be easily surmounted.

The tendencies of the age being decidedly democratic, the fears of Crown influence, in matters of patronage, are an antiquated bug-bear. The Crown needs all the adventitious strength that can be given to it, and though we before advanced our reasons for preferring that the bulk of the initial patronage to Indian appointments, should remain in the hands of a Court of Directors, it was on no anachronistic jealousy of Court influence. We see no valid objection to section 8, therefore; on the contrary, the promise of real advantage, both to the civil and the military

services of India. Three-fourths of the patronage remaining in the hands of the Court of Directors, the other fourth may be conceded to the President of the Indian Council, and Her Majesty's Commander-in-Chief, that is, to the people of England in general. Our quarrel with the motion would be, that it leaves the present constitution of the Court of Directors almost intact: the basis of their election in no way expanded; and, therefore, that the flow of patronage would still hold on in its old channels. Section 17 should have contained provisions, by which a Governor-General, and Governors of the several Presidencies, would have been vested with the power, not only of appointing military officers to situations in the Civil Service, but also of making use of the services of uncovenanted residents in India, qualified by their attainments, their previous employment in subordinate lines of the service, and a certain period of actual residence. Section 17 appears too to err in proposing, that at the expiration of one year, every military officer appointed to a civil situation, shall be deemed to have retired from the military service; for if intended as a period of probation, one year is too short a time; and moreover we wholly doubt the policy in India, of divesting Government of the option of calling, when requisite, for the services of men whose civil training and occupations, superadded to previous experience in the military department, have given them a thorough insight into the character and habits of every class of our native subjects. Such officers, instead of being struck off the roll of the Army, should be retained as at present on the list of their corps, and should, though regarded as supernumeraries, rise in their grades, and thus always remain available in case of emergency for active service. Whatever Martinets may say or think, such men often prove the best officers on service. They need not be called upon, however, except in cases of emergency. The anomaly of some corps having more officers on their list than others, in consequence of having a greater number of supernumeraries on civil employment, would be no detriment; as the promotion would be regulated by that of the officers with the corps and on military staff employment, the rise of a supernumerary being dependent on the promotion of the officer below him in the regimental list.

To section 9 we have no other objection to make, except that separate Councils at the Presidencies, being wholly unnecessary, only the Commander-in-Chief of the army in India should, ex-officio, be a Member of the Council of India; the Commanders of the forces at the minor Presidencies should have

a subordinate designation, and should be regarded as the Lieutenants of the Commander-in-Chief. Section 10 is undeniably reasonable, for no apprehensions need be entertained, that any administration will ever keep one European soldier in India, more than is absolutely necessary. From the multifarious calls of our wide-spread Colonial Empire, and the smallness of the Royal army, the fear is, that the European troops will always be too few.

Sections 11 and 12 are both absolutely essential for the good government of India, and are in exact accordance with the view formerly expressed in No. XXXI. of this *Review*.

The same remark applies to section 13. But we entirely differ from the purport of section 14, maintaining that the only provision upon this subject should be to cancel sections 69 and 70 of the 3 and 4 Wm. IV., Cap. 85, and to establish by Act of Parliament, that the Governor-General of India, wherever he may proceed, must be accompanied by the Council of India. On some pretence or other, it is always voted expedient by a Governor-General, to be quit of his Council; and nothing but a positive prohibition will prevent this most pernicious custom;—one, too, for which there is the less excuse, as the Governor-General can, in questions involving the safety, tranquillity, or interests of the British possessions in India, or any part of them, whenever he may deem it expedient, over-rule the Council, and act upon his own sole responsibility. Although we are aware of no reasonable doubts that can be raised as to the distinctness with which such exercise of his discretion is, on momentous questions, by existing acts fully vested in the Governor-General,—yet, if the acumen of lawyers has entertained doubts upon a point so clearly in our opinion foreseen and provided for, let the matter, by all means, be placed beyond cavil, and the provision called for in section 15 be incontrovertibly established; but never sanction, directly or indirectly, an expedient by which the Governor-General can act independently of his Council by being absent from it, and thus perhaps virtually over-rule that body without there being anything to show that he has done so, and therefore with far less of personal responsibility for his acts. Indeed, if a Governor-General is to be permitted to shelve his Council whenever the humour takes him, it is a farce to talk of rendering the members of the Council of India responsible to the Crown; and the cost of this expensive, but then useless piece of the administrative machinery, had far better be saved to the Exchequer.

We have no objection to offer to sections 16, 18, and 19.

The object in view in this article was circumscribed to a general and an impartial glance at the speeches and notice with which the discussion of the East India Charter opened in the Houses of Lords and Commons. It will have been seen that we coincide neither with Lord Derby nor Lord Ellenborough, though we consider the recorded motion of the latter to have higher merit than the habit of indiscriminate vituperation is likely to concede to the suggestions of one who is regarded by all under directorial influence, much in the light that Luther must have regarded the devil when he flung his inkstand at him. The contents of many an ink bottle have been hurled at this "Arch-felon" who

" In contempt,
At one slight bound high overleaps all bound
Of hill or highest wall, and sheer within
Lights on his feet ;"

but we reserve our own "patent Mordan," with its sharp corners, until we see whether or not a section 20 be added to the notice, utterly disqualifying the patronage-dispensing body, the East India Directors, from having a seat in the Indian Council. Formerly we laid down the axiom, that in order to secure a sound, wholesome, improveable administration for India, the independence of governors from the control of the dispensers of initial patronage is absolutely indispensable. As the proposed Indian Council would have to exercise this supervision, whatever the advantages it offers in simplicity, economy, responsibility, and ease and rapidity of business, all will be vitiated, so far as the welfare of the Indian administration is concerned, if this fundamental axiom be lost sight of; and therefore, unless all possible doubt on this head were removed by a distinct disqualification, we must regard Lord Ellenborough as the very best friend the Court of Directors have, and as insidiously working to invest them with a certain majority in the Indian Council, and thus doing his utmost to enhance, secure, and perpetuate their direct and indirect control over every thread of the administration. This point must be prominently dwelt upon, for it is clear that among the unprejudiced and thoughtful Lord Ellenborough's speeches have made no transient impression. That able journal, the *Spectator*, by no means partial to the man, writes:—"The subject of India, which engaged the attention of the Lords at the close of last week, has been twice again pressed upon them by Lord Ellenborough. It was felt last week that Lord Derby, in the explanatory speech, with which he prefaced his motion for a committee on Indian affairs, was not equal to himself, even as an orator. He appeared like one who had been crammed in haste for the occa-

sion, but had not fully comprehended the lesson he repeated by rote. Lord Ellenborough, on the contrary, spoke with the weight of observation, practical experience, and matured reflection. Allowance being made for the exaggeration of his amateur military tastes, the view he took of the condition and wants of our Indian empire was sound and comprehensive. His comments this week on the war with Ava, and the abuses of the Indian press, heightened and confirmed the favorable impression he had made. He placed, in a clear light, the rashness with which a quarrel with the Burmese Court had been precipitated; the unseasonable time at which warlike operations have been commenced; and our imminent danger of being led by the war into cumbrous and embarrassing territorial acquisitions. His remarks on the Indian press were not less pertinent. That press is too much in the hands of officials, and the reckless manner in which secret minutes, and despatches of the utmost importance, are published, has, on several occasions, been highly detrimental to the public service." Private communications from a variety of quarters corroborate the fact of the deep impression made by that nobleman's remarks; and if further proof were needed, none could be more convincing than the whole tone of the debate in the House of Commons on Mr. Herries's motion for a committee. The speakers, whether movers, supporters, or opponents—a Herries, a Hogg, an Inglis, or an Anstey—all alike spoke at the observations and the notice of the Earl of Ellenborough. We cannot, therefore, be too careful in dissecting that nobleman's propositions, and in making sure that, under a hostile guise, the principle of corrupt and sinister influence, antagonistic to all real improvement, and which ought to be expelled from the system, be not, on the contrary, strengthened and preserved, instead of being eradicated for ever. If this fundamental error be maintained, the tinkering in both Houses will be waste labor, and sorry botchwork the inevitable result.

The existing internal administration of India is as far from altogether meriting the black in which the *Spectator* arrays it, as it is from deserving the *couleur de rose* with which Mr. Campbell would clothe it. Whatever the proportion of evil, much or little, we defy a Governor-General, or Governors, really to cope with the evil, and in any practical degree to remedy it, so long as they are under the thumbs of the four-and-twenty or thirty gentlemen, whose sons, nephews, and grand-sons form the administrative machinery. This is the one plague spot which needs the knife, otherwise you gangrene the whole corporate system; unless that be cut out, away with the flimsy twaddle "of elevating the character of the Board of

• Directors, by relieving them from the necessity of a laborious and humiliating canvass;" it is like telling a man writhing with spasmodic cholera to curl his hair by way of a remedy.

Many most important subjects, which must press themselves upon the attention of the committees, as eminently connected with the future welfare of India, are untouched by the notice on which we have been loosely commenting. The motion in question, is a mere skeleton of a modified administrative organization, and does not aim at giving more than the main features of such a scheme. All-important as the primary wheels of a Government may be, and essential as the true free-working of the parts of its mechanism undoubtedly is, still, after all, you have only secured an engine, and how and to what purposes the engine's power is to be applied is, to the full, as momentous a question as its fabrication. But for this ill-timed Burmese war, the committees might have been congratulated on the opportunity, which peace and the acquisition of our natural frontiers afforded for contemplating India, not as an empire to be won, for that is fulfilled, but as an empire won and to be kept,—vast indeed, but compact, and the theatre on which the civilization, the arts, the knowledge, the religions of the East and West being in hourly contact, *must* henceforth struggle for ascendancy. The war of material force being over, that of opinions and of mind remains to be fought out, and is necessarily unavoidable. Narrowing the view to the empire of force which is won, are we to ignore the empire of the moral, the social, the religious, which is not won, but which *must* be won if our rule is really to benefit the millions of India? Or are the great ends of Government of this noble empire circumscribed to the comparatively paltry consideration, whether the thirty pools, to which allusion has already been made, be filled to overflowing or not? There are indications that some members of the committees will take a more comprehensive view of the great subject before them.

The religious aspect of the question cannot be limited to a recapitulation of the increase of bishops and chaplains. When you have stated that there are three bishops, 130 English and six Scotch chaplains, you present a very inadequate idea of a single phase of this momentous subject. We admit the great value of the labors of the chaplains of the Churches of England and of Scotland, among the Europeans in India. The effect and influence of the example of the European community upon the natives of India cannot be over-estimated; and though we concur to some extent in what Buxton wrote to the Bishop of Calcutta:—"I am far more of a Quaker than you

are as to these Indian wars. I know every one of them may be called defensive, but the principles and root of all are aggression and conquest. I cannot conceive how our missions are ever to prevail against the arguments of our cannon. Six thousand Heathen slain at Gwalior are a terrible set-off against our converts;”—yet we have no hesitation in asserting that the peace-conduct of the European community is a far greater bar to the success of Missionary labours than the heroism of our troops on the field of battle. Equivocal as the causes of our present Burmese war may be, the slaughter in the stockades committed by our shot and shell, will not produce so violent an anti-missionary spirit among the Burmese, as would the rise of a Calcutta, or a Bombay at Rangoon, or, which is more probable, the transfer of a Moulmein thither. Incalculably important in a Missionary point of view is the bearing and conduct of the European in India; and hence the chaplains may be designated not only the allies but the fellow-labourers of the Missionary. How are they selected? With or without reference to the infinitely important consequences which must result from inefficiency, lukewarmness, and the neglect of their ever changing flocks? Are their appointments merely a question of directorial patronage, or of earnest endeavour to secure the class of men alone fit for such a field?

Ancillary to the regular ministry of the Churches of England and Scotland, is the consideration of the provision for the Christian education of a very large class, to whom it will not, for an instant, be by any one pretended that the Anglo-Indian Government scheme of public education for natives is applicable. What is the provision for the moral and religious training and education of the children of our British soldiery? At best, utterly inadequate; and where, as in the European artillery, companies are detached, there is no provision at all. But large as this class of children is, there is a still larger one which is designated Christian, and which is to the full as much neglected, except at Agra or the Presidencies. The Eurasian clerks in our offices, civil and military, men worked from morning to night, and enjoying small leisure for the instruction of their own families, how are their children taught and trained? What sort of credit do they bring on the Christian name? How is this field occupied? Yet really this class has souls, and standing on intermediate ground between the European and the native races, their conduct and example as *Christians* being under permanent review and comparison, has no slight influence both on Hindus and Mussulmans in imparting notions of the value of Christianity.

No one will argue, that these are fields on which Government may not, with propriety, encourage religious and useful education. No one will be bold enough—coward enough would be a more appropriate epithet—to reason that a Christian Government should here be ashamed of its religion and suppress it. Why not then devote the £200,000 per annum, which may be assigned, as has been shown, to education, to the various Protestant Missionary bodies, who will undertake to open schools under competent teachers, wherever our European soldiery are stationed, which also are usually the points where the Eurasian children are most abundant? In a lump the sum may look large, but divide it among the stations of the Bengal, the Madras, and the Bombay Army, with their European outposts, and then it will dwindle into a moderate provision for so urgent a want. We write advisedly, *the various Protestant Missionary bodies*; because whatever denominations have struck root in any neighbourhood, be they Church of England, of Scotland, or of America, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, or Wesleyan, let them, if willing, undertake the labor of the education of Christian children in the neighbourhood of their Mission headquarters. You will thus secure able teachers, and at the same time secure for your Missionary teacher that sympathy, support, and society with his fellow-laborers in another department of the same field, which cannot but be encouraging and beneficial to himself and them. We do not under-rate the present regimental schools; they are better than nothing, and now and then a tolerable school-master sergeant or mistress may be seen; but let any one turn to the pay and audit regulations of the armies of India, and a glance will satisfy him as to the utter inadequacy of the educational provisions made by the Government. Wherever there are magazines, stations with European troops, or considerable detachments, a good teacher is indispensable, and the regimental school-master sergeants might, where existing, be his assistants.

Such schools should be open to the natives, if they chose voluntarily to send their children. It would soon be seen that they would be very well filled. Not one farthing of the £200,000 should be assigned to the Government schools as established under the fostering care of the Education Committee. We would almost as soon recommend additional aid to the oriental colleges, where the “moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths” are supposed to be beneficially inculcated upon Mussalmans and Hindus, with the practical view of rooting out perjury and forgery. Every Indian official of experience will attest that the sensible effect produced in these

respects is too slight to be appreciable even at the seats of these *alma matres* of moral and religious instruction; whilst the Government system of education is producing, with a small admixture of good, the results which Archdeacon Corrie foretold as the inevitable consequences of its establishment, all the evils of a vanity inflated with a superficial attainment of English, and a smattering of European science, without anything to restrain the corruption of the human heart and mind, and to check it in its excesses and extravagancies. Whilst the oriental colleges and the Government educational committee schools might be left precisely as they are, aid to such institutions as the Lawrence Asylum, or analogous ones formed elsewhere, would be quite in harmony with our proposal. Scientific institutions, such as Medical Colleges, schools for civil engineering in all its branches, but prominently for the study of steam machinery and railroad works, and for all connected with canals of irrigation and navigation, are of course excepted from the obnoxious category of Government schools in general, and cannot, being thoroughly practical, be too much encouraged.

The cause of Missions may be left to England, to Europe in general, to America; but the Anglo-Indian Government, though maintaining its disconnection from any Missionary body as such, need not apprehend the dissolution of the empire from evincing greater care than has hitherto been shown, for the proper and Christian education of the children of her British soldiery, or of that large class, the Eurasians; albeit such sedulous attention to the children of these classes were exhibited through the instrumentality of well-trained Missionary teachers.

In the course of the opening debates on the scope and objects of the committees, it is curious to observe the tendency to confound respect for the rights of others, with respect for their religions. A Christian Government may, and is, by its principles, bound to show the utmost respect for the rights of all its subjects, of whatever creed or denomination; but by those same principles, it is equally forbidden to compromise itself by the exhibition of respect to the religions of error, whether directly by upholding and encouraging their institutions, or indirectly by shrinking from acknowledging and acting up to its own Christian principles. Connection with idolatry, in whatever form, whether fiscal, or merely conservative, is a clear breach of those principles; and so likewise the establishment of a system of education which, by being ostentatiously weeded, so far as practicable, of Christian morality, is virtually to the millions of India, a sacrifice on the part of Government of its own religion to that of its idolatrous subjects, and has not

even the merits of a sincere sacrifice ; for as it is impossible to free our literature from the Christian elements, which, often unconsciously to the writers themselves, pervade the works of British authors, so there is no little hypocrisy in this pretended religio-neutrality of ground occupied. On this score we object to the Government system of education. Morally, its pretence of neutrality is a falsehood, it is a public and official tergiversation, the more reprehensible, as the lie is in homage to Mammon. We are no advocates for making the Bible a mere lesson-book, and for cramming it, with or without leave, down the throats of all men ; but we do object to Government opening schools under false pretences, and shrinking from avowing that, so far as Government is concerned in spreading the knowledge of English literature and science, there was no intention of suppressing the Christian morality, which more or less pervades the whole mass of all that is wholesome in the English language ; and that if scholars objected to this, they could keep away from the schools. In India the question is not whether one denomination of Christians shall prescribe to others a course and system of education ; but whether, in the face of a great variety of idolatrous creeds, some of which have been paramount in their day, a Christian Government shall alone be afraid or ashamed of avowing its own creed, and acting up to its principles. We roundly assert, that so far as the natives are concerned, it would be far better for the Government to withdraw altogether from the field of education than to demean itself by a lie in homage to error and idolatry. If afraid to avow the Christian morality and principles, which are the very life-breath of all that is sound in the English language, let Government withdraw, and leave the field to those who are not afraid to tell and teach the honest truth, the Missionary-school teachers.

How different from the open behaviour of either Mohammedan or Hindu, has been the conduct of the Anglo-Indian Government ! We have before us an amusing account, furnished by a friend, of the manner in which a convert from Hinduism to Mohammedanism was not long ago received by the ruler of a Mohammedan court. The durbar, the embrace, first by the ruler, then by the chiefs, the public festivity, and the unconcealed joy of all Moslems present, has something honest and open in it. We have no wish to see, and certainly no expectation of seeing, Lord Dalhousie hugging a Christian convert, passing him round for a brotherly embrace from each of the dignitaries of the Council ; then handing him over for the zealous accolades of the Secretaries, with a whole line of subordinate civil and military officials, and finally winding up with a grand

dinner party at Government House, the convert sipping champagne, and conspicuously placed as the man whom the king delighteth to honor. But, although we should be extremely sorry to see a convert put through such a course, the contrast between the exhibition of feelings in a Christian and Moslem Court is remarkable. Our readers can picture to themselves the shudder which the bare idea of such a scene would create both at Government House and in Leadenhall-street, and what apprehension for the fate of the Empire would be entertained. What "wise saws" to "our Governor-General in Council," and what admonitions to the gentlemen of that Council! In short, though perhaps conventional propriety would forbid the word, the whole administration would be thought, if not called, madmen. Yet we venture to assert, that among the native community, Hindu and Mussalman, so extraordinary an extravagancy on the part of a Christian ruler would be deemed a perfectly reasonable and natural occurrence; and would excite no further surprise than the contrast it would offer to the worse than indifference, the unmanly dread which our rulers have exhibited in all matters connected with their own religion, and the degrading manner in which, in homage to Mammon and idolatry, they have shrunk from acting up to its principles. Never did a more dastardly fear assume the mask of prudence and respect for the religion of others.

How far are the present revenue systems of India compatible with the progress of its millions, towards a state of higher wealth and civilization? How far do facts bear out the corollaries which Mr. Herries sought to deduce from figures, as to the growing wealth and merchandise-consuming ability of the people? The first is a very serious question, and closely connected with the second; and the committees might, with advantage, give thought to both. Again, how far is the Legislation now pouring forth from Calcutta, with a volume and velocity emulous of Parliamentary acts and of their rigmarole, suited to the wants and circumstances of India? The gentlemen of the two committees might, with no trifling advantage to India, take up a few of these Calcutta Acts, and having examined them, though we despair of their facing some of them, pronounce on the clearness, the precision, the absence of all redundancy, and the lucidity of arrangement which pervades them. The committees might then ascertain at what rate per annum these regulations and acts are springing into existence; what are the colleges or institutions which make the study of Anglo-Indian law an object; and what are the means taken by the Government, that

an ignorant people shall have imparted to them even a glimmering of the substance of the rapidly increasing civil and criminal code of laws on which their being and welfare depend. The committees too might, with no disadvantage to India, instead of being satisfied with the array of a few public works, sedulously made the most of on every occasion, ascertain exactly what is doing with respect to Rail Roads, whether these undertakings are on that comprehensive scale, which is best suited to the commercial, to the social, and to the political (*i. e.*, the military) wants of India. Opium cultivation, thanks to the portability of the article when manufactured, and to the highly remunerative prices it has long returned to those concerned in the trade, has been rapidly developed. Is there no prospect, by the combined aid of artificial irrigation and of Rail Roads, of bringing cotton and sugar under more favorable circumstances, both as to quality, quantity, and cost, to the seaboard, to the points of embarkation? With little besides her raw agricultural produce left her, in consequence of the annihilation of her textile fabrics, by the superior cheapness of the British manufactures, must India be stationary with reference to the remaining staple commodities on which her welfare depends? The case of the opium cultivation proves, that, however prejudiced it may be the custom to consider the native agriculturist, gain, that impulsive motive, makes him as ready to develop the production of any agricultural article, as the most cotton-thirsty soul of the Manchester school could wish. How is it, that America, with the cost of labor extremely high, has walked ahead of British India, so completely, in spite of the cheapness of labour in the latter country? Opium is the sole exception to the somnolency of the agricultural instincts of India: yet it proves amply, that when roused by remunerative returns, and tolerably favourable circumstances, there is both great elasticity, and great energy in the agricultural capabilities of the people and country of India.

Connected with an investigation of these important considerations, would be the question, what checks the flow of British capital to India? Is the alleged want of security remediable? or in other words, are the Government measures and regulations at fault, or the character and institutions of the people, and the ignorance of capitalists in England?

The field widens and expands as one proceeds, and we must confess, that the committees, if they put their shoulders to the wheel, with a heart to do their duty, will find abundance of important matters demanding their investigation, far more than can be compressed, however sketchily, within the limits of a 12

view article. Close, however, we cannot, without one warning remark. In the structure of this colossal Empire, the army is the iron column and rafter that forms the skeleton, and braces the whole vast edifice together; it is therefore both its strength and its weakness—its strength, if sound and well arranged; its weakness, if there be faults in the casting and in the *equilibrium* of the parts. The question, whether the armies of India should become in name, what they are in fact, the armies of the Crown, is one of very grave moment, not with reference to the change of name, for that in itself might be made a high compliment to the armies who, on so many hard-fought fields, have borne the Royal colors to victory; but with respect to the organic changes which might follow the transfer. Managed with attention to the present constitution of these armies, and to the peculiarities of the conditions of service in India, the change might be highly advantageous for England, and no detriment to India,—on the contrary, a benefit. But effected under any narrow spirit of class or service jealousy, the result might be rapidly evil. For England it cannot^a but be a great disadvantage, in case of necessity, that the Crown, instead of having the whole of its armies from whence to select instruments, should be limited to a small portion, and that thus the country should be deprived of the services of trained and experienced men, because two-thirds of the British army, and a far larger proportion of its artillery, are designated Company's troops. It is evident that, had the Indian armies been Royal ones, in the course of reliefs, exchanges, and the like, there would have been now, in case of conflict with any European foe, many an experienced officer available in England—a matter of no small moment in every arm; for of all trades, war is that in which experience is most indispensable, and usually most dearly bought. Though devoted to India's welfare, we are national enough to wish England to derive every possible advantage from this great school of soldiery; and provided this were not done at the expense of the efficiency of the Indian armies, and of the good feeling which fortunately pervades them, nothing but satisfaction could accrue from a measure calculated to improve the position of every man and officer in them, and to render available to the Crown a greater mass of military experience. Wisely, generously, and judiciously, however, the measure must be carried out, otherwise the present anomalous arrangement is under present circumstances best and safest.

Instead of entertaining apprehensions that the interests of the Indian army would suffer by that body becoming an integral part of the Royal army, we anticipate the very reverse; and

are confident that in case of war in Europe, her India-trained officers would occupy an analogous position to the Africa-trained officers of the French army; and England would have as large a field from which to select the men of established skill and courage as is enjoyed by any European state. France may boast of her African generals and officers; Russia of those who have served in the rough school of the Circassian frontier and in Hungary; Austria of the soldiery that saved the empire when revolt seemed the spirit of every province; but the men who have fought against Affghans, who have shared in the bloody conflicts with Seikhs; who have seen war in marshy Pegue, on the arid plains of the Punjaub, and amid the iron ridges of the Hindu Kúsh and the Suffeid Roh, need not hesitate to compare their apprenticeship to the profession of arms with those who, in the West, have learnt their craft amid other scenes and circumstances. The transfer of the army of India to the Crown needs, however, a more careful disquisition; a mere casual notice in the midst of other subjects cannot do the question justice, for it demands a grave, deliberate, and impartial review of the whole circle of its many most important bearings and associated difficulties.

NOTE.—On a question involving interests so vast and momentous as those that depend upon the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, it seems necessary that we should bring prominently before our readers, the principle on which the *Calcutta Review* was originally established, and on which it has been hitherto conducted. That principle is *Catholicity*. The Editor does not agree with all the sentiments expressed in the articles that are inserted in its pages. It seems to be not out of place to reproduce here, with reference to the preceding article, and to such as may hereafter appear in our pages respecting the question of the Charter, a portion of the advertisement that was prefixed to our first Number:—

“Of the general principles, on which our *Review* will be conducted, little need be said in this place, as in the following pages they are sufficiently apparent; but there is one point, in connexion with this matter, on which we consider it of so much importance to be clearly understood, that we must here devote a few words to an intelligible exposition of it. In the successive numbers of this *Review*, there is little doubt, that the quick-witted reader will detect many slight discrepancies of opinion. As the *Review* is the organ of no party; and the Editor perhaps the last of the many writers, meeting together in its catholic pages, whose own views are worthy to be converted into a Procrustes-bed, for the mutilation of other men's expositions, complete harmony of opinion, on lesser points of faith, is clearly not to be expected. In full reliance upon the character of our associates; the soundness of their principles; the purity of their intentions; their earnest aspirations after the good of their fellows; the general agreement of their opinions with our own; we are anxious, that each should express himself without restraint, especially upon such questions, as necessarily involve the putting forth of novel suggestions for the reform of existing evils. It is possible, that different writers may work, by different roads, towards the same goal; and that different schemes for the removal of existing abuses may be propounded in these pages, by different apostles of the same Reformation. We believe, that this, so far from impairing the value of our work, will greatly extend the sphere of its utility.”

On a question, or rather a multitude of questions, respecting which so “much may be said on both sides,” we believe that we shall best fulfil the objects for which the *Calcutta Review* was originally projected, by allowing several honest and earnest men to express their opinions, though their sentiments should differ widely from each other, and all should differ more or less, from our own.—Ed.

ART. VIII.—*Modern India, a sketch of the system of Civil Government, to which is prefixed some account of the Natives and Native institutions. By George Campbell, Esq., Bengal Civil Service. London. John Murray, Albemarle-street.*

A BOOK or pamphlet on India, or on any part of it, written with any degree of accuracy, or with any pretensions to style, would be almost certain to command a fair proportion of attention at the present juncture. If a clerk at the India House, who had hardly been out of the sound of Bow Bells for the last ten years, were, by permission of the Court of Directors, to compile a few chapters on Modern India, from the records of the India House, or were an aristocratic traveller to give to the world his impressions of our administration, as gathered from a tour in the Upper Provinces, during the cold weather: were a philanthropist to conjure up a dreary picture of misrule, or a grievance-monger skilfully to distort facts, in two or three hundred pages, the publication in each instance would not fail to attract a certain amount of notice. But here we have a goodly volume of 553 pages, touching on every topic of past or present interest in the history of the Company, on which information is now desirable, and compiled from documents published under official sanction; and set off by a style, which, though not wholly faultless, never wearies or repels.

We deem it the more incumbent on us to notice Mr. Campbell's book at the present juncture, because the manner in which it has been handled hitherto, may possibly convey to readers at a distance an erroneous notion of its contents. Mr. Campbell has attacked the Indian Newspaper Press, and the Indian Newspapers, in a body, have retaliated on Mr. Campbell. Yet the notice accorded to the fourth estate in India, does not, including the objectionable foot-note about Joti Persad, which every one must allow should never have been written, fill more than three or four pages of the volume. Leaving therefore the Indian Newspaper Press to fight its own battles, in its own way, we proceed at once to survey some of the interesting topics grouped together by Mr. Campbell.

When an Indian professional author challenges attention, by a voluminous work on India, we naturally inquire what are his credentials? Where did he gain his information? In what departments has he served? is he one of the "crack collectors" and "capital district officers," or has he delighted to pore over old Sanscrit inscriptions and Persian parchments? Does he favour the Oriental or the English system of educating the

natives? Is he *Thebis nutritus an Argis*? A north-west man or a Bengali? One of the old or the new school? An answer to this will be readily given. Mr. George Campbell came out to this country just nine years and a half ago. Having passed college in about five months, he proceeded to the Upper Provinces, where he was employed first under the Lieut.-Governor, and latterly under the Lahore Board, in the Cis-Sutlej provinces, a locality which,—comprising some of the most remarkable tenures in India, the perfect village communities,—when brought under our exclusive management, afforded him ample opportunities for the observation of that curious spectacle, the junction of the old and the new regime. Mr. Campbell, we should state, is known to possess a strong turn for the exact sciences, and an excellent head for Law. We speak with a well-grounded confidence, when we say, that had Mr. Campbell been destined for the English Bar, he must have gone some way towards making the family name, already illustrated by his uncle, to assume its place in forensic annals by the side of other well-known *familles de robe*. But his fate led him to India, before it could be ascertained what degree of legal eminence he could have compassed, and he is now known to the Indian authorities as a man of great energy, considerable experience, and original views, while to the general reader he is not wholly unknown, as the writer of the letters signed ECONOMIST, published three years ago in the *Mofussilite*.

We have heard it whispered in some quarters, that the style of the volume before us is not equal to that of those celebrated letters. Without at once pronouncing how far these allegations may be correct, we will first enquire into the circumstances under which the letters and the book were severally written. The crisis which drew forth ECONOMIST, though hardly to be forgotten by our readers, may be briefly adverted to. A fierce and important war was going on between the paramount power and its worthiest foe. The two rival armies had just been engaged in a bloody but indecisive battle. A fortress, as celebrated as Bhurtpore, had just fallen, after a protracted siege. The eyes of all India were fixed on the plains between the Chenab and the Jhelum. In one part of the picture there was an enemy united by a national spirit, such as we had never yet encountered, combining the apparently discordant elements of strict discipline, loose morals, and hot fanaticism, and aided by resources, mysterious in their origin, and unknown in their extent. On the other side was a British army, highly equipped and admirably appointed, which burned to avenge the bloody day of Chillianwalla. The prize for which these two opponents

were contending, was a province, not so fertile, perhaps, as some of our older acquisitions, but still of great promise, to which, remarkable for its climate, position, and cultivating population, the eyes of statesmen, of captains, and of administrators, had been turned with many an anxious glance. Lastly, to complete the picture, we had a nobleman of barely one year's Indian experience, but with the head to contrive and the hand to execute great things, who, fearing no responsibility, was quietly waiting, until events might enable him to carry out a measure, which, after the trial of three years, expediency cannot question, nor the strictest morality condemn. But at that moment the success of the General, and the intentions of the head of the Government, were entirely matters for speculation. Just then appeared a series of letters, in quick succession, showing their writer to possess an intimate knowledge of the Sikh character, of the tenant proprietors, and of the capabilities of the tract on both sides of the Sutlej. Condensed, vigorous, earnest and animated, these letters continued to pour forth on the important subject a flood of information not attainable elsewhere. There was, evidently, no attempt to cram for the occasion. The writer had dealt with Jat agriculturists, and he knew their value as rent-payers: he had spoken familiarly with grey-bearded Sikh soldiers, and he foresaw that, under good management, they might be induced to settle down quietly in their villages: he had surveyed the extent of our frontier, and he saw that the time had come for one decisive step. Writing from the fulness of knowledge, gradually acquired and carefully digested, he had no need to refer to statements, to compare authorities, to weigh discrepancies, to reconcile discordant facts. He was on the spot, amidst the bustle of preparation, on a disturbed frontier, at an important crisis. Could another Punjab emerge from the ocean, and become the scene of two exciting campaigns, *ECONOMIST*, we doubt not, would be ready with another series. But it is one thing to write as the spectator of a great war, and another to condense from a dozen different accounts, oral and written, the extensive subjects of revenue, civil and criminal administration, in the four Presidencies of India. A minute research into facts, a laborious inquiry into the various theories concerning rent-payers and rent-takers, a condensation of documents procured from the India House, and of selected papers published by the Governments of Agra and Bengal, are not things likely to improve or embellish style. Moreover, a writer cannot be always straining after effect, and giving utterance to sharp and pithy sentences throughout a whole volume. The difference between Mr. Campbell as

ECONOMIST, and Mr. Campbell as a regular author, is no more than what might have been expected from the nature of their different tasks. But in the volume before us, barring a few blemishes, Mr. Campbell is always clear; always logical, and sometimes eloquent; and we hope, presently, to put before our readers a selection or two from the more attractive parts of his volume, which shall fully convince them that ECONOMIST has not forgotten his cunning.

It is no unpleasing task to trace throughout the volume before us, the views held by its author on various stock Indian subjects, which have divided, and must still divide, all residents in India, who take any interest at all in the welfare of its inhabitants. Mr. Campbell is equally removed, as it appears to us, from the class who see in an English education, in an electric telegraph, in a line of railway, and in municipal institutions, (good things in their way,) an adequate remedy for all social ills, and from that class, which at one stage of its existence would have retained Sutti and sacrifices at Saugor, and at another would idolize and exalt the old native character, and think that ryots could never be happy, except under the good old rule. Mr. Campbell's sympathies are evidently with tenant cultivators, good hard-working village communities, active Panches, and able-bodied thannadars. He has no regard for over-grown zemindars, whose very name, when translated into English, is an imposition on the public, and who have appropriated to themselves all the good things of ownership, without touching, even with their finger, any one of its duties. Vested rights, time-honoured privileges, usurpation sanctioned by prescription, when interfering in any way with the comfort of the agriculturist, find with him no favour. He is no admirer of men who will not work, and is much more tender to a Jat, even though he should tell lies "in a good-humoured" way, than to a Rajpút spoiled by prosperity, though the latter, to the eyes of an enthusiastic admirer, should exhibit a manly bearing and a chivalrous spirit. On educational questions, Mr. Campbell looks to the village Dominie and the Vernacular schools, and would educate the more aspiring student, by a course of useful science, for which he conceives the natural temperament to be singularly fitted, rather than let loose on the country a host of young Hindus, steeped in Bacon and Milton, but destined to prove inefficient ministerial officers and inexperienced thief-catchers. Young Bengal would clearly be no favourite with Mr. Campbell, and had he had any experience of the creature's upstart pretensions, offensive self-complacency, and down-right ill-breeding, he would have been more than ever confirmed in his views.

A desire to reduce the burden of taxation on the ryots, pervades the book; and this would be effected, he says, were we to make native independent states contribute to the defence of our natural frontier, and to the security of India from external aggression; or would have been effected long ago, had we not been needlessly indulgent to the occupants of rent-free tenures, and in this way alienated lakhs of rupees. Not that he would interfere with the just and reasonable claims of faithful servants of former Governments, or with grants devoted to religious or charitable purposes, or with the representatives of a really ancient landed aristocracy; but he would have all assignments to the Buckinghams of the East, to the "fiddler and buffoon" of some Oriental dynasty, to courtczans, and jades, and pampered favourites, swept into the coffers of the Treasury.

In the Courts, especially in the Civil Courts, Mr. Campbell sees great room for improvement; and in all he writes, there is a manifest tendency to assert the claims of simple procedure, sound law, and substantial justice, over the straining after technicality, and the minute observance of forms, which are so apt to mark the decisions of unprofessional lawyers, such as our civil judges. On this subject there is a very valuable note drawn up while Mr. Campbell was in this country, which shows, how in civil suits, in non-regulation provinces, a judge may get rid of encumbering forms, masses of irrelevant facts, and the whole tribe of professional rogues, mis-called Vakils, whose sole object is to make money, darken the case, and mystify the presiding officer. Men who arraign the decisions of Company's Judges, should make some allowance for the difficulties experienced, when the Bar consists of a set of low, cunning, "brokers in litigation," as the natives call them, who are prepared to assert anything, and to deny, on principle, even the plainest, clearest, and simplest facts, advanced by their opponent.

The main axioms of Mr. Campbell's social and internal philosophy, are, as we interpret them, that we ought to preserve jealously the interests of village communities; that we should not commit ourselves to any decisive measure in revenue, before we have well ascertained our ground: that in police matters we should endeavour rather to detect the guilty, than be excessively apprehensive of the safety of the innocent: that mild, timid, and nerveless judges, who think that all policemen are practised torturers, and that all dacoits are unfortunate villagers against whom the policemen have a grudge, should find no resting place in a judicial catcherry: that our business is to take the natives as we find them, to give them free scope for the development of their

natural abilities, their quickness of apprehension, their readiness of hand, and their power to do much with small means; to avail ourselves of their services in those posts, which the capacity of the low-born to suit themselves to higher dignities, enables them to fill with success: and to abandon the preposterous notion that they can readily be converted into self-governing Anglo-Saxons: a notion against which Sir T. Munro long since warned all Presidents of the Board of Control, and on which the *Daily News*, and some other English papers, seem deliberately bent.

Not less interesting is it to mark the meed of praise or censure which Mr. Campbell awards to several in the long line of "Proconsul on Proconsul." Warren Hastings is a man, who, thwarted by councillors, and opposed by the Supreme Court, held correct views regarding internal administration, endeavoured to do his duty, and met with persecution in return: and it is not uninteresting to observe how in late years the tide has turned somewhat in Hastings' favour, and justice is now done to his large local experience, his unshrinking firmness, and his statesman-like views. Lord Cornwallis is a philanthropic old gentleman, who dealt in imposing generalities, and thought that a land-owner in one of our midland counties at home, and a zemindar in a Bengal district, were men cast in the same mould. But he knew what he was about, when he had to deal with Europeans, and due acknowledgment is given to the success of his various enactments, and general administrative measures. Lord Teignmouth did what men in this country are constantly forgetting it is their duty to do, and that is, he gave a fair chance to the measures involved in the perpetual settlement, when once irrevocable, although he had been strongly opposed to that measure before it had passed. Let all functionaries, high and low, follow the example of this high-minded, honourable, and excellent man. It is fair, that while any debated measure is still unpassed, Government should give to public servants an opportunity of stating their views for or against the proposal. But the order once issued, that once passed, the Draft Act once become good law, it is the imperative duty of every man, whatever be his views on the expediency of the measure, not to cast impediments in the way of its working, nor to encourage an underhand or factious opposition on the part of natives easily led by a superior, but by every means in his power, and by honest and hearty co-operation, to allow the obnoxious *ordonnance* a decent chance of success. We pass over the internal and external policy of subsequent Governors-General, until we come to Lord

William Bentinck. This nobleman, though regarded by Mr. Campbell as crotchety, and in some things impracticable, receives ample justice in the volume before us, for the depth, solidity, and excellence of his reforms. In his time all fees or commissions were abolished, merit rewarded, natives largely employed, educational establishments founded, courts simplified, a detective police organized for thugs and dacoits, vexatious transit duties abolished, and administrative reform promoted in all quarters. This, to say nothing of the one grand act, the abolition of Sutti, is a very fair catalogue of improvements, to be handed down to posterity, in connection with one man, and must place Lord William first in the ranks of Anglo-Indian reformers. With Lord William ends our financial prosperity. Lord Auckland was a mild and paternal Governor, but his amiability was closely allied to what is termed by philosophers the adjacent vice of weakness. Lord Hardinge was, with the exception of his regard for education, a fighting man, sent, by the good fortune of the Company, to save their empire at a critical period. Lord Ellenborough, we must give in Mr. Campbell's own words. After admitting his talent and ability, and allowing that he did much to infuse energy and method into subordinate departments, that he abolished vexatious duties in Bombay and Madras, and consolidated the system of Customs, Mr. Campbell says:—

But he was, at the same time, so hasty and inconsiderate; showed so much little and personal hostility to the civil employes of the State; added to his reforms so many unjust, vexatious, and unprofitable innovations; spitefully drove from office or kept down so many men distinguished by former services; raised to the most important posts so many men utterly inexperienced, but distinguished by his imperial whim and favour, after the manner of capricious autocracies; devoted so much of his attention to pomp, circumstance, and pageant; and contrived to effect all the evil so immediately, while he had not time to mature the good parts of his project, that from all these causes he, perhaps, did more harm than good.

We are induced to think, that in the above estimate, and in other occasional mention of Lord Ellenborough, full justice is not done to this nobleman's great discernment as a statesman. He saw the coming events even before their shadow announced them; and there can be no doubt, that, eccentric as he was occasionally, and often unjust to distinguished men, he manifested great insight into character and capacity, and detected *shams* with astonishing correctness. But he made fearful havoc of the "acting allowances" of covenanted officers, and this fault, in Mr. Campbell's eyes, is not easily pardoned.

We observe, throughout, an indication in Mr. Campbell, to place men, regularly bred to civil business, and masters of all

minute internal details, higher in the scale of Governors, than men distinguished by striking political or diplomatic services. In this he has our entire sympathy and hearty concurrence. To this day, in England, amongst all persons who affect the slightest knowledge of India, there is a tendency to think that no man can attain to real eminence in the service, unless he has been either a resident, an envoy, or an ambassador. The pomp and circumstance, as well as the high emoluments of the office, have something to do with this. Scott introduces Miss Julia Mannering as reminding her father, the Colonel, of the times when they had their own chaplain at the "Residency;" and something of the same feeling exists now. Oriental diplomacy, fights of elephants and tigers, ceremonious meetings, durbars, imposing *khurritas* tied up with silver thread, representatives of Mogul sovereigns and great Mahratta Houses, wise vizirs with old saws on their lips, important state secrets, female favourites, who govern the reigning prince, by the power of their charms as well as by true feminine tact and quickness, *musnuds*, *guddies*, *istikbals*, and all the other high sounding phraseology—these are the various topics to the study of which the best years of a man's life may be worthily devoted, and which may lead him, at length, to Parell House or to Guindy, or to a place in the Supreme Council. We entirely agree with Mr. Campbell, in thinking that a thorough knowledge of all the details of internal administration, gives the best security for a man's efficiency as head of a large province or Governor of a Presidency. A man like Mr. Thomason is worth all the Politicals in the world. A man like Mr. John Lawrence, regularly "bred to the trade," to borrow an expression from *ECONOMIST*, will do more to organize a good system in a new and splendid acquisition, than the best Persian scholar, or the most experienced diplomatist.

We are not sure that we quite agree with Mr. Campbell, in what appears to us, his opinion of the relative merits of two great Indian Governors, Munro and Elphinstone. That opinion, it is true, is nowhere fully or forcibly expressed; but from scattered passages, and notices of either, we are inclined to think that he places Elphinstone above Munro. Certain it is that he defers to Elphinstone's views on revenue, in the same manner as a young member of the House at home might defer to an opinion expressed by the late Sir R. Peel. But he directly impugns the correctness of Munro's views on revenue matters in the Madras Presidency. A writer must have great confidence, who should venture to break a lance with a man whose knowledge was drawn from the fountain

head, whose experience had been attained by an habitual intercourse, for months together, with villagers in the Baramahl or the jungles of Canara, and whose opinions, on delicate points of revenue, are, to this day, looked on with admiration by able members of the Madras service. We have, however, neither the time nor the minute knowledge sufficient to go into the matter at issue between Munro and his "wrong-headed" board, whose cause Mr. Campbell manfully espouses. *Au reste*, we must be permitted to think that Munro, as a Governor, bears away the palm, not merely from Elphinstone, but from every other member of either the Civil or Military Service, who became a Governor, being reared solely in India. A person, of whom the most brilliant orator of the day said, that Europe had not produced a more accomplished statesman, nor India, fertile in heroes, a more skilful soldier, whose minutes are models of official composition, who is looked on by ryots to this day as their father, whose doings in the field with raw levies, contemptible means, and insufficient supplies, drew from one of his most distinguished contemporaries a tribute of honest admiration to "*Tom Munro Saheb, the master-workman*:" who was equally at home and in his place, whether he guided the civil administration of the Presidency, or in his own manly and open fashion, criticised the military operations of the great captain, to the great captain himself—has surely claims to a rank in the Indian gallery of worthies, which are hardly possessed by Elphinstone, by Hastings, or by Clive.

To attempt to review, in succession, all the various subjects, which have been skilfully grouped, and lucidly arranged, by Mr. Campbell, would be too great a task. This would lead us into every topic of interest which, for the last ten or twenty years, has been variously discussed in every official circle, or formed the staple matter for agitation by the press. We shall therefore content ourselves with briefly enumerating the main features of the book, and reserve for more prolonged notice two or three points which seem to possess general interest. A lucid sketch of various tribes of Hindus, with their institutions and settlement in the Upper Provinces, clears the way for a sketch of the country and the people, as we found them, and affords Mr. Campbell scope for displaying his knowledge of the social characteristics of the Hindus and Mohammedans of Northern India, with whom his time of service has been chiefly spent. This chapter will be found to contain a fair and candid estimate of the good and bad qualities of the natives, in which full allowance is made for the kindly feelings which actuate them, in regard to the treatment of poor relations, and no disguise is cast over the general want of truth-

fulness, which is our worst, opponent in every reform. Next comes a chapter, written on the great principle, that before we can thoroughly understand the nature of our present rule, and the general system of our administration, we must have some acquaintance with the legacy which the former masters of India had left us; with the foundations on which we have reared a somewhat complicated structure, and with the machinery of native Governments, which we variously adopted or despised. Our external policy, and the course of our internal reforms and improvements, are discussed in two chapters more. One chapter is accorded to the Government, as it now exists, under the last Charter, and another to the training, qualifications, character, pay and efficiency, not only of the covenanted and uncovenanted services, but also of the officers of the police and revenue establishments. Two chapters more bring us through the land revenue in every Presidency, including the lately-settled Punjab, and the other sources of income, such as the opium, the excise, the salt tax, and the minor additions afforded by stamps, tributes, or local taxes. From a chapter giving the history of our financial position, the student of Indian subjects will learn the origin of our "National debt," and the state of the balance sheet as it now is, and he will derive materials for hope in the picture therein displayed. Two chapters more close the book. One gives the police and criminal administration, the other the system of civil justice, and we venture to prophesy that the statistics of crime, and the details of our police management, will not be the least interesting to the English reader at home. It is of course not to be imagined, that in dealing with all the above varied subjects, the author can talk with the fulness of confidence, which careful personal examination and prolonged intercourse alone can warrant. But the theory which pervades his book is, that in spite of local differences, for which he is disposed to make allowance, a striking similarity in general matters characterises the social system of India, even in localities and amongst tribes remote from each other. Bearing this in mind, as well as the fact, that Mr. Campbell's experience lies mainly in the countries between the Jumna and the Sutlej, the reader, to whatever part of India he may belong, will find much to interest, much to instruct, and as a natural consequence of the comprehensive character of the book, something occasionally to be questioned. He will read a great deal that bears the irrefragable evidence of personal enquiry and local investigation, and a great deal more, that shows the pains taken to arrive at accurate information, by recourse to authentic documents. He will, in short, find to his hand the most copi-

ous details of the present Government of India, packed into the smallest compass, and explained in the clearest manner.

On no points does Mr. Campbell's experience enable him to speak with more effect, than on the revenue system of Northern India. In fact, the chapters on the revenue will be, to the Indian official at least, the most interesting of the book. They evince that sound knowledge of the just principles of settlement-making, which proves that its possessor can both "settle" a village satisfactorily and write a good book. Light is thrown on that troublesome question, as to the ownership of the soil, which has been so repeatedly discussed, not merely in minutes and reports, and newspaper controversies, but even in Indian novels; and it is satisfactorily laid down, that various proprietary rights do exist together, and that "different persons may have different rights, duties or privileges, in the same thing or under the same name." These different kinds of tenures and rights, are then divided into four kinds, exclusive of jaghirdars or tributary chiefs, and the mode in which revenue is collected, either from a village community under one head man, or from a perfect village community, democratic, self-governing, and a model to all settlement men, or from a village zemindar, or from the zemindar of a district, whose possessions may be as large as the thannah or the zillah itself, is then described with clearness and precision. But as there is no point by which Mr. Campbell's powers, as an Indian author, are better set off than by the revenue system, so in that system there is nothing which is more attractive than his elaborate description of village communities, from their imperfect form under a head man, whether he be known as Patel, or Mundul, or Mokuddum, to the full-grown, well-developed, and symmetrical constitution, where they appoint their own managers, and acknowledge a due sense of responsibility. On this latter subject, the author is entirely at home. He speaks and writes as a man who has conversed with Panches, instructed village accountants, watched the progress of agriculture, and even attempted it as an amateur, adjusted boundary disputes, arranged masses of records, touched the revenue due on account of Government to the last cowrie, and regarded with a jealous eye the entrance into a village, happy and united, of a stranger who would sow there the elements of discord, litigation and decay. In no work that we know of, have the peculiar characteristics of these remarkable constituencies been depicted with so true a pencil, and in such appropriate colours. Every remarkable feature of the village community is portrayed to the life. Their various degrees of strength and stability: their mar-

vellous cohesion: the organization which remained unimpaired, while successive invaders overran the provinces, and the Mahratta cavalry made forays up to the very walls of Delhi: the corn lands and the pasture grounds, on the boundaries of which many a bloody affray has taken place: the interior survey of the village, which records minutely the dimensions of every field, the name of every proprietor, and the nature of the various soils: the registry of rights, which enables the revenue officer to decide, at a glance, any point eventually disputed: the village banker, who has no landed interests, but who soon finds, that capital, under any circumstances and in any community, is strength: the village accountants, who have a three-fold duty to perform, to Government, to the proprietors, and to the tenants: the system, in short, which aims at a middle course, and studiously avoids the inconvenience of dealing with each individual cultivator, and the error of throwing too much power and influence into the hands of a single land-holder: the joint responsibility and the common advantage—all this and a great deal more is so clearly set forth in the volume before us, that it ought to leave no enquirer into our revenue system, no young civilian commencing his work, any excuse for not thoroughly mastering the subject. Yet it may be necessary to warn some persons against inferring from the picture drawn by Mr. Campbell, that these communities would be willing to undertake a joint responsibility, in subjects other than the time-honored land-tax. Because Mr. Campbell has discovered a remarkable resemblance between a Jat village and an Anglo-Saxon village (page 52), let no person imagine that he will find it an easy task to implant in a Jat community the energy, the self-reliance, and the self-government of an English corporation. We are quite certain, from other parts of the work, that Mr. Campbell would be the first person to protest against any such inference. The reason of the thing, to a person who knows anything of the native character, or who interprets this volume with common candour, is not far to seek. The land-tax, in the eyes of a good Jat, or indeed of any other decent cultivator, is the indefeasible, immemorial, right of the paramount power. It is the part of a good subject to pay it with readiness, so it be not excessive, as a tribute of obedience and an expression of good will. Where communities, bound together perhaps, by the ties of caste, and certainly by mutual interest, have been used to the agencies of Panches and *Lumberdars*, from time out of mind, it is no wonder if a Government, anxious to adopt and improve the best instruments of the native system, can manage to make associations

like these to work wonderfully well. But let any theorist just try to induce a set of Rajpûts, or even Mr. Campbell's sturdy friends, the Jats, to assess themselves at two annas a head, to raise a sum for conservancy purposes: let him endeavour to make them apply the self-governing principle to the digging of wells, the laying down of roads, the erection of schools, or the foundation of dispensaries—and see what the result would be. The reception such a philanthropic individual would meet with, were he to try first by persuasion, and next by “salutary compulsion,” to carry out his favourite views, is not difficult to conceive. Were he “one of the prophets,” to quote a phrase to which Mr. Campbell is evidently partial, he would infallibly be sent back from the village, by a demonstration which would have nothing Anglo-Saxon about it, save its extreme vigour.

The mention of these village communities, and of the great success which has attended their working in Upper India, brings us not unnaturally to a locality in which village communities are not, and to the system prevalent in the lower division of the Presidency, which is placed, in this book, in unfavourable contrast to that of Agra and the Punjab. It is almost superfluous to say that there are no village communities, nor any very distinct traces of them, in Bengal Proper. We have head men in name, but not in function, village gomashthas, respectable and substantial ryots, with their bullocks and their buffaloes; but we have no Punches, no symbolical ploughs, no village officials, except the watchmen, who are invested with consequence, and are responsible to their constituents.

It is clear too, from this book, that as matters stand at present, the vitality and efficiency of these tenures are in the highest ratio between the Sutlej and the Jumna, that they decrease in the Doab of Hindostan, become faint and indistinct in the provinces of Benares and Behar, and are entirely lost in the rich plains of Lower Bengal. No doubt, as the value of these communities was more appreciated, and as our revenue experience increased, we exerted ourselves to re-build, to construct, or to consolidate them in the late settlement of the North West Provinces, and, the other day, in organizing a system for the Punjab. In these localities we found them often instinct with life, endeared to the people, and understood by the native revenue authorities. We did well to watch them with fostering care, and to guard them from violation by men of pre-conceived ideas. But we much doubt, whether these communities had ever any defined existence in Bengal, whether in the last century we found even their frame or skeleton, whether if they ever had existed

in full force previously, we could then have pieced them together, and given to them coherence, unity, and shape. We are induced to think that what is now the case with these tenures, has always been so, and that they were either not generally introduced into Bengal, or if introduced, that they soon became disorganized in localities to which they were not well suited. No Bengal collector, who valued his peace of mind, would wish to have his district over-run with these communities, if they could be suddenly called into existence by some miraculous agency. Amongst a people where litigation is far more common than in upper India,—where unity, or combination, or steadiness of purpose, in a righteous cause, for one common object, is almost unknown,—where subletting seems the normal condition of the agricultural population,—it is difficult to believe that these communities, if constructed on the most scientific principles, could hold together for a month. Though it is true that various castes prevail more in some parts of the country than in others, that it is not unusual to find Bengal villages inhabited wholly by Mussulmans, or by some low Hindu caste, yet we have not tribes who, like the Jats or even the unruly Rajpûts, herd together in particular villages, without intermixture, and have a natural adaptation to the joint system. But independently of our strong doubts as to these communities being suited to Bengal, we see passages in the work before us, which raise some uncertainty as to their superlative good character, and undeniable excellence. These will best be seen by a review of the objections taken by Mr. Campbell to the “Perpetual Settlement,” under which he says that we have the misfortune to live.

In all that the author says regarding the imperfect information on which that great measure was devised, perfected and carried out, we concur. The boundaries of estates were not defined. The capabilities of the land had not been ascertained. The rights of under-tenants and small proprietors were not always duly protected. Lord Cornwallis vainly imagined that a landed aristocracy in Bengal would furnish, in every generation, numerous specimens of the gentleman of the old school. The zemindars of the present day are an “unthrifty, rack-renting” set of people, who oppress their tenants, and only care to make the largest profit possible. Many of the advantages calculated on by the founder of the system, have proved visionary. In all this we agree with Mr. Campbell, who laments over slighted opportunities, and great chances neglected, and who is lost in astonishment at the haste and presumption with which so

important a measure was disposed of. But we are unable to concur with him, when he assumes that the increase of population and the spread of agriculture in Bengal, are to be wholly accounted for by "eighty years' protection from external war," and by the "absence of any great internal calamity;" or when he thinks that the "fertility, population, or productiveness of Bengal have, perhaps, been exaggerated;" or when he believes, on what data we know not, that rent, as distinguished from revenue, is "much lower" in Bengal "than in the best districts of the Upper Provinces" (page 321).

Now we have to observe that large zemindaries have always existed in Bengal. They are to be found in the rent-roll of Akbar, where familiar names of families existing to this very hour, are mingled with others which have entirely faded away from amongst the landed gentry. It is true that when we took possession of the country, we found that a great deal of the revenue was collected by farmers or hereditary superintendants, whom we certainly metamorphosed into land-holders, with some degree of precipitancy, and whose descendants, in the third or fourth generation, are now the Roys and Chowdaris of large landed estates. The mistake, however, was not in the recognition of these men as zemindars, nor in giving them permanency, but in neglecting to secure the just rights and titles of others more nearly connected with the soil. A zemindar who knows that he can only be turned out for default, even though he be "rack-renting and unthrifty," is a better man any day, than a farmer whose term is only for ten years or less, and who, at the expiration of that time, must give way to his successor. At the perpetual settlement, we had no choice, except to continue the farming system, changing the collectors at any time, or to recognize some set of collectors as proprietors in the English sense of the term. The mischief was, that things were done in too great a hurry, and the condition of the under-tenants, and actual cultivators, was not properly understood. But these tenants or inferior holders, whose rights, Mr. Campbell says, have been "utterly swept away," have rather emerged into a better position than they previously held, and have become village talukdars, or hold by *Mourusi*, or *Mukharrari*, or some other similar title. As to the poverty and misery of the actual ryot, so much insisted on by several writers at the present day, we deny that matters are as bad as represented. What strikes the eye most in any village or set of villages, in a Bengal district, is the exuberant fertility of the soil, the glutty plenty surrounding the Grihastha's abode, the

rich foliage, the fruit and timber trees, and the palpable evidence against anything like penury. Did any man ever go through a Bengali village, and find himself assailed by the cry of want or famine? Was he ever told that the ryot and his family did not know where to turn for a meal, that they had no shade to shelter them, no tank to bathe in, no employment for their active limbs? That villages are not neatly laid out like a model village in an English county, that things seem to go on, year by year, in the same slovenly fashion, that there are no local improvements, and no advances in civilization, is all very true. But considering the wretched condition of some of the Irish peasantry, or even the Scotch, and the misery experienced by hundreds in the purlieus of our great cities at home, compared with the condition of ryots who know neither cold nor hunger, it is high time that the outcry about the extreme unhappiness of the Bengal ryot should cease.

We do not, however, charge Mr. Campbell with encouraging any outcry of the above kind, but we are convinced that he has managed to under-rate the fertility of this province, and that, had he enjoyed the same facilities of observation for only a few months, in a good-sized district, within a couple of hundred miles of Calcutta, as he has enjoyed in Upper India, his picture of the Bengali would have been as correct, as graphic, and as animated as that of the Panches, and their worthy constituents.

The perpetual settlement is, theoretically, the kind of system most calculated to encourage the spread of agriculture, the foundation of new villages, the establishment of new hauts or bazars, and the clearance of heavy jungle. There is no fear of eventual demand on the part of Government for revenue on culturable land brought into cultivation, no jealous scrutiny, which counts the months and years that have yet to run, before the old settlement shall expire. Under such a system, the amount of money derived from land, which circulates entirely in the district amongst the land-holder and under-tenants, will probably be very considerable. In a rich country too, where energy and vigorous management are not the characteristics of zemindars, such a system would naturally call into existence a considerable number of middlemen, who would continue to be supported almost exclusively by their rents. If this be granted as correct in theory, we have but to enquire what are the practical results of the measure. We find then, that in some districts the jungle has entirely disappeared. A man may go for miles in any direction, east and north of the metropolis, and see plains succeeding to plains, where there is not one bigah of unproductive

soil, and where many thousand bigahs give their return of two crops in the year, without irrigation, and without that careful labour which seems indispensable, in the Upper Provinces, to successful agriculture. More new bazars, (a very profitable source of wealth, if the zemindar or talukdar only knows how to manage them); will be found to have been established within the last thirty years, than old bazars to have decayed. The circulation of money in the interior of such districts, is very considerable. The number of men who derive competence and consequence from the soil, is large. Is it fair to say, that all these results are independent of the perpetual settlement? But Mr. Campbell maintains, as it appears to us, two positions, somewhat incompatible with each other. He gives it as his opinion, that whatever increase, in wealth, population and cultivation, has taken place in Bengal, has taken place in spite of the settlement of Lord Cornwallis, and he then concludes by saying, that after all, the "fertility, population and productiveness of Bengal have, perhaps, been exaggerated." He at first seems unwilling to admit that the obnoxious measure has ended in the accumulation of wealth and the increase of rents from land,—both of which facts, however, he finds it almost impossible to get over,—and then he throws in a qualifying suggestion, to the effect, that the highly-lauded fertility of the Gangetic Delta is, perhaps, a highly wrought fiction. We do not say that so acute a reasoner as Mr. Campbell deliberately places these two opposite statements in juxta-position, but we think that any person who will weigh the statements made in pages 320 and 321 of the book, will be of opinion that there is some slight contradiction in the text. Either, it seems to us, the perpetual settlement must have had a very beneficial tendency, or the fertility and resources of Bengal are such as it is almost impossible to exaggerate, or without personal investigation, even adequately to conceive. But it must not be insinuated in one and the same breath, that the perpetual settlement is a bad measure, and alluvial Bengal a poor soil.

The truth is, that both causes, the productive resources of the country, and the tendency of the revenue system to add to those resources, have, probably, contributed to make the appearance of the country what it now is. The famine of which Mr. Campbell speaks as having occurred just before the perpetual settlement, or, at any rate, just before we entered on the enquiries which led to that result, took place some twenty years previous to the rash act of Lord Cornwallis. But as a specimen of the comparative fertility of Bengal and the Upper Provinces,

we will give first Mr. Campbell's own account of the amount of rents in the North West, and then our own account of rents in Bèngal, drawn from personal observation and enquiry. In page 336, Mr. Campbell says:—

Generally speaking, rents in the North-West Provinces vary from 2s. to 2l. per acre; tolerably good grain land is generally from 4s. to 10s.; good cotton land is not to be had for less than 10s. to 15s.; and sugar-cane land fetches up to the highest price which I have mentioned, and even more. At Nuginah, in Rohilcund, the sugar-cane land sometimes brings as much as 3l. 10s. per acre. About one-third of the whole cultivated land is irrigated from wells.

If by rents we are to understand the return of the land to the cultivator or the tenant proprietor, for the crop or crops which are sown therein during the year, we can only say, that the fertility of Bengal, as compared with that of the Upper Provinces, is even greater than we supposed. The highest amount of good grain land with Mr. Campbell, is, in Indian coin, five rupees an acre, and an acre equals, on an average, about three bigahs. But the late crop of Bengal rice, reaped about December or January, frequently produces five, six, eight, and sometimes even ten rupees a bigah, that is, in any case, more than treble the amount of the highest rate of grain land in Upper India. There is certainly some ambiguity in the early part of the passage just quoted, and we are not now certain, whether we are to understand the term rent as signifying the sum which one of Mr. Campbell's Jats gets as the return of the crop of grain, or as the sum which he hands over to the village zemindar, if he has one, or as the sum for which land can be "had" or rented by a speculator, or agriculturist; but we incline to the former interpretation. But there can be little doubt as to the statement regarding sugar-cane. This valuable product "brings," that is to say, repays to the cultivator, sometimes as much as seventy shillings or thirty-five rupees an acre, in a favored locality in Rohilcund. Now sugar-cane is extensively cultivated in many districts in Bengal, where it requires considerable capital, labour, watchfulness, and care. But it is often known to pay at rates varying from twenty rupees to forty rupees a bigah, that is to say, at a rate which at the lowest much more than equals, and at the highest far transcends the return from the most favourable instance which the author's experience or enquiry can suggest. In fact, to satisfy all doubts as to the fertility of the respective countries, we think that an enquirer has only to glance at them. Independent of irrigation, careless about wells, the Bengal ryot turns up his rich loam after the first favourable shower, sows or plants his rice, and reaps

either one magnificent, or two very fair crops, from the same soil, within the period of nine months. In Upper India—*venit vilissima rerum, hic aqua*—irrigation is actually paid for in tracts bordering on the canals, or is jealously doled out by the village corporation, from the village wells. With all this, the one country is to the eye arid, barren, and desolate. The other speaks to the painter as well as to the farmer, and even during the hot season, appears to defy the virulence of the sun. In variety of crops, in fruits and in vegetation generally, the fertility of Bengal is patent to the most careless observer. Its supply of rain-water, and the number of its rivers, give it an advantage, which it is vain to arrogate for Upper India. The rotation of crops, which Mr. Campbell speaks of, as well understood in the Agra Presidency, is almost unknown in Bengal, at least, as a compulsory system, because it is not required. The never-failing rice crop covers the whole country, for one season of the year; while, in the cold weather, the variety of other products, nearly rivals the variety of crops in the Upper Provinces, where no one staple is so exclusively grown, as rice is in Bengal. Here we have pease, mustard, oats, barley, three or four sorts of vetches, the sola or gram, millet, in short every thing but wheat, and in Behar even that. In these winter crops, the superior fertility of Bengal may, possibly, be not quite so manifest. But the Bengal Indigo confessedly ranks above that of the Upper Provinces, and in other kinds of cultivation, such as tobacco, mulberry, date trees, sugar-cane, the returns here are much beyond those of the North West. Then take the appearance of the villages themselves, the in-field, as old writers would have termed it, in contra-distinction to the out-field. What appears to a stranger a dense mass of unhealthy vegetation, which gives shelter to wild beasts and originates epidemic disease, is, in reality, a series of productive plantations, such as, in the course of a few years from its foundation, invariably spring up round every Bengali village. Groves of the mango or the jack, shut out every ray of the sun. Clumps of bambús afford their owner the materials wherewith to build his hut, or are, sometimes, when water-carriage is available, carried to a considerable distance for sale, and even to Calcutta. Other fruit and timber trees, while they appear to cumber the ground, in reality greatly increase the rent. In short, when we consider the quick growth and large returns of the staple crop in Bengal, the shoals of fish that are yearly produced, not merely in every tank and river, but in every rice swamp, the redundant vegetation, the brilliant colouring, and the comparatively small amount of labour which

is expended on the soil by the cultivator, it is almost impossible not to allow to Bengal a natural productiveness bordering on the marvellous.

Leaving, however, the question of the relative fertility of Bengal and Agra, we proceed to notice a point bearing on the revenue systems in force in either province, on which Mr. Campbell's book leaves us in little doubt. The point is, which system is, by its facility for expansion, and its adaptation to the generally improving circumstances of the country, best calculated to stand in the long run? Now in this, it is clear to us, that the best system is that which makes land to be readily marketable, which affords scope for the employment of capital, which invites commercial enterprise and encourages speculation, which has no particular privileges to guard with jealousy, and no exclusive rights to protect, and which is not likely to break down as society advances, civil relations become more complicated, and foreign elements are mixed up with native ones. That such are not the characteristics of the village communities, so much praised, and so suited to the Upper Provinces, we have abundant evidence from the manner in which Mr. Campbell almost forebodes their dissolution. After describing the system of the newly annexed territories in the Punjab, he warns all administrators, that the village communities must be protected in their primitive integrity, and that the whole machine will go to pieces, if a stranger is let into the magic circle. After describing how the experience of the North West enabled us to manage matters skilfully in the Punjab, he goes on to say, page 345 :—

But there is one point, the practice on which is yet to be regulated, and about which I am anxious. As the members are jointly liable and jointly owners of the whole village, I do not think that the land in possession of each is so far a separate property that individuals can sell it to a stranger without the consent of the community. It never has been so sold; and if we should ever in these territories have civil courts, such as those in the provinces, and the shares are sold in execution of decrees, a very great injustice is done to the other holders, and the constitution of the village being invaded, will fall to pieces; for no extraneous or dissimilar member will amalgamate in so complicated a machine. It is wonderful that these corporations work so well as they do, but, while accepting the fact, the most useful and profitable fact, that they do work in their native condition, we must remember that we cannot engraft on them incompatible institutions, without spoiling all; and that in this way we have ruined and are ruining the communities in the provinces. No present debts were contracted on the faith of sale of landed property, for hitherto it has not been sold, and yet the cultivators have, as members of and with the assistance of the community, quite credit enough. It is by no means desirable to increase that credit by making their landed rights auctionable by civil process; such a course is incompatible with the rights, and even with the existence, of the

communities ; I think it should be as before, that if a man break down, his land goes to the community, who are liable for the revenue. Creditors will then manage prudently, instead of throwing money at careless proprietors in order to appropriate their landed rights, as is every day done in the provinces. Some rights are of much greater value to their possessors than they will fetch in the market, and should not be dealt with after our mercantile fashion.

This, to our thinking, is decisive. The villages are models, so long as they remain in their simple, original, and primitive shape. But there must be no civil actions. Land must not be real property, by the aid of which ready money can be advanced, or credit be assured, and mercantile transactions be carried on. The collector is not merely to be the agent of Government, to reconcile boundary disputes, to warn dilatory cultivators that their shares will be taken from them, and given to men who can and will work, but he is to stand over his village with a watchful eye and in a threatening attitude, to drive away all intruders from the hallowed ground. Can that system be so admirable, as it has been described, where its first vital principle is the exclusion of all progress ? Is that body likely to possess the elements of vitality and advancement, which is thus reduced to be recruited entirely from itself, and which, if it does manage to be renovated and revived from within, dissolves away whenever it comes in contact with anything from without ?

No doubt, a village community, carefully constructed, and managed by a set of native or European officers well up to their work, will reflect great credit on our executive Government, and present a pleasing picture of the fashion after which the Company paternally administers its revenue code. No doubt, too, the introduction of litigation in the Civil Courts, with its cumbrous forms, its endless delays, and its host of crafty practitioners, is an evil much to be deprecated. But is this exclusiveness to go on for ever ? Are we always to be resisting the inevitable march of civilization with its good and bad effects ? Shall the diversified, intricate, but yet beneficial interests of our social system be never allowed full play, without let or hindrance ? There is something not altogether satisfactory in the theory and first principles of a revenue administration, which avows such maxims, and contemplates such ends.

Very different is the case with the abused perpetual settlement. We contend for this measure, that it has nothing of exclusiveness, or limitation about it, and that under its operation, land may one day become the true basis of credit, and the pivot of honest commercial adventure. There is, no doubt, a great deal to be done in several ways to ameliorate the system

as it stands. On the one hand, the rights of under-tenants require protection from the overpowering influence of the zemindar, and on the other, intending purchasers require some assurance, that if they purchase an estate, they shall acquire not nominal, but real possession of their bargain. Every person conversant with landed interests in Bengal, knows too well the delays, and the inconveniences, and the numerous obstructions to be encountered by an Englishman or foreigner, however determined, who wishes to become a proprietor of land. But these are evils not beyond the power of reform, nor inherent in the system. Land may change hands by sale for default of revenue, by a decree of the Civil Court, or by private arrangements, without a cry being raised that the main spring of the revenue administration has been thereby damaged. There are no special immunities to be protected, no societies into which the entrance of a stranger is as a brand of discord, no complicated machinery which requires to be isolated, in order that it may work. Then again, take the farming system, or that of giving lands in *ijarah*, for a term of years, against which so much has been written. The comparative facility with which this is effected in Bengal, has proved, especially to Europeans, of the very greatest advantage. Nothing is more common than for the managers of a large Indigo concern, to obtain from the zemindars the farm of an estate. This facilitates the cultivation of Indigo, often leads to a more punctual realization of the Government revenue, and prevents sale by default, and is naturally connected with the free circulation of capital through the district. Moreover, a measure of this kind may tend to improve the condition of the ryot. An Indigo-planter, who obtains a portion of an estate in farm, will be enabled to carry on his cultivation with much less opposition, as he deals with his own ryots, than one who has to employ menaces in this quarter, and entreaties in that, and to exhibit a restless activity everywhere, in order that the neighbouring zemindars may be induced to allow their ryots to sow indigo for him. The ryot, we say, has thus a chance of better treatment, for no European will be merciless towards the cultivators in two modes, at one and the same time, in exacting his rents with severity, and in compelling the cultivation of indigo. Either there will be a remission in the severity of the collections, or there will be no increase to the amount of land set apart for Indigo. But the rice land will not be encroached on, and rents harshly exacted, by the same person, on the same estate. Under the perpetual settlement, all this is constantly taking place, and matters are managed without

consulting collectors or Boards, as they could not be managed under any exclusive or different system.

Of course, we are willing to admit a hundred times, that there is much to be done in Bengal for the tenantry of large estates, for the clear definition and registry of rights, for the landed interests of all parties, except the zemindars, who seem, however, to think that they have not got all they are entitled to. But what we maintain is, that under the Cornwallis Revenue Code, close corporations are unknown. There is no call for vigilance in this quarter against intruders, or for anxiety in that, in regard to cultivators who have become listless or refractory. There is an open field to every one, whatever be his caste or colour, who wishes to become acquainted with all the mysteries of zemindarry management and zemindarry accounts.

The year selected by Mr. Campbell, to illustrate the working of the revenue system, in both Agra and Bengal, is that of 1848-49 : and while we admit that he does fair justice to the facts that the Bengalis now understand our system, that the revenue is realized with "considerable punctuality," that if a good many sales take place, they are those of small estates ; and that several estates are designedly permitted to go to the hammer by men who wish to get a good title, or, as is often the case, though we do not think Mr. Campbell has noticed it, to eject certain obstructive middlemen,—we must complain that he allows no merit to the perpetual settlement, and that he refuses to acknowledge its broad and comprehensive principles, and its entire adaptation to the wants and requisitions of an increasing population and an advancing state of society.

Moreover, the working of the revenue system, under the care and attention now devoted to it by some of the most energetic and experienced officers of Government, is becoming more efficient every year, and we are tempted to give the following extracts from the printed report of the Board of Revenue of the Lower Provinces for the year 1849-50, being the year subsequent to that taken by Mr. Campbell, in order that those who have followed the author in what are apparently departmental and exclusive questions, but which are intimately connected with the real prosperity of the country, may know how matters have fared up to the latest available date.

The extracts from the report given below, refer to two very important subjects, the amount of revenue realized, and the amount of property that has changed hands. The Board shall speak for themselves :—

The total current demand, it will be seen, amounted to Rs. 3,40,89,279.

of which Rs. 3,16,87,479 or about 91½ per cent. was collected within the year. The balance amounted in the gross to Rs. 30,51,799, including Rs. 2,00,383 remitted, leaving a net balance of Rs. 28,51,416 outstanding at the close of the year.

The demand for past years (bukya) was Rs. 36,54,261, of which Rs. 30,07,433 or 82½ per cent. was collected during the year, leaving a gross balance of Rs. 6,46,829, or after deducting remissions to the amount of Rs. 3,12,369, a net balance of Rs. 3,34,459.

The whole demand, current and for past years, was Rs. 3,83,43,540, of which Rs. 3,46,44,912 or 90½ per cent. was realized within the year, leaving a gross balance of Rs. 36,98,628, which was further reduced by remissions, amounting to Rs. 5,12,752, leaving a net balance of Rs. 31,85,876, or 8½ per cent. on the demand.

As observed in the Board's last report, payment of the last two instalments cannot be enforced within the year; the collections during any one year therefore include the last two instalments of the previous year, and exclude the same instalments of the year of report. If then the collections on account of the year of report, added to those on account of the preceding year, are found to be equal to the total current demand, the result is of course satisfactory. Judged by this rule, the collections of the year under review could scarcely have been better, having been, for the current and preceding year, in the aggregate, and exclusive of remissions, only 1,60,047 rupees short of the current demand of 3,46,89,229 rupees, and exclusive of the surplus collected in some districts, and of remissions as before, only 4,31,718 rupees short, distributed as follows :

DISTRICTS.	Current demand.	Collected on account of the year of report and of the previous year.	Deficiency.
Hughli,.....	12,25,767	12,24,694	1,073.
Nuddea,.....	11,60,324	11,42,250	18,074.
24-Pergunnahs,.....	16,76,652	15,61,862	1,14,790
Pubna,.....	3,54,018	3,51,896	2,122
Backergunge,.....	10,33,919	10,28,194	5,725
Dacca,.....	4,58,312	4,53,606	4,706
Furridpore,.....	38,193	34,476	3,717
Mymensing,.....	8,19,813	8,18,386	1,427
Sylhet,.....	3,84,255	3,79,560	4,695
Behar,.....	15,51,150	15,48,386	2,764
Patna,.....	12,14,323	11,98,295	16,028
Bhaugulpore,.....	5,48,494	5,33,660	14,834
Dinagepore,.....	18,15,644	18,08,442	7,202
Maldah,.....	2,66,556	2,63,864	2,692
Purneah,.....	13,00,355	12,53,303	47,052
Balasore,.....	3,90,824	3,68,144	22,680
Cuttack,.....	8,20,878	7,92,912	27,966
Midnapore,.....	19,72,652	19,66,936	5,716
Bulluah,.....	6,57,376	5,98,422	58,954
Chittagong,.....	7,83,363	7,63,605	19,758
Tipperah,.....	9,78,824	9,29,081	49,743

Passing by those districts in which the deficiency falls short of, say 10,000 rupees, explanations seem to be called for respecting the balances

in Nuddea, the 24-Pergunnahs, Pubna, Bhaugulpore, Purneah, Balasore, Cuttack and the three districts of the Chittagong division.

Nuddea.—Deficiency Rs. 18,014. In this district the deficiency is more than accounted for by suspensions from the demand against resumed rent-free estates to the amount of 20,742 rupees, pending enquiries into complaints of over-assessment.

24-Pergunnahs.—Deficiency Rs. 1,14,790. The deficiency is more than accounted for by old balances outstanding from Punchawungaon, about to be written off as irrecoverable.

Patna—Deficiency Rs. 16,028. The deficiency is more than accounted for by old irrecoverable items, some reported and some under report for remission. At the close of the first quarter of the succeeding year, the total balance was reduced from Rs. 1,87,722 to Rs. 39,639, of which only Rs. 1,320 belonged to the current revenue, and the rest to previous years, being the remains of a very large amount of old balances which have been sifted and disposed of, principally during the past three years.

Bhaugulpore.—Deficiency Rs. 14,831. The whole outstanding balance of Rs. 90,646 was on account of current revenue, excepting Rs. 54, and the whole was realized within the first quarter of the succeeding year, except Rs. 1,849 current revenue.

Purneah.—Deficiency Rs. 47,054. The deficiency is much more than accounted for by an item of Rs. 60,084 due from a single estate, the sale of which was reversed. The estate was re-sold, and the whole amount recovered, within the second quarter of the succeeding year, within which period also the entire outstanding balance of Rs. 3,33,296 was realized, excepting Rs. 2,333.

Balasore and Cuttack.—Deficiency, Balasore Rs. 27,966, Cuttack Rs. 22,680. The sales in these districts are held only half-yearly, and it was expected that the whole outstanding amounts would be realized in the course of the second quarter of the succeeding year, in the course of which such sales as might be necessary were to take place. The Cuttack province not being permanently settled, a less vigorous system of sales prevails, under the provisions of Act I. of 1845, than in the permanently settled districts. The Board are in correspondence with the Government on the subject of altering the system in Cuttack, and assimilating it more to that in force elsewhere.

Bulliah.—Deficiency Rs. 58,954. In this district the whole outstanding balance, except Rs. 1,774, current revenue, was realized within the first quarter of the succeeding year.

Chittagong.—Deficiency Rs. 19,758. The entire balance outstanding at the close of the first quarter of the succeeding year, was not more than Rs. 11,528, two-thirds of which was nominal, and required only to be adjusted in account.

Tipperah.—Deficiency Rs. 49,743. In this district, Rs. 15,477 remained still unrealized at the end of the first quarter of the succeeding year, without any sufficient reason, which was duly noticed to the Collector at the time.

And again, as to estates sold :—

Three hundred and fifty estates more were sold in the year of report, than in the previous year. The increase was in the Patna, Dacca and Murshedabad divisions, but chiefly in the divisions of Bhaugulpore and Chittagong. In the Cuttack division, the number was less; and in Jessore, nearly the same as in the preceding year. The average jumma sold was

about one-half of that sold in the preceding year, indicating that though the number of sales was greater, the mehals sold were of smaller extent. The proportion of the jumma sold to the whole revenue demand was less by one-third in the year of report, being 9 annas, 9 pie and a quarter. The proportion sold in the Murshedabad, Dacca, Patna and Chittagong divisions was greater, and in the other divisions it was less, but in no division, except Patna and Bhaugulpore, was it so high as to deserve notice. The price realized was more than quintuple of the rental or jumma, whereas it was only three and a half times the jumma the previous year. The price realized was about the same in the Dacca division, little more in the Cuttack division, considerably more in the Bhaugulpore division, and double in the Patna division; but in the Chittagong division it was somewhat less, and considerably less in the Jessore and Murshedabad divisions. The lowness of the price is particularly apparent in the districts of Jessore, Nuddea and 24-Pergunnahs, in the Jessore division, the districts of Pubna and Rajshahye, in the Murshedabad division, and the districts of Bullúah and Tipperah in the Chittagong division. In the districts of Jessore, Nuddea, Pubna and Bullúah, the purchases on account of Government of deteriorated estates at nominal prices, probably affects the total sale price, but the cause of the low price obtained in the 24-Pergunnahs, Tipperah and Rajshahye, is not so apparent.* In none of these districts was the number of mehals sold, or the number purchased by individuals, remarkable; nor was either the jumma sold, or the demand for the realization of which sale was had recourse to, such as to attract particular notice.

We must now take leave of this part of the subject, and regret that we have neither time nor space to follow the author through many other topics of equal interest and importance. On one point we are, however, slightly at issue with him, and that is the value of the time spent in "college," as it is termed. On this we are told (p. 268):—

At the commencement of the career of the young civilian in India, the Government have a very ingenious plan for at once fully developing, and it may be, expending all his bad qualities. It is judged that he must read the languages to fit him for the public service. He therefore remains for a time "in college," as it is called—that is to say, he lives and amuses himself as he likes in Calcutta (Madras, or Bombay, as the case may be); and once a month, if he find no convenient excuse, drives to the college (the shade of that established by Lord Wellesley, now let out for merchants' warehouses) to give the examiner there an opportunity of ascertaining how he is getting on; but for the first year at least he is literally not any way required to do any thing. On the contrary, he is allowed for passing many times longer than is necessary. Calcutta is an extremely pleasant, gay, and expensive place; he receives within a fraction the same pay as a working assistant; has always at the first a certain amount of credit; and there are glorious traditions of the doings of former days, when the service was a service, and a few thousand pounds of debt was a trifle. The privilege of remaining to enjoy all this, instead of being forthwith banished to a remote up-country station, depends on *not* passing; and being for the first time their own masters, all who are either naturally fast, or have any lurking propensities that way, capable of being developed by judicious temptation, stay in Calcutta as long as they can, lead an idle dissipated

life, and get into debt, not, as of old, when native bankers trusted them to any amount—that magnificent credit has gone by—but they go to banks and money-lenders. A. goes security for B., B. for C., and C. again for A. They get money on usurious terms, and sufficiently into debt to interfere very seriously with their future prospects; for fast men seldom turn good managers, and, promotion being slow and pay diminished, they do not soon get clear.

The time allowed for passing, may admit of curtailment, and the test of qualification of being improved, but we deny that a residence in Calcutta inevitably entails a load of debt on the young civilian, and we must not forget that there are worse temptations, more lasting evils, and more contaminating influences to be encountered at “remote up-country stations,” than at the metropolis of India. The expense of Calcutta, it is not incumbent for every body to incur. The pleasantness of its residence, consists in the very legitimate advantage of good houses, interchange of ideas, and choice of society. The gay doings, beyond a few evening parties in the cold weather, and some admirable amateur concerts, are comprised in those huge dinner parties, which are fortunately not now so much in vogue as they once were, and which remind us of Talleyrand’s satire on Geneva. “*Géneve est ennuy’euse; n’est ce pas ?*” said a friend to him. “*Surtout quand on s’y amuse,*” was the reply. The young civilian of the present day may live with a friend, or relative, or with companions of the same tastes and pursuits as himself, without invariably leading an idle or dissipated life. The College records of the last few years, especially of 1850-51, present us with several notable examples of young men who have taken high honours in the languages of India, current and classical, and who have established a complete mastery over that book learning, which must be an important auxiliary to a good knowledge of the colloquial, and which, certainly, could not be so well attained by any other system, at a more advanced period of the service, or in any other place. The advantage, too, of having a fair sprinkling of orientalists in the covenanted service, is not to be under-rated, although we attach paramount importance to familiarity with the vernacular, so repeatedly and so justly insisted on. Again, we must not lose sight of the good effects of bringing young men, who are to fill responsible situations in the country, in contact, not only with the seniors of their own profession, who are congregated at Calcutta, but with enlightened members of different professions, with the most enterprising of the mercantile community; with all the talent and the acumen of the English Bar. That society will be most liberal in thought and action, which is composed of a variety of ele-

ments, where the leading members are not solely the ornaments of the mess-room or the cutcherry, but are, some of them, men who have attained to eminence in various walks of life. Men who affect to sneer at the restricted and narrow views taken by residents within the Mahratta ditch, forget that a figurative "ditch" inevitably surrounds all those who are too much shut up in one social circle, whose conversation is confined to discussions with others who have been employed all day in exactly the same pursuits, who know nothing of the healthy friction of opinions, and cannot sympathise with the bustling energy of men devoted to other aims than their own. Can it really be thought that the best way of opening the mind of a young man of nineteen or twenty, would be to banish him to an up-country station immediately on his arrival? Is it right that the dispositions, predilections, steadiness of character or otherwise, of the dozen civilians who annually report their arrival as members of the Bengal establishment, should be known to no one of the leading functionaries of Government, by which they are afterwards to be employed, to no one of the heads of society? We are ready to make every allowance for the danger of the peculiar kind of temptation to which a young man is exposed, for the space of a year, in Calcutta. He may buy expensive horses. He may spend more than he ought in jewellery. He may waste his time. But, supposing, on the other hand, that he does think it incumbent on him to do something for his pay and allowances, he will have such opportunities in the metropolis, as he will find no where else. Here are good native scholars in all the languages in use on this side of India. Many of the men, who have acquired any distinction in any one branch of his own service, are assembled here. He may consult men who have been crack collectors, revered judges, and magistrates well versed in the intricacies of provincial crime. He may be kept straight by the general opinion and example of society, large, influential, and comprehensive enough to have considerable weight on individuals, and not large enough for units to become absolutely invisible. If climate proves inimical to his constitution, as is often the case during the first year of residence, when the test is most severe, he has the proximity of the ablest and most experienced of the medical service. If he is to keep up his English ideas of reverence for the Sabbath, he finds Churches rising in every direction, frequented by a community amongst whose failings a want of regard for sacred observances, or a want of substantial charity, is not to be numbered. Taking then the chances of temptation and check, we are

content to see young men run their career in Calcutta. But all the above would Mr. Campbell and others do away with, if we are to attach meaning to his observation that the collegian, when appointed assistant to a magistrate and collector, commences the education which he should have received at first? He would apparently deport every man on his arrival, to the society of the half-dozen individuals who compose a Mofussil station, to be subjected to every variety of training which fancy can suggest, and to learn forms before he knows things. No doubt a colloquial knowledge of the languages will not be attained within the walls of Fort William College. But there are other points to be considered in aiming at efficiency, besides conversational fluency, and there is no reason why a man should eventually speak the language less correctly and grammatically, because when in college he has translated the Bagh-o-Bahar with accuracy, and turned into very fair Bengali a piece of good English prose. The same reasons which make Calcutta the fittest place for the residence of a Legislative Council, its wealth and size, its various professions, its number of liberal-minded inhabitants, all of which have been repeatedly set forth, by all the powers of reason and language, whenever it is gravely announced that the seat of Government is about to be translated to the North West Frontier—make it also the best place for the previous location of every young civilian attached to this Presidency, whether his future lot shall be to preside over Panches, or to keep lawless and powerful zemindars in check, or to spear hog on the vast *churs* of Eastern Bengal, or to kill tigers in the Rohilkund Terai. It is not the mere presence of an English statesman and four reverend councillors, with a staff of secretaries, that invests Calcutta with its importance as a metropolis, but it is the variety of information there attainable; the bustle and activity of its divers professions, its eloquent bar and its free discussion, which make Calcutta the fittest place for the deliberations of the Supreme Government of India. Where the heads of society are well and judiciously located, there can be no great harm in placing in that locality its junior members. This is different from re-assembling the *disjecta membra* of Haileybury in an Oriental college in Tank-square, or from isolating a young man from all his contemporaries, by a summary deportation to the Mofussil. The present system, which prevents a second fusion of combustible elements into one mould, and does not re-unite all the turbulent spirits from quarters C and B at Haileybury in the buildings in Tank-square, in proximity perilous to the peace of

its inhabitants, but which at the same time retains every one within the pale of society, appears to us, though liable to sundry obvious improvements, exactly to have hit the happy medium.

In all that Mr. Campbell says, about the deficient training of the service, of the intimate connection between the civilian's pursuits, amusements, and duties, of the aptitude for business, which is generated by the gradual systematic education enforced in every department, and of the opening for improvement in the judicial system, we entirely concur. We stand in astonishment at the complete transformation effected in men, who formerly were notorious at Haileybury for disturbing the rest of its professors, for breaking lamps, for spending their whole time in visits to Ware or Hertford, for devoting themselves exclusively to cricket or boating, for being plucked as often as was consistent with the retention of their appointment. These men, to our knowledge, are now steady, active, and efficient: retaining just so much of the restless energy of their earlier days, as is necessary to make them successful as quellers of crime, or collectors of revenue.

The following extracts are favorable specimens of the author's style. Here is first a pregnant summary of Mr. Thomason's administration and its merits, due credit being given previously to Lord Ellenborough, for having selected a Lieutenant-Governor possessed of sufficient experience, and yet not too old to prevent his doing long and good service. Mr. Campbell gives to Mr. Thomason's executive administration this just, gratifying, and appropriate tribute:—

By personal supervision, he has very much increased the efficiency of all officers, European and native, introduced method and energy in all departments, completed and worked to the best advantage the new settlement of the North-Western Provinces, defined and explained the rights of different parties in the soil, improved the efficiency of the police, done what was in his power to make the most of a vicious judicial system, applied himself to the Vernacular education of the masses of the natives, and given to the upper classes opportunities of acquiring practical science, carried out important public works, made good roads and canals, rendered travelling easy and secure, regulated the mode of procuring supplies and carriage for troops, and superintended, with personal knowledge and personal energy, all the minute details of civil government, only understood by those who have made it a profession.

The occurrence of a burglary, its discovery, the subsequent enquiry thereinto, the advent of the darogah—not as is too often the case in Bengal in a palanquin, hours after the robbery—the report to the magistrate couched in the choicest Oriental phraseology, are thus described. There is a touch of

humour in the whole thing, which is too good to be omitted, though it is probable that some of our readers may have seen the extract we are about to give, quoted in some of the English papers. It has a grave humour in it, which reminds us of some parts of Eothen :—

Jilall, shopkeeper, gets up in the morning, finds a hole in his wall, and all his moveables gone; whereat he laments exceedingly, and, raising a great outcry, summons the watchman and the Punch. The watchman declares that it is most extraordinary; he kept watch all night, but saw no thief. The Punch observe that they are very sorry,—by all means send for the police; so the watchman is despatched to the inspector. Meantime Jilall, seeing that he is not likely to get much satisfaction if he trusts to other people, himself sets to work in earnest. He has probably influence and connection in the village, and, knowing the right person to apply to, pays something handsome for information, acting on which, with the assistance of the Punch, he secures a small boy, supposed to be mixed up in the affair, and lays an embargo on two or three suspected houses. By this time arrives Mahommed Khan, the police darogah, a handsome burly Mohammedan, mounted on a comfortable-looking pony, with a distinguished-looking turban of extravagant proportions, several daggers in his belt, and a posse of followers. Now if (as very frequently happens) no clue had been found, and the case had seemed a hopeless one, Mohammed Khan would have set forth in his report a dozen excellent reasons to show that Jilall never was robbed at all, but made a hole in his own wall, in order to defraud his creditors; and would have varied the barrenness of his statements with many excellent Persian and Arabic aphorisms and observations on the faithlessness of shopkeepers in general, and of Jilall in particular. In this instance, however, finding that a clue has been obtained, he probably goes about the case actively. The suspected houses are searched, and the “Khan ji” has a private interview with the small boy, the result of which is that some of the property is found, and the boy consents to name his associates. “Dours,” or flying parties, are sent off to pounce on the distant rendezvous of the principal burglars; they are apprehended, and the whole affair comes to light. Mohammed Khan, probably, takes this opportunity of despatching by express to the magistrate, the following report, or “petition,” as it is called in oriental phraseology :—

“Ocherisher of the poor, your good fortune is great. You will have learnt from yesterday’s diary, that upon hearing of the burglary in the house of Jilall, shopkeeper, your slave, girding up his loins, set off determined to discover the criminals, or return with his face blackened for ever. Not through any merit of this humble one, but solely through the favour of God and the overpowering good fortune of your worship, the efforts of the lowest of your slaves have been crowned with success, and “Inshallallah” (please God) the thieves shall be rooted out from the face of the earth. Your slave, immediately on his arrival, adopted a thousand devices and deep stratagems, and expended a large sum from his own pocket in bribing informers, and with intense difficulty insinuated himself into their confidence, so great was his desire to gain your approval. But not to those persevering efforts of your slave, simply to your fortunate star, is due the discovery of a clue to the perpetrators of the crime.

“Your slave, being thoroughly acquainted with all the bad characters, apprehended a desperate burglar and so managed him, that through your good fortune he gave a further clue, and eventually (the efforts of your slave

being unremitting) six burglars and two receivers have been seized, and the whole of the property recovered, except some few articles, which Jilall doubtless inserted in the list from a more spirit of exaggeration. It is impossible at this moment to furnish a detailed report, therefore I despatch this preliminary petition for your information. The regular report, with the parties, the prisoners, and the property, will be sent in to-morrow morning. Your fortune is invincible. The petition of your humble slave,

"MOHAMMED KHAN,
"Thanahdar."

Doubtless the Magistrate is duly impressed with belief that the good fortune, so often referred to, consists in the possession of so invaluable a treasure as Mohammed Khan.

We strongly recommend the above passage to the notice of the members of the Bengal British India Association. Instead of making out a catalogue of imaginary grievances, or representing themselves as the suffering people of India, or framing absurd constitutions for the future Government of the country, they had much better be employed in looking after their estates, and in trying to infuse into their ryots or the bunneahs of their large bazars, something of the spirit of our friend Jilall.

We have room only for one more extract. It relates to the duties of a civilian in the Upper Provinces, where the offices of magistrate and collector are united in the same individual, and so united, have been found to work well there, because the arrangement is suited to the character of the people, the features of the revenue administration, the comparative absence of litigation, and the moderate amount of crime. It is precisely because the normal features of Bengal Proper are of a totally different character, that the junction of the two offices never has wrought well, and never can work well, in the Lower Provinces, and we have, by degrees, got rid of this unsuitable alliance, and divorced the man who is to capture dacoits and organize the police, from the man who is to look after the estates of minors, the revenue of Government, and the treasury accounts. But the details of a camp-life in the cold season, the municipal improvements, the pertinacious old woman, the morning ride, and the police reports, are pretty much the same in both divisions of the presidency. The cavalry grass-cutters, the camels, and the inspector of prisons, are all peculiar to the Upper Provinces, and the latter officer, when there is one in Bengal, will have plenty to do in visiting the district jails and introducing into them something like an amended system of prison labour:—

The chief station of the magistrate and collector is usually near the most important town in, and as central as possible to, the district. Here are his head-quarters, and here he spends the season unfavourable for marching,

except when emergencies arise. But from the nature of his duties it is by no means desirable that he should be stationary ; and every cold season he goes into camp (as it is called), pitches his tents, leaves the current duties of the chief station with one of his subordinates, and, taking with him a sufficient portion of his establishment, he marches about, pitches for a few days here and a few days there, sees all that is going on, and attends to local matters. His manner of life is a pleasant one, and leads all to take an interest in their work. When he is at head-quarters, his mode of passing his time may be something in this wise. People rise early in India, and ride a great deal, so he is probably out on horseback ; but he generally combines business with exercise ; he has improvements going on, roads making, bridges building, streets paving, canals cutting, a dispensary, a nursery garden, &c., &c. He may look in at his jail, and see what work the prisoners are doing, or at his city police stations to see what is going on there, or canter out upon an outlying patrol, or go to see the locality of a difficult case. Every one he meets has something to say to him ; for in India every one has, or has had, or is about to have, some case, or grievance, or project, or application, of which he takes every occasion of disburthening himself whenever the magistrate is in sight ; and the old woman whose claim to a water-spout was decided against her years ago, but who persists in considering her case the most intolerable in the whole world, takes the opportunity for the hundredth time of seizing his bridle, casting herself under the horse's feet, and clamorously demanding either instant death or a restitution of her rights. Though he has not time to listen to all, he may pick up a good deal from the general tenor of the unceasing fire of language which is directed at him as he passes. He probably knows the principal heads of villages, or merchants, or characters in different lines, and this is the great time for talk with them. If anything of interest is to be discussed, they obtain admittance to his garden, where he sips his cup of tea under his vine and fig-tree on his return from his ride. Then come the reports from the tehsildars and police inspectors for the previous day ; those from the outlying stations having come in during the night. These are all read, and orders briefly recorded ; the police-inspector of the town, and perhaps other native officers, may be in attendance with personal explanations or representations ; and all this done, the serishtadar bundles up the papers, and retires to issue the orders passed, and prepare for the regular work in court, while the magistrate goes to breakfast. At breakfast comes the post and packet of official letters. The Commissioner demands explanation on this matter, and transmits a paper of instructions from Government on that ; the Judge calls for cases which have been appealed ; the Secretary to Government wants some statistical information ; the inspector of prisoners fears that the prisoners are growing too fat ; the commander of the 150th regiment begs to state that his regiment will halt at certain places on certain days, and that he requires a certain quantity of flour, grain, hay, and eggs ; Mr. Snooks, the Indigo-planter, who is in a state of chronic warfare with his next neighbour, has submitted his grievances in six folio sheets, in indifferent English, and a bold hand, and demands instant redress, failing which, he threatens the magistrate with Government, the Supreme Court, an aspersion of his honour as a gentleman, a Parliamentary impeachment, a letter to the newspapers, and several other things besides. After breakfast he despatches his public letters, writes reports, examines returns, &c.

During this time he has, probably, a succession of demi-officials from the neighbouring cantonments. There is a great complaint that the villagers

have utterly, without provocation, broken the heads of the cavalry grass-cutters, and the grass-cutters are sent to be looked at. He goes out to look at them, but no sooner appears, than a shout announces that the villagers are waiting in a body, with a slightly different version of the story, to demand justice against the grass-cutters, who have invaded their grass preserves, despoiled their village, and were with difficulty prevented from murdering the inhabitants. So the case is sent to the joint-magistrate. But there are more notes; some want camels, some carts, and all apply to the magistrate: then there may be natives of rank and condition, who come to pay a serious formal kind of visit, and generally want something, or a chatty native official, who has plenty to say for himself.

All this despatched, he orders his carriage or umbrella, and goes to Outcherry—his regular court. Here he finds a sufficiency of business: there are police and revenue and miscellaneous cases of all sorts, appeals from the orders of his subordinates, charges of corruption or misconduct against native officials. All petitions from all persons are received daily in a box, read, and orders duly passed. Those setting forth good grounds of complaint are filed under proper headings; others are rejected, for written reason assigned. After sunset comes his evening, which is probably, like his morning ride, mixed up with official and demi-official affairs, and only at dark does the wearied magistrate retire to dinner and to private life.

We must now conclude an imperfect review of a really valuable work; but we should be wanting in our duty as reviewers, were we not to notice a few errors of fact into which the author has fallen. In page 15, we are told that Akbar was born "while his father Baber was a fugitive." The father of the greatest of Mohammedan Emperors was not Baber, but Humayun, the old gentleman whose death was caused by a fall from a terrace. Baber was the grandfather of Akbar, and many of our readers must, no doubt, be familiar with the *Memoirs of Baber*, translated and published about twenty-eight years ago, in which the numerous adventures, the drinking bouts, and the history of the fugitive king's boon companions, are detailed with a comic gravity, peculiar to the merry monarch of the East. In page 150, and also in page 104, we are told that the families of former Nawabs of Bengal, receive allowances amounting to nine lakhs of rupees a year, over and above the sixteen lakhs, which is assigned to the present Nawab Nazim. The very contrary is the case. Both the present Nawab, and the families of former Nawabs, are paid out of the same sum of sixteen lakhs, the relatives and dependants getting about nine lakhs, and His Highness consuming about six lakhs to himself, an income double that assigned to the Prince consort, and equal to that possessed by many of the first peers of the English realm. In the figured statement in page 157, we read of petty states on the North Eastern Frontier of Bengal, thirty-one in number. This is entirely new to us. Beyond the little district of Cachar, which

was a fortunate lapse to the State in 1830, and the agency in the Cossiah hills, we know of no petty states whatever on the North East Frontier. The little principality of Koch Behar, of which an account was lately given in the printed Selections of the Government of Bengal, is independent internally, though it pays to Government a yearly tribute of 66,000 rupees. But we find no notice in Mr. Campbell's book, of this state, which contains some of the choicest localities for tiger and rhinoceros, in this part of India, or of Darjeeling, with the tract lately taken from the Rajah of Sikkim. We conclude that the mistake has arisen from some confusion between the petty states under the Agent to the Governor-General on the South West Frontier, and the petty states known as the Tributary Mehals, under the Commissioner of Cuttack. The former are alluded to in Mr. Campbell's tabular statement, the latter are not. The former comprise a number of wild, jungly, hilly, and uncultivated districts, which extend in one direction to Berar and the Trunk Line to Bombay, and in another almost to Mirzapore and the Saugor and Nerbudda valley. A full account of the latter, or the Tributary Mehals, which are eighteen in number, may be found in No. III. of the printed Selections from the records of the Bengal Government, with all the particulars which the ripe experience of such officers as Mr. Mills and Mr. Ricketts can supply. Few states are more remarkable in their way, than both the above. Secure in their fastnesses, inaccessible in their situation, and holding out no temptations to the cupidity of invaders, their petty sovereigns have remained unmolested for centuries. With the exception of the Mahrattas, whose petulant activity surmounted all obstacles, no conqueror has thought it worth while to over-run these tracts, and they figure consequently but little in history. The antiquity of these Rajas, if we are to believe the family genealogies, is something extraordinary, and we have been told of one chief who numbers fifty, and of another who numbers eighty predecessors. What to this is the pedigree of the oldest English families, if we estimate them only by the number of their stemmata?

A remarkable error occurs in page 223, where Mr. Campbell is discussing the powers entrusted to the subordinate Governments, that is, to the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Agra and Bengal, who are all on an equality in this respect. After stating that they cannot add one farthing to their fixed permanent establishment, (nor even to their temporary establishments, Mr. Campbell might have added,) we are told that they have been authorised by the Supreme Government to incur con-

tingent expenses "not exceeding 5,000 rupees, or £500, for any one object." Now we hear a great and very just outcry against the system of Indian centralization, which delegates little or nothing to subordinates, though men of long standing and experience; but there is no use in making out things to be worse than they actually are. The sum which Lord Falkland, or Sir H. Pottinger, or Mr. Thomason, or Lord Dalhousie, as Governor of Bengal, may spend on local objects, on bridges, roads, public buildings, and other works, is just double the amount stated above—10,000 rupees. These are the main errors of fact which have attracted our observation on a perusal of the volume; and we trust that Mr. Campbell may have an opportunity of amending them and a few trifling misprints, and of omitting some rather smart remarks about the Supreme Court, in a new edition of his work, at an early date.

We could have wished to have journeyed with Mr. Campbell over other tracts of India, besides Bengal and Calcutta, to which we have mostly restricted ourselves in entering into particulars, and we should have discussed with pleasure, in his company, many other topics of real interest, such as the extent of education in Missionary and Government schools, the absence of official publicity, the seniority system, the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the detection of crime. On the latter point, especially, there are some very valuable remarks, which it is quite refreshing to read, after the theories which have been poured forth on this agitated question; theories the more crude and impracticable, because of the acknowledged difficulty of dealing with the subject. But we must leave all this to others, in the hope that our notice may introduce many readers of temper and judgment to take up a work, into which is condensed as much valuable information as to *Modern India* and its Government, as any volume, or select report, has ever managed to contain. Mr. Campbell, we understand, after employing his leisure time in the toils of authorship, is now holding a legal situation of some emolument and responsibility, under his relative, the Lord Chief Justice of England, and is reading Law. He could not study English Law to better advantage than under the great authority of Lord Campbell, who has ever shown himself a successful advocate, a consistent politician, a revered judge, and an enlightened law-reformer. While other civilians at home on furlough, are seeking healthful recreation on the moors or in the stubble fields, or enjoying a life at the clubs in Town, or in a tour on the Continent, are visiting every object of interest which may give activity to the intellect and

refinement to the taste, Mr. Campbell, though we would not deter him from any of the above enjoyments, is gradually and steadily adding to his stock of experience, and examining the working of a different system of jurisprudence, to that of Abu Hanifah and other Mohammedan doctors. We have no doubt that Mr. Campbell will most carefully avoid the fault against which he himself warns the Company's Judges, that of imagining that law consists "in a blind adherence to technicalities," and that the English lore he may acquire, will be acquired on the principles of Rolle, of Blackstone, and of Hale. Not cramming precedents, studying law, not as a man who wishes to become an advocate by the shortest route possible, not as a person stimulated to activity by the sharp spur of want, but cultivating it as a science or a healthy exercise of the intellect, he may return to India, with a temperate dislike of all unsuitable forms and intolerant English ideas, and with an admiration for all that is valuable and excellent in the great science, its broad comprehensiveness, its analytical spirit, its adaptation to new combinations of facts, and its systematic reverence for prescription, symmetry, and right.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

1. *Michele Orombello ; or the Fatal Secret. A Tragedy in three Acts.* By George Powell Thomas, Author of "*Views of Simla*," &c. Thacker.—London, Calcutta, and Bombay, 1852.
2. *The Assassin ; or the Rival Lovers. A Tragedy in five Acts.* By George Powell Thomas. Thacker.—London, Calcutta, and Bombay, 1852.

THE issue of two regular tragedies from our Calcutta press is an event too important to be left by us unchronicled ; and we are happy to be able to say, that in our humble judgment, the intrinsic merits of the compositions before us, entitle them to a very favourable notice, even independently of the partiality which we are naturally inclined to feel for the products of our local press. We are free to confess that the review of Dramatic Literature is somewhat out of our line. It is indeed an "art, trade, and mystery" by itself ; a special department of the critical craft ; and we, not having been specially initiated into this branch of criticism, can only express the judgment of a non-professional critic, and state the impression that the perusal of the works before us has left on our own mind. That impression is, upon the whole, favorable. The tragedies contain many passages of very considerable power. The diction, despite of occasional slips and marks of haste, is generally vigorous and clear ; the plots are indeed somewhat inartificial, and the catastrophes withal too tragical ; but for this it may be pleaded in excuse, that the events are historical, and that the catastrophes are justified and borne out by that truth which is confessedly "stranger than fiction."

Michele Orombello is the son of a quondam Duchess of Milan, the sole issue of a previous secret marriage. On his birth he had been, Norval-like, taken to a peasant's hut, and brought up without knowledge of his parentage. His mother was told that the child was dead ; and shortly her husband did actually die, without the secret of their marriage being divulged. In process of time, she was wooed by the Duke of Milan, and gave her hand, while her heart was in the grave of her former lover and husband. Her coldness and ill-concealed indifference soon alienated the affection, (or what at first passed for affection) of her lawful lord. After many instances of unfaithfulness, or rather a continued course of profligacy, he was attracted by the charms of the Princess Carrara ; she shared his passion, or coveted a share of his burgamot ; but this could not be, until the Duchess should be removed out of the way. Meantime, there came a youth (Michele Orombello) to the Court of Milan, in the train of the Ambassador from the native principality of the Duchess ; and being attracted by a young lady, who had come in the suite of the Duchess, and whom he

had known in the days of childhood, he was admitted to the palace on a ball night, disguised as a minstrel. Being asked to sing and play before her Grace, she immediately recognizes his voice. She shews great emotion, which causes the young minstrel to unmask, when, on sight of his face, she actually swoons away. The news is immediately carried to the Duke by a spy, whom he had set to watch the Duchess, in the hope of discovering something in her conduct, which might enable him to enlist the law on his side, in his endeavour to make an opening for the Princess Carrara. The young man is immediately sent for ; and after rating the Duke in very severe, and, as we think, very inappropriate terms, for his treatment of his excellent Duchess, the Duke professes to be captivated by his spirit and frankness ; he appoints him to a situation near her Grace's person, in order that he may be convinced how much the Duke has been maligned, and how very kind and forbearing he really is to his wife. Michele is soon " put up to a few things " by his *compatriote*, Elvina, respecting the Duke, and his motive in patronizing him. He makes violent love to her, and she does not give a very violent denial ; only hints pretty plainly, that she also thinks the Duchess's conduct at the ball stands sadly in want of explanation ; but is satisfied on being assured that her Grace's emotion had been caused only by some fancied resemblance, in the voice and features of Michele, to some lover or friend of her early years. Meantime, Michele is in attendance on the Duchess ; one day in her boudoir, he tells her the whole story of his life, and acknowledges that since the first hour of their meeting, he has entertained towards her sentiments of " half-friendship—half-love." She explains to him, in terms that he cannot in any way understand, that it is pure instinct ; and throws herself fondly into his arms. This is the signal for the Duke to rush into the room, attended by several Lords. The Duchess declares that the young man is her son ; but this idea being derided, Michele undertakes her vindication, and does battle with the spy, who has all along inflamed the Duke's dislike to his wife, and who first brought him intelligence of the ball scene. The Duchess is condemned to death on the spot, and Michele is hurried off to prison. The Duchess, as a last request, demands a private interview with her husband. This is reluctantly granted ; she tells him the whole story of her previous marriage, and of her having discovered in Michele the child that she had long thought dead. Knowing, however, that her death is necessary to the progress of the Duke's schemes, and that it is already determined upon, she consents to admit her guilt, and to suffer death without a murmur, provided the life of Michele be saved. She is then brought out into the presence of the Lords, and admits all that the Duke says respecting her guilt. Meanwhile, the Duke has given an order publicly, that Michele shall be conveyed beyond the frontier and set at liberty ; but has added a private injunction, that on his (the Duke's) making a signal, he shall be immediately put to death. The signal is accordingly given, and Michele, after performing prodigies

of valour, and slaying one, two, three, four, five, is at last overpowered, and put to death. The Duke having thus broken the faith that he has pledged, the Duchess tells the whole story to the Lords ; but the Duke orders her to instant execution. Immediately he is informed, that the Princess of Carrara, having been a witness of the assassination of Michele, had been seized with a fit, to which she was subject, had burst a blood-vessel, and died. The Duke, being thus balked of his purpose, orders the execution of the Duchess to be stopped, but it is too late, she is dead.

Such is briefly the history of Michele Orombello, as written by Captain Thomas. He says, in a prefatory note, that "the facts upon which the tragedy is founded, will readily recal themselves to the reader of Italian history." Now, we have to confess that we have never gone very deep into the history of Italy ; but it struck us on reading this tragedy, that our author gives a very different view of the state of matters from that which we had formerly entertained. We therefore referred to the only history of Italy that was at hand, viz., that contained in the *Universal History*, whose accuracy is generally admitted ; and found that either our author, or the author of that history, greatly misrepresents the matter. That our readers may judge, we transcribe what the history says respecting this incident. In the first place, it is distinctly stated that Beatrix was confessedly a widow when she was married to Philip, Duke of Milan. She was the widow of Facino Scaliger, for the sake of whose money it was that Philip married her. The historian states, that at the time of her marriage with Philip she was 38, while he was only 20. Captain Thomas represents her as only 33, while her husband was 45. But the younger she was, it was all the more unlikely that she should have been secretly married before she became the wife of Scaliger. We now give, in his own words, the historian's account of her connection with Orombello :—

We are now come to an incident in *Philip's* life, that represents him in a very different light from that in which we have hitherto considered him. The death of a mother and a brother, and the dismemberment of so many cities and states, justified some severity against the authors ; but his behaviour to his wife was barbarous, ungrateful, and wicked, to the last degree. We have already taken notice of the disproportion there was between their ages, which had disgusted *Philip* so much, that he had abstained from her bed. It does not appear that the lady resented this provocation in any indecent, or indeed passionate manner ; and she had even submitted to serve him in the most menial offices. Unfortunately for her, she entertained as an attendant one *Orombelli*, a young man accomplished in the arts of music, dancing, and the other embellishments that are most acceptable at a court. *Philip*, considering her life as an obstacle to his pleasure, accused her of criminal conversation with this youth ; and though nothing could be worse founded than the charge, certain enchanted utensils were pretended to be found under her bed. Upon this villainous pretext, the duchess was seized, and confined prisoner in the Castle of *Binasco*. The youth was imprisoned at the same time ; and, according to common report, both of them were put to the torture. Whatever might be in this, it is certain that he was tortured ; and unable to withstand the force of the pain, he confessed the criminality, for which both of them were condemned to death, after being confronted with each other. On this occasion the duchess shewed an invincible constancy. She reproached *Orombelli* with his weakness, in yielding to tortures to confess a falsehood, and, in the most solemn and affecting manner,

she called God to witness for her innocence ; only she implored his pardon for having yielded to the archbishop of *Milan*, in persuading her to so unequal a match. She declared, she never had resented the duke's abstaining from her bed ; and she mentioned the great fortune and acquisitions she had brought *Philip* ; concluding, that she the less regretted her death, because she had preserved her innocence.

Having finished the pathetic declaration, *Orombelli* was put to death before her eyes, and she followed him with the most heroic constancy. By the accounts of all historians, she was a woman of a very exalted character, and no reproach remains upon her memory, but the inequality of her match with *Philip*. The young man was so perfectly conscious of his own innocence, that he might have escaped when she was made prisoner ; but instead of that he came as usual to court, and declared, he knew nothing of the matter, though his friends told him of his danger. Soon after the execution of the duchess, the duke brought to his court a young *Milanese* lady, whom he had ravished some time before. As to the duchess, her unjust death was thought to be partly owing to the vindictive temper of *Philip*, who resented her having been the wife of *Facino*, and the partner of his victories.

There may be other versions of this history, and it is very probable that there are ; but still we suspect that our author is guilty of the charge of departing to a greater extent than is allowable, from historic truth.

We shall now present our readers with a few extracts, from which they will be able to judge of the poetical merits of the tragedy. The following is the speech of the Duchess on perceiving the resemblance between the masked minstrel and her former husband :—

Duchess. (aside.) His form ! His form ! His step ! His very voice !
 The very cadence that its music gave !
 Again !—With what an awful mystery,
 As from the grave, it summons back the past !
 Surely the very grave hath rendered up
 Its tenant, and Giraldo lives again !
(Aloud) Stranger, who art thou ? Pity me and speak !
 Nay tear that vizard from thine eyes !

(He unmasks.)

Great God !
 It is himself ! It is mine own Giraldo !

(Faints.)

The Duke's soliloquy on being told of the emotion of the Duchess, strikes us as possessed of a good deal of power. The comparison instituted between the late lover and the person cured of blindness is good in itself, although it may admit of question whether it is altogether appropriate to a person in Philip's circumstances and state of mind. The idea appears to be borrowed from Dr. Cheselden's account of a youth on whom he operated for cataract :—

'Tis strange if true ; and yet it may be true !
 What if she love at last ? She still is young—
 Still young in fact, and younger far in looks ;
 And—oh ye gods !—whene'er they come to love,
 They who love latest, how they love at last !
 As one born blind,—left blind for many years,—
 If late and sudden he receiveth sight,
 Shrinking at first from light, in pain and fear,
 Shuts fast his eyes, and makes it night again ;
 So they who first love later than our wont,
 First shun Love's light, and close their mental orbs,

And dread Love's boom ; but as the heal'd blind,
 Again soon quaffs a little draught of light,
 Another and another, and a deeper,
 Then drinks it in like nectar, and still revels
 In all the magic of the twilight skies,
 And dawn, and noon, and still and starry night,—
 And ne'er can gaze enough on rocks and woods
 And stately deer, (the spirits of the woods.)
 Sheep-sprinkl'd meads, swift streams, and mighty ocean,
 And flowers of every kind, from rose to primrose,
 And, most of all, on faces (young and old),
 Own'd by dear voices lov'd since very childhood,
 For kindness—as the rose was for its odour,—
 So he on whom Love's light doth latest fall,
 Becomes Love's warmest worshipper of all.
 And *now* I pray it may be so with *her* !
 I lov'd her once ! How could I choose but love her ?
 She smil'd so sweetly with her large soft eyes,
 And lips so full of Earth, so full of Heaven ;
 Body and soul, they captur'd both ! That smile
 Was Heaven or Hell ! Hell when it blest another,
 But brightest Heav'n for him on whom it shone.
 On me how brief its shining ! *This* it was
 That chang'd my love to hate ! To see that smile
 Lavishly squander'd upon every stranger,
 And never, never, never turn'd on me !
 'Twas that chang'd my nature, and transform'd me
 Into the false, vain, fickle thing I am !
 But not on me alone the curse shall fall,
 If (which I scarce dare hope !) I can but prove her
 As false to me as I am false to her ;
 Or ev'n can make her seem so to the world.

Here is a part of the scene between the Duke and Michele, when he was brought into his presence. We cannot commend it ; but it is fair that we should give specimens of the worse, as well as of the better parts of the play :—

M. O. It does me honour to salute your Grace ;
 But what it is that gains me so much honour,
 I cannot guess.

Duke. You cannot guess ? You're young
 To say without a blush you cannot guess !
 And yet, you are so *very innocent*
 (*Besides* being young,) perhaps you cannot guess !
 Yet virtuous tho' you be, 'twould seem you've eyes,
 So let me ask you frankly whom you deem
 The fairest lady you have seen at Milan ?
 Come, who shall't be ? 'Mid ladies all so fair,
 Who is your lady fairest ?

M. O. Is it for *this*
 I have been summon'd to your Grace's presence ?
 If so, methinks you might have better priz'd
 Your time and mine—your dignity, and what
 My youth may claim instead of dignity.

Duke. And what may that be ?

M. O. Courtesy, at least ; •
 The guest's admitted due, from any host !

Duke. True ! Yet you embryo ambassadors,
 Floating for ever, freely, as ye do,

(Indeed too freely), on the tide of fashion
And pleasure, have such all refined tastes,
That I *must* crave an answer to my question.

M. O. (aside.) His words offend, and wittingly ; and yet
Less than his gesture ! But he coves not me !
(*Aloud*) My lord, I tell you frankly, had you ask'd
Not whom I deem the fairest lady here—
(Who could say that, 'mid ladies all so fair ?)—
But whom all deem the worst entreated lady,
It had not been so difficult to name her !

Duke. Ha ! Then be that the question ! Now, let's have her !
What, do you quail ?

M. O. Quail ? and for you ? I quail ?
My lord, you know full well whom I do mean !
For not your basest sycophant of all
Can shut your ear or heart against that truth.
Oh no, one whispery voice ne'er acts the courtier !
And give your heart, or let your courtiers give you,
What flattery you will, full well you know
There's but one only lady I *could* mean !
I need not name her further ! For your taunts
Or threats, I must desire you understand,
My lord th' Ambassador Malizia
Will hold you closely to account for these,
When I report them to his Grace to-morrow ;
Meantime, I take my leave.

(*Proceeds to go out.*)

Duke. Nay, not so fast !
Young gentleman, I like you for your spirit !
Your hand ! I love you for it ! Yet to prove
You're wrong, I pray you to accept an office
Most honourable, near my lady's person,
So shall you see how rumour hath belied me !
I blame not *you*, so innocent and young,
For having credited each malcontent !
Will you accept my offer ? In a year
I will restore you to your lord Malizia ;
He'll lend you freely, for our friendship's sake ;
I know he will !

To us it appears that Michele's indignation, so freely expressed, is unnatural. He could but have got some hints from Elvina, and perhaps from the general gossip of Milan, that the Duke was not the most tender of husbands ; and we do not think there was any occasion for him to "flare up" so suddenly on being asked a harmless question.

A single scene between Michele and Elvina constitutes the whole of the under-plot of the play, or rather just affords a hint that there is an under-plot. This scene appears to us well managed, with the exception of the following speech, which, we confess, somewhat passes our comprehension :—

Oh, his is *treble* guilt ! And mark you me !
Such is the population of these parts ;
'Tis said, for every soul that quits this life,
Three enter it (whether for weal or woe,
Only th' Eternal knows) ; so when he's dying,
With all his heap of sins weighing him down
To warmer worlds, it still may be his hope,

That albeit one such devil *is* himself
 Scarce once a century doth burthen earth,
 Three spirits, each one-third as vile as he,
 May share his devilish craft, and work it out !

We have said that this speech puzzles us. We suspect it would no less puzzle an actuary. Three births for one death ! Perhaps there was a tide of emigration from "these parts," and it is not impossible that the poet intended by this refined hint to intimate the Duke's tyranny, which led his people to emigrate from his territory. If this was the poet's intention, we suspect he has drawn it too fine. But what doctrine is it, that the guilt of each one who died was shared amongst the three who were born ? We have heard of the transmigration of souls, but never before of their tri-partition !

The Duchess's discourse upon instinct is good, but might be made much better, we think, by the omission of the lines that we put into italics. It at least makes the passage more grammatical, and, we think, improves it in various other ways :—

Duchess (aside.) Something 'twixt love and friendship ? Surely 'tis
 The blessed, precious instinct of the child
 For its lost mother ! (*Aloud*) List what Moslems say,
*The infant early pass'd away to heaven
 Will feel upon the awful judgment-day,
 When, millions upon millions, sinful souls,
 Appear before the Mighty Judge of all,
 Cowering beneath their unrepented sins,
 More ev'n than 'neath the Godhead's Majesty !
 They say that when God's justice hath decreed
 Eternal punishment to those who've died
 Impenitent - then, even as young lambs,
 (Pent in the fold all day,) at even time,
 When home from pasture come the bleating flocks
 Of milk-full ewes, each from a thousand dams
 Finds out its mother, and clings fast to her—
 So, on that awful day, each cherub child,
 (Ta'en spotlessly to Heaven, e'er it knew
 Or sin or sorrow,) in that sinful throng
 Shall find its parents out, and fly to them,
 And nestle close to both ! And when great God,
 Seeing their works, shall call them back to Heaven,
 They still shall cling unto their earthly parents,
 Until their heavenly Father melts with pity
 And spares the parents for the children's sake !*

It may be difficult to picture the attitude of a child "nestling close to both" its parents ; but, upon the whole, we think, the simile is well stated.

Here we must close our extracts from *Michele Orombello*. Indeed, we fear it will not be in our power to do equal justice to *The Assassin*.

This is a more complete tragedy than the other. The plot is more complicated, and the interest is better sustained, although we do not think that there are so many good passages in it as in *Orombello*.

Three rivals, Luigi, Rinaldo D'Urbino,* and Henrico di Mocenigo are in love with Clara, daughter of the Duke of Salerno. Rinaldo is the favored suitor, and the marriage day is fixed. Luigi employs a Bravo to murder Henrico, in order that suspicion may fall upon Rinaldo, and that either his life may be forfeit to the laws, or at least his character may so suffer, that the Duke will not give him his daughter. He therefore abstracts a dagger of peculiar make from Rinaldo's apartment and gives it to the Bravo, wraps himself in Rinaldo's cloak, and is seen walking in that disguise with Henrico in his garden. Immediately after they have parted, the Bravo commits the murder, drops the bloody dagger, and throws the body into a well. This is on the day preceding that fixed for the wedding; but the Duke being summoned to Florence, the marriage is hastened by a day, and the ceremony is just concluded, when the murder is announced, and the dagger produced. Rinaldo is apprehended and brought in chains before the Senate. There is no evidence against him, but the circumstance of the dagger, which he at once acknowledges to be his, and the fact of a man in his cloak having been seen by an old gardener walking with Henrico just before the murder must have been committed. On this evidence, however, he is found guilty, and committed to the torture. This he bears with heroic firmness, and persists in maintaining his innocence. Meanwhile, the Bravo is arrested on another charge, and confesses that he murdered Henrico at the instigation of Luigi. Rinaldo is brought in, and having declared his belief in Luigi's innocence, dies from the effect of the torture. Luigi is found guilty, condemned to instant execution, but stabs himself and dies.

The first scene seems to us to indicate our author's possession of a power of analysing the workings of the human heart, which he is only too chary of putting forth. Fieschi is the father of Luigi:—

Fieschi. Luigi, have you heard—
(Rare news to gladden our return to Naples!)—
That young Mocenigo is coming back?

Luigi. That news, indeed, were rare enough to startle
The living; for if true, 'twould raise the dead!
He and his father were returned as killed
Beyond all hope or doubt.

Fieschi. Yet 'tis not true.
Wounded he was, beside the General—
The Count his father—in the gallant charge
That won the day and crown'd our arms with glory—
(Or added to the glory of those arms);
But rumour err'd in saying he was slain.
The sire *has* fall'n. The son returns, to *read*
The praise that should have been his epitaph:
Aye, and to win whole argosies of honour,
Both from the State and people.

* There seems to be an error in the list of the *Dramatis Personæ*, which introduces sad confusion into the tragedy. Rinaldo and Mocenigo are evidently identical, and so we suppose that Henrico ought to be D'Urbino.

Luigi. It cannot be ! •

Fieschi. It is ! Nay more, he comes affianc'd to——

Luigi. The devil !

Fieschi (smiling.) Not the devil, but that angel—
That fairest angel in a maiden's form—

The young and lovely heiress of Salerno.

Had you sped boldly on the course I gave you,

And sought fair honour where your friend has won it,

You might have been, instead of him, the proud

And honour'd lover of Salerno's daughter !

Luigi. But, sir, I never lov'd her ! (*Aside*) False, false, false !
I'd give this hand to win her !

Fieschi. Shame on you

If you did never love her ! At your age

I could have died for such a girl !—have dared

All Earth and Hell, for one sweet smile of her's.

But now-a-days the world is all too old,

And boys do flout their grand-sires ! Never lov'd her ?

What *would* you love, boy ? Would you have an angel

Wing down from Heav'n, to love you and to woo you ?

But what boots now to heed what *might* have been,

When all is lost, that, then, you might have won,

Had you but *acted* in those hours you gave

Unto your visions, musings, meditations—

(The meditations of a sage of twenty !)

Nay, look not downcast, Lni ! Well you know

You are my only hope, my only pride ;

And if I feel a trifle bitter—aye, bitter—

'Tis not 'gainst *you*, but 'gainst the fav'ring fortune

Which sides so foully with my rival's son.

(*Exit FIESCHI.*)

Luigi. Aye, that it is that stings—"my rival's son" !

The good old story of a good old hate,

Which, now its object is no more, must needs,

On the first rumour of that son's return,

Be visited, it seems, *upon* his son ;

Little he knows how willing is *his* son

To play *his* part in this same foolish feud,

If it indeed be true Rinaldo lives !

If it be true ! Alas ! *can* it be true ?

Oh, rather may his ghost return to earth

To haunt me in the watches of the night !

(*Walks up and down.*)

Curse on his coming ! But a week ago,

I mourn'd him even as an only brother,

For then the way seem'd open to me ; now

The very rumour of his death conspires

Yet more against me ! *She* has mourn'd for him,

~~That~~ if she did but coldly love him living,

She may have learnt to idolize him dead !

And now *he comes* in time to wear the glories,

With which (like halos) his imagin'd death

Had crown'd his name. Nay more than this ; he comes

So rich in honourable services,

Not Slander's self dare strike a dart at him,

Lest it should light upon some new heal'd wound !

And now my father twits me, ~~that~~ I have not

His fame or his success. This settles it !

If he come back, then I must conquer him,

And all his rarest triumphs, so, are mine.

'Twas so, i'the chivalry of old, and so
 It shall be still ; yea, tho' my mother's ghost
 Should bid me pause ! Yet hold ! It may be false,
 And poor Rinaldo may be dead indeed !
 Yet ah ! it may be *true* ! The worst were better
 Than this detestable suspense ! I'll end it !

The two lines that we have italicized approach rather too nearly to a plagiarism from Prince Henry's speech to his father ; and this is not the only instance which we have noticed of our author's tendency to appropriate the thoughts of the great dramatist. But we suppose that this is a privilege claimed by all.

The following soliloquy of the Bravo, and subsequent dialogue between him and his son, is good and truthful :—

BRAVO, alone, cleaning his dagger.

Bravo. That was a good night's work, and paid so well !

A few more such would make me free for ever.

A good night's work, and cunningly perform'd !

Tho' 'tis scarce praiseworthy to praise one's self,

There's not a truer hand, or trustier steel,

Than these, in all broad Italy ; to strike,

And need no second blow. By any light,

Or none, I care not ! Give me but my man—

Receding from his overtaking doom,

Or, front to front, coming to die—I care not !

When we two strike again, and need to strike again,

May I ne'er hope for mercy ! Ha ! that word—

That dreadful word, how it doth startle me !

And yet I know not wherefore ! I but ply

The trade my father plied before,—and his

Ev'n before him, teaching it unto him

As he to me. And yet, oh, God ! must I

Teach it unto my little innocent,

My fair-hair'd, happy-hearted innocent,

Whom oft I shudder to caress, with hands

Tainted with blood ? I'd rather cut him down

Now, with his fresh green beauty all around him,

An ornament and blessing on the Earth,

Than have him grow a weed of stings and thorns,

A curse on Earth, as I am ! Hateful steel,

Would I could cast thee from me, and for ever !

(Puts it from him, on a table hard by ; throws himself into a chair to its left, and shades his eyes with his right hand, as if in thought.)

Enter his son FEDERIGO, a beautiful child, of five or six years old.

Federigo. My father sleeps ! Oh ! what is this ? A present
 For me I think. To-morrow is my birth-day,
 And this I'm sure is what——

(Stretches over to reach the dagger, and in dragging it towards him, arouses his father.)

Bravo. What noise is that ?
 Put down the dagger ! Put it down, I say !
 What do you here, boy ? Nay, my child, come here,
 I am not angry ! Sit upon my knee,
 My precious boy ! Come, come I was not angry !

(The child hisses him.)

Federigo. Isn't that sword for me ! You know you told me
To-morrow is my birth-day ! 'Tis for me !

(Claps his hands joyously.)

Bravo. No ! Never shall it be for thee,
My sinless boy ! No ! There ! I've lock'd it up !
Not a good toy, Federigo ! Come, we'll go,
And buy all sorts of play-things for to-morrow !

With one more extract, we close our notice. It is the soliloquy of Luigi after the perpetration of the murder, and before its discovery :—

Luigi. Now then the game is mine ; or, if not mine,
Nothing can make it so. And if not mine,
At least not his. He fondly thinks to-morrow
Shall see him honour'd as a happy bridegroom ;
Ha ! It shall see him crouch, a branded felon ;
But ! let that pass—'tis not of *him* I'd think !
When *he is gone*, then comes *my* turn again—
My turn to plead again my suit with her,
Who was my playmate in my boyish years,
And had been mine ere now, had he not come,
With his robust and animal comeliness,
To eclipse me ever both as boy and man,
And baffle me, when first my boyish love
Was winding quietly about her heart ;
With a soft twining nothing could have snapt,
Had it been left to strengthen but a little !
Had it, indeed, been so, I might have been
Far other than I am—I might have been
Happy and true, and good. But what *I am*
'Tis *he* has made me. Ha ! I must not think
Of what *I am* ! I dare not linger there,
Nor even glance that way ! What'er I am
'Tis he has made me ! Ev'n from our boyish days
Unto this hour, he through the past has been
My curse and destiny, and I shall be
His through the future ! 'Twas a game between
Two daring hearts—a game for life and love,
Or death and infamy. With ev'ry chance
Against me, I shall win ! When he is gone,
I have no fear that all the old kind feelings,
That he so turn'd aside, will flow again
Into their former bed, and I shall be
A happy man ! A good and honour'd man,
As good at least as many, whose white heads
Go honour'd to the tomb. What *is* to do,
I shall not, dare not, dread ! What *has* been done—
Why should I shrink from *that* ? For some few years
That love-sick youth might have liv'd on to bear
A weight of joyless life, from which I've spared him !
Yea, I have wrought him benefit, not wrong !
He would himself have ended all, but dar'd not ;
And oft I've heard him say, he'd thank the man
Who'd end his misery ! And tho' the law
Not sanctions such relief as I've bestow'd,
Yet no laws justly punish or reward ;
And words and deeds oft pass for excellent,
Which break some ordinance of God or man ;
Thus the diplomatist, who feigns a truth,
Not lies, if he but lie successfully ;

But let disaster follow on his crime,
 And straight 'tis falsehood to the end of time !
 Or say a General, who boldly breaks
 Weak orders, gain some wondrous victory,
 How triumph magnifies the recusant
 Into a hero, saviour, demi-god,
 Who from the State consenteth to receive
 Parks, titles, palaces, and hero-worship ;
 But say he fail, how shame and death ensue
 To wreak revenge, and give a warning too !
 I'm nor Ambassador, nor General,
 Nor serve no Government, but I will serve—
 (Ev'n if I break some edict in my zeal)—
 Right heartily mine own especial ends ;
 Full sure that if my errors serv'd the State,
 They would be pardon'd and rewarded too !

Upon the whole we must repeat, under protest of our own incompetence to sit in judgment upon compositions of this class, that we regard these tragedies as very creditable performances. As to their fitness, or unfitness for the stage, we know absolutely nothing ; but we do not suppose that their author intends them for representation.

Supplementary Contributions to the Series of the Coins of the Patán Sultáns of Hindustán. By Edward Thomas, Esq., Bengal Civil Service. (Printed for Private Circulation.) Delhi. 1852.

It is always somewhat embarrassing for a reviewer to receive books marked as “printed, not published,” or “printed for private circulation.” If they are intended for notice, it may be concluded that it is considered an object of desire to make them known as widely as possible ; but how is this consistent with their being printed for private circulation ? But if they are not intended for notice, why are they sent to editors in their official capacity ? In the present case, however, we have but little difficulty, as there is very little in the body of the pamphlet before us that we could have made use of either in the form of a “review” or a “notice,” since it does not consist of much more than a catalogue of coins ; while in the “Prospectus” and “Introductory Notice,” there is sufficient matter, which is evidently designed for the public generally, or for “all” of that public “whom it may concern.” We cannot do better therefore than transfer these notices to our pages. If this serve no other good purpose, it will at least fulfil the object of an advertisement :—

PROSPECTUS.—It is proposed to publish a second Edition of “*The Coins of the Patán Sultáns of Hindustán*”—incorporating the Supplement, now printed for private circulation, with the original work—which will be generally re-cast, and in all points carefully revised—as well as still further enlarged and improved by any new materials that may become available previous to actual publication.

As a work of this description has necessarily, under the most favourable circum-

stances a very limited sale, it is needful to assure to the Publishers a certain amount of return, before they can be expected to undertake the risk attendant upon the production of a volume alike costly in Oriental Printing and Engraved Illustration.

Hence it becomes requisite to ask for the specific adhesion of intending Subscribers—to determine whether a new Edition can claim such support as will justify its being commenced upon.

It will be the object of the Author, not only to make the letter-press portion of the work as complete and comprehensive as possible, but also to secure for the Subscribers, from the Publishers, as large an amount of Illustration as the extent of the Subscription list can in any way be made to bear.

The eventual price of the work has been fixed at 8 Rupees—and for this sum it is expected that the Publishers will be able to give Engravings or Wood-cuts of at least 150 coins—which in themselves will suffice to furnish ample pictorial illustration for the entire Series. Subscribers' names will be received by the Editor of the *Delhi Gazette*—Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta—or Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co., London.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.—The coins herein described are chiefly taken from the collection of Mr. E. C. Bayley, Bengal Civil Service, who has most liberally placed his entire cabinet at my disposal, to enable me to augment and improve a previously published series of these medals, entitled “The Coins of the Patán Sultáns of Hindustán.”

The number of new specimens now available, as well as the direct interest and historical value attaching to many of them, has induced me at once to print this brief notice, in the incomplete and detached form in which it now appears, in preference to attempting to incorporate these additional materials into a second edition of the original publication, which might involve both delay and uncertainty.

The subject of numismatology is one of great interest and importance, worthy almost of being ranked with geography and chronology, which, according to the dictum of a great philosopher, are the “eyes of history.” It has been to a considerable extent cultivated in India, especially by Prinsep and Wilson; and the results are worthy of the labour bestowed upon it; but as yet little more than the coasts of the territory have been surveyed; all within is a *terra incognita*. We shall therefore hail the appearance of a complete work on the subject of the coinage of the Patán Sultáns from the pen of Mr. Thomas, who is, as we believe, of all men now in India, the best able to do justice to the subject.

A Treatise on the Doctrine of the Trinity, designed for intelligent Hindus and Mussulmans. By the Rev. E. Storrow. Calcutta.—G. C. Hay and Co. 1852.

2. *Vedantism, Bráhmism, and Christianity examined and compared. A Prize Essay. By the Rev. Joseph Mullens, Missionary of the London Missionary Society, Calcutta.—Tract Society. 1852.*

We place these little works together, not only because they are written by Missionaries of the same Society, but chiefly because, though materially different in their plan and immediate object, they are designed for the same class of readers, and correspond in their

general scope and purpose. The class of readers to whom they are specially addressed, is one of great, and constantly encreasing, importance ; consisting of all those who, through means of an English education and the general diffusion of knowledge, have been convinced of the falsehood and hurtfulness of the Puranic superstition, and have either been reduced to a state of mind bordering upon utter scepticism, or have fallen back upon that system which Mr. Mullens calls Bráhmism, which may be briefly described as a system of Deism or Rationalism, mixed up, rather than incorporated, with a modification of Vedantism. But although we have placed the two treatises side by side at the head of this notice, we intend to speak of them separately.

And, first, of Mr. Storrows *Treatise on the Doctrine of the Trinity*. There are those who argue that the special and peculiar doctrines of Christianity should never be brought under the cognizance of unbelievers, or of any who are beyond the pale of the church ; and who, especially, regard it as a casting of pearls before swine, to attempt either to state or vindicate the sacred mystery of the Trinity in the presence of heathens and unbelievers. To all such they would say—“ You are first to come into the bosom of the church, who is opening her arms in all affectionateness to receive you, and then she will set before you that form of sound words to which you are to assent, and will feed you with food convenient for you—first, with the milk that is appropriate for babes, and then, as you are able to bear it, with stronger and more manly food.” Others, again, of a different school from these, would insist upon the heathen and unbelievers studying the evidences of Christianity simply as a question of evidence ; examining the historical *Catena* by which the genuineness and authenticity of the several books of the Bible are ascertained ; and then proceeding to the facts of miracles undoubtedly performed, and of prophecies undoubtedly uttered, as demonstrative of the Divine authority attaching to the sacred records, and then submitting themselves, without question or reserve, to the teaching of the Divine oracles. Now, neither of these views is wholly unsound, but both, we suspect, are partially so. Although we cannot admit that there is an exoteric and an esoteric doctrine in Christianity, yet it is quite true that there is an order to be observed in the teaching of Divine truths, and that the simple doctrines of man's sinfulness, and of the method of salvation through the obedience and sufferings of Christ, ought to take precedence of the mystery of the Trinity. Again, we admit that, it being ascertained that the Bible is the word of God, the part of man is to reverently listen to it, and receive its teachings in a humble and teachable spirit. But then it is a mere fact, with the rightness or wrongness of which we have at present nothing to do, that scarcely any of those who have been brought up without the pale of the church, will give themselves up either to the direction and guidance of the church, or to the careful and unprejudiced study of the evidences of Christianity, without starting certain preliminary objections. They will hold that certain scriptural doctrines are

unreasonable and false, and that consequently the question is decided at once against the credibility of the church, and the inspiration of the books, that teach these doctrines. And one of the doctrines against which they most generally take exception is that of the Trinity. Now, then, it does seem to us to be clearly the duty of the Christian Advocate to remove or set aside these preliminary objections, and to show that the doctrines in question, however they may be above reason, and undiscoverable by its unaided efforts, are not contrary to reason, and ought not to form an obstacle to the reception of the Gospel. And this is precisely what Mr. Storror undertakes in the pamphlet before us. His object is not to refute the Socinian or the Arian, who receives the Bible, but denies that the doctrine of the Trinity is contained in it; nor so much to unfold the doctrine of the Trinity as to vindicate it from the charge of unreasonableness and self-contradiction; not so much to expound it and to deduce from it those lessons of comfort and instruction, which it is calculated to afford to the Christian soul, as to remove that stumbling block, which erroneous notions regarding it are apt to interpose in the way of the unchristian soul.

In pursuance of this design, of course the main drift of his argument is to show that in all departments of knowledge, we are met at every step with mysteries that are altogether beyond our comprehension; and that these are often most closely connected with our most incumbent duties and our most essential interests; that it is, in every way, to be expected that mystery of the most incomprehensible kind should attach to such a subject as the constitution of the Godhead, and that while the mystery that the Scriptures disclose is in fact far above our comprehension, there is nothing in it contrary to our reason; since we have no right to say that that which in one respect is possessed of Unity may not in another respect be possessed of Trinity. Yea, he hints,—rather than argues,—that for aught we know, this very Trinity may be essential to that absolute perfection, which all acknowledge to be the attribute of Deity; and lastly, he shows, that so far is the doctrine of a Trinity in Unity from being abhorrent to the human intellect, that it seems to have been caught at by the most powerful and penetrating intellects in every age. Of course he does not adduce the Egyptian, the Platonic, or the Zoroastrian triad as a *proof* of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, but simply as an indication that the assertion is untrue, which is so commonly hazarded by those to whom his argument is specially addressed, that none but enslaved intellects can entertain the doctrine for a moment. Upon the whole, it appears, to us, that Mr. Storror has succeeded remarkably well in a delicate and difficult task; and we only wish, that those for whose benefit he has undertaken it, may “read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest” what he has written.

Mr. Mullen's book is, as is stated in the title-page, a prize essay—having been the successful competitor for a prize offered by the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society to the best essay that should be produced on the subjects of which it treats. It is a work of great

labour and research—research in a very dry and uninviting field ; and although we do not anticipate that it will produce any very marked immediate effect in drawing many of the disciples of the Vedant, or the members of the Bráhma Sabha to Christianity ; yet we doubt not that it will, from time to time, fall into the hands of studious and thoughtful and earnest men, who will be convinced, by its arguments, to reject the false, and won by its appeals, to embrace the True.

Mr. Mullens first of all states fully, and as clearly perhaps as a very misty subject admits of being stated, what Vedantism, as taught by Vyasa and his followers, really is. He then enquires to what extent the Vedantic doctrine is to be found in the Vedas themselves, or to what extent Vedantism is accordant with Vedism. As the doctrines of the Vedantists have been more than once explained in our pages,* we shall not say more respecting this portion of the work than that it appears to us to be well executed. Next follows an account of what Mr. Mullens calls Bráhmism, or the doctrine of the Bráhma Sabha established in Bengal by the late Ram Mohun Roy. This, as the creed and worship of a considerable body of the people amongst whom we live, is, to us, of far more moment than the Vedantic system, which, although it undoubtedly modifies and influences, to an immense extent, the modes of thinking, feeling and acting of the great body of Hindus—probably of every Hindu in the land—yet is actually professed as a systematic creed, only by the Pandits of the old school. We scarcely know how it has occurred ; but so it is, that it is generally believed that the system of Ram Mohun Roy and his followers is fundamentally and essentially Vedantic ; and if Mr. Mullens's labours should have no other fruit, we conceive that he has done good service in depriving Bráhmism of that *prestige*, which has attached to it in the estimation of many, from the supposition that it is a revival of the ancient religion of the country. It is worthy of being generally known, that it is avowedly for the purpose of securing the advantage of that *prestige*, that they have incongruously engrafted upon an essentially rationalistic system many of the doctrines of Vedantism. That their system is truly rationalistic, and that their adoption of some points of the Vedantic system is little more than a *ruse* in order to gain access to the people of India generally, and the Pandits in particular, are two points that are clearly evinced by an official letter addressed by the Secretary of the Sabha to Mr. Mullens, from which we borrow the following extract :—“ The doctrines of the Bráhma-s, or spiritual worshippers of God, whom I presume you mean by modern Vedantists, are founded upon a broader and more unexceptionable basis than the scriptures of any single religious denomination on the earth. The volume of nature is open to all, and that volume contains a revelation, clearly teaching, in strong and legible characters, the great truths of religion and morality ; and giving as much knowledge of our state after death, as is necessary for the attainment of future

* See *Calcutta Review*, No. V. Art. 2 ; and especially No. VII. Art. 2.

' blessedness ; yet adapted to the present state of our mental faculties. ' Now, as the Hindu religion contains notions of God and of human ' duty, which coincide with that revelation, we have availed ourselves ' of extracts from works which are the great depositaries of the national ' faith, and which have the advantage of national associations on ' their side, for disseminating the principles of pure religion among our ' countrymen." Now, from this authoritative extract, it clearly appears, *first*, that the only revelation acknowledged is the works of nature, and that consequently the foundation of the Brahmic creed is identical with that of the Deistic ; *secondly*, that the Vedas and other writings, deemed by the Hindus as inspired, are not adopted as a revelation, but only extracts from them are diffused, as containing doctrines in accordance with those deduced from the contemplation of the works of nature ; and *thirdly*, that the object of this diffusion is the very suspicious one of "accommodation," by means of which it is sought to gain access for their system to the minds of those who are prejudiced in favor of the Vedas as a revelation from God.

The second part of the work before us contains a refutation of the Vedantic and Brahmic systems ; and without pledging ourselves to the soundness of all the arguments employed,* we may safely say, that we think Mr. Mullens has completely succeeded in demolishing these systems.

The work concludes with a brief summary on the evidences of Christianity, and a detailed contrast of the Christian system with the Vedantic and the Brahmic. In this part our author is very successful ; and we know not whether the excellent Society under whose auspices the work is published, would not do well to publish this part separately. It is complete in itself, or could be made so by some slight modifications, and the omission of allusions (if there be any) to the preceding parts ; and it would be read by many who will not have patience for the necessarily dry and uninviting details of the other parts. Altogether, we cannot do otherwise than express our conviction, that the work is a good one, and we cordially commend it to our truth-loving native readers.

* We think, for example, that the argument from analogy against the transmigration of souls is quite inconclusive. The advocates of that doctrine plead that the sufferings of infants, and of men righteous in this life, indicate that the sufferers must have been guilty of sins in a former life. Now, Mr. Mullens shows that we have many instances of sufferings brought upon men, not by, or in consequence of, their own sins at all, but in consequence of the sins and faults of others. But the transmigrationist might reply, that this argument is all on his side ; that these sufferings are but an additional proof, that these sufferers must have sinned before they came under our cognizance, and that it is for their own sins, committed during a former life, that they are punished, although the sins of others may be made the occasion and the instrument of bringing the punishment home to them. We are not sure also that our author does not inadvertently do injustice to his opponents in the following sentence :—"Respecting love to God it is said, ' If a man worships the Supreme as one beloved, his beloved ones shall never die'—a sentiment which is utterly untrue in fact ; since many excellent people lose their parents, children, brothers and sisters by death."—True ; but if God be the one beloved, or the only beloved of a man, his beloved one cannot die, since his one beloved is eternal and unchangeable. We point out with all frankness these little slips, which have occurred to us in the course of our perusal of the work, satisfied that though they were far more numerous than they are, the author could quite well afford to retract them, and leave his argument still triumphant.

The Odes of Petrarch ; translated 'into English verse, by Captain R. G. Macgregor. London. Smith, Elder and Co. 1851.

WE have read with great admiration the spirited and accurate translations of Captain Macgregor—and with no little surprize. It would be difficult, perhaps, to fix upon a poet, whose writings are less capable of being transfused into another language without suffering loss ; and of all the writings of Petrarch, his *Canzoni*, although incomparably the most beautiful, present the greatest difficulties. They abound with allegories and playing upon words, where the sense is sometimes so obscure, that the best commentators fail to trace it. They are written in a varying, graceful, but highly artificial rhyme, for which the Italian language affords unusual facilities ; or, when unrhymed, the versification is modelled with still greater complicity ; and their very excellence, the charm and flow of the words, the pure and sparkling style, and the happy and felicitous epithets, that fix themselves in the memory like household words, seem to render any thing like a faithful literal translation, (preserving the measure and rhyme,) into any other language, all but impossible. The translations of the *Iliad* and *Æneid* by Pope and Dryden, notwithstanding their great and acknowledged merits, are not faithful translations ; and if Coleridge and Shelley have been more successful with *Walenstein* and *Faust*, it must be remembered that they had to deal with blank verse chiefly ; and that Coleridge shrunk from the task of even attempting the first part of Schiller's great drama. We cannot affirm that Captain Macgregor will take rank, as a translator, with Shelley and Coleridge ; but his task was greatly more arduous ; and, though we meet not unfrequently with a stiff line, or a harsh and inverted idiom, his version will enable the mere English reader to form nearly as just an estimate of Petrarch's genius, with its characteristic beauties and defects, as if he could read the *Canzoni* in their own mellifluous Italian tongue.

To turn an Italian into an English sonnet, thought for thought, and line for line, is no easy task, as any one, who has tried it, will bear witness ; but to sustain a flight, through every variety of rhyme, and all the caprices of a mind like Petrarch's, for upwards of two hundred pages, requires a steadiness of purpose and a strength of wing vouchsafed to few in these degenerate days.

It is no paraphrase, or diluted imitation, that Captain Macgregor has produced ; but a conscientious, finished and scholar-like translation, which would do no discredit to the most accomplished name in living literature. The amount of his labour must have been prodigious ; and, we believe, the commencement at least goes back for more than twenty years. As a specimen of the fidelity of the translation, we select at random the opening sonnet, subjoining the original :—

PROEM.

Ye, in my devious rhymes, who hear the sound
Of those oft sighs, wherewith, in hot youth's first
And fondest error, I my weak heart nurst,
When I unlike what now I am was found ;

My song, where plaints and reveries abound,
 As with vain grief, with hopes as vain now curst,
 Shall, if one heart there is in true love vers'd,
 Be with your pity, if not pardon, crown'd :

For now full well I see how I became
 A fable to the world, and late and long
 Myself have lower'd in mine own esteem !

Thus of my vanity the fruit is shame,
 Repentance, and a knowledge clear and strong
 That mortal joy is all a passing dream !

PROEMIO.

Voi, ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono
 Di quei sospiri, ond' io nodriva il core
 In sul mio primo giovenile errore,
 Quand'era in parte altr'uom da quel, ch'isono ;

Del vario stile, in ch' io piango, e ragiono
 Fra le vane speranze, e 'l van dolore ;
 Ove sa chi per prova intenda Amore,
 Spero trovar pietà, non che perdono.

Ma ben veggì or, sì come al popol tutto
 Favola fui gran tempo ; onde sovente
 Di me medesimo meco mi vergogno :

E del mio vaneggiar vergogna è 'l frutto,
 E' pentirsi, e' l conoscer chiaramente,
 Che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno.

Here it is evident that the English sonnet is at least as good as the Italian ; that it is a literal and accurate translation ; and, with the exception, perhaps, of the seventh line, that it is as smooth and life-like, as if it had never been cast in any other mould.

The history of the Fourteenth century has yet to be written. It was fertile in great men and in great events. Then, and not in the sixteenth century, were laid broad and deep the foundations of toleration, reform, and civil and religious liberty. The revolutionary spirit pervaded Europe, as widely as in our days, but with far other lustre and event. In these stirring times, every year had its battle, and every nation its hero ; and events, second to none in historical importance, excited and astonished the minds of men. Scotland had her Wallace and Bruce ; Switzerland, her William Tell ; Rome, her Rienzi ; Ghent, her D'Artevelde ; and France, ever purposeless and unstable, her Du Guesclin and her Jacquerie ; while far above them all in lasting influence on the world, rises the great English name of Wickliffe. The age of Tamerlane and Bajazet, of Louis of Hungary and the Black Prince ; the age of Peter the Cruel, and Joanna of Naples, and Isabel of Bavaria ; the age that can boast of Dante and Petrarch, and Boccaccio, and Chaucer, and Froissart, and Gerson, and Du Clesmangis, and Thomas a Kempis—forms an era in history, and will yet, we trust, be embalmed in the pages of some future Tacitus or Macaulay.

Among the great men of that remarkable era, Petrarch held a commanding place : and, it is doubtful, whether any of them, or any man in all time, enjoyed, during his lifetime, so

much and such long continued celebrity, and national and popular applause. The crowning in the Capitol was but the confirmation of the unanimous verdict of his countrymen ; and, though mixing largely in the troubled politics of the day, and the personal friend of men notorious for faithlessness and crimes, his own reputation remained unsullied ; and all the factions and all the ruffians of Italy looked up to him with pride, and gloried in his fame. Without undervaluing his political talents, or the skill with which he sometimes employed them, there can be no doubt that his popularity rested then, as it does now, upon his writings. These consist of a collection of letters, modelled after Cicero's, not without a certain interest, but altogether unworthy of his fame ; of certain common-place and unreadable moral and philosophical treatises ; of an obscure historical work—a dull Latin Poem on the second Carthaginian war—and of the Sonnets, Canzoni, and Trionfi.

He owed his laurels immediately to the prospective merits of his poem on Africa, while it was scarcely commenced ; but the Canzoni had already filled Europe with his fame, and surrounded the name of Laura de Sade with a halo of sweetness and purity and lustre, which no other woman has won, when wedded to immortal verse. He has conquered the worse than doubtful difficulties of his position. He has shown that love, like his, need not be a guilty passion. Sensuality will find no congenial food in his lofty and passionate singing. His poems are one great successful effort to eradicate the base and sinful from a strong human passion ; and to raise it up on earth to the height of its heavenly spiritualism. But he never pretends to be insensible to sensual beauty, or to dis sever the beauteous spirit from its beautiful habitation. He rejoices to think that that fair form will rise again a glorious and spiritual body ; and that sense and soul and intellect shall have in heaven, not only a sinless, but their highest and most perfect, delight.

Such undying strains have never been addressed to woman, before or since ; and, though there are many parts (and some the most admired) which, like the relish of olives, require a peculiar education to be appreciated, enough remains of fresh and exquisite description, of delicate and graceful beauty, of grand and solemn thought, to vindicate for Francisco Petrarca a place among the foremost in the second rank of true poets, although he does not attain to the first.

We select as a favourable specimen of Petrarch's genius and fancy in its most genial mood, and of the skill and masterly hand of his translator also, the beautiful ode—

“ Chiare, fresche e dolci acque.”

Ye waters, sweet, cool, clear,
Where she, sole Lady mine,
Her beauteous limbs so often would recline :
Green boughs, which gladly made
(Sad memories, yet dear)
At once for her fair form support and shade :
Mosses and flow'rs which lov'd to rest
'Neath the light flowing vest,
Which her angelic bosom bound :

Serene and sacred air,
 Where Love from her bright eyes first dealt my wound,
 Attend, and hear me now, and bear
 Calmly, the last sad words of my despair.

If such my fate at last,
 If Heav'n the doom have past,
 That Love ere long shall close these weeping eyes—
 My latest hour the thought would cheer,
 That my poor dust might slumber here,
 When to its native home my free soul flies :
 Death will less cruel be
 If to the dark and doubtful grave
 I bear this hope with me :
 My weary spirit would not crave
 A softer bed for its eternal rest,
 Nor could my frame, with toil oppress,
 To shades more calm or spot more lovely flee.

A time may come perchance,
 When to her old retreat,
 Shall turn my tyrant, beautiful and sweet ;
 And, where her lustrous glance
 Beheld me on that happy day,
 Yet shall her kind eyes bend their asking ray.
 And, when, amid the stones,
 She sees where moulder my poor bones,
 Love may some softness wake :
 Then will she mourn my fate, with sighs
 So sweet and pure, they shall my pardon make,
 And force my passage to the skies,
 As with her veil she checks her gushing eyes.

From the full boughs on high,
 Still dear to memory,
 Oft on her lap the blossoms fell in show'rs,
 As she the while reclin'd,
 Meek in her glory, to her beauty blind,
 Half-cover'd with a wanton cloud of flow'rs ;
 Some lodg'd on her rich vest,
 Or fell on her fair curls,
 Which, fitly then, seem'd dress'd
 With finest gold and pearls ;
 Some on the earth, some on the waters fell,
 Or in fond fairy whirls
 Seem'd to exclaim, "*Here mighty Love does dwell.*"

How often have I said,
 Fill'd with a holy dread,
 Surely from Paradise this being sprung !
 Her port of majesty and grace,
 Kind speech, sweet smiles, and lovely face,
 Over me such forgetfulness have flung,
 And made to truth my mind,
 Unconsciously, so blind,
 That ever I sigh forth
 "*How, and when came I here—*"
 Thinking myself in heav'n and not on earth :
 Each spot seems comfortable and drear
 To me, save this where first my love had birth.

As thine the wish, my Song, if thine the art
 To please like her who prompts thy lays,
 Boldly might'st thou depart
 And challenge of admiring worlds the praise !

We are unable to appreciate the excellence of the "Three Sisters" or "Three Graces" (as three of the Canzoni have been named by commentators), notwithstanding their high fame ; and we confess that much, even in the Canzoni, is *caviare* to our unprepared and Trans-alpine mind. But we are not now criticizing Petrarch ; and we hasten to present to our readers the interview between the lady and death from the *Trionfi*, which has something of the march and grandeur of Milton, and may have been in his eye in after years :—

Returning from her noble victory there,
That beauteous Lady and her comrades fair,
Gently advancing in a bright group came :
Few were they, for on earth few seek true fame,
Yet, each and all, fit themes they seem'd to give,
In poet's lay or history's page to live.
Their conquering ensign to the view reveal'd
A spotless ermine on a verdant field,
Its soft neck bound with gems and finest gold.
Scarcely human seem'd to hear and to behold
Their speech so holy and their angel gait :
Blessed is he whose birth secures such fate !
Bright stars they seem'd—she, in the midst, a sun
Adorning all, yet taking light from none.
With violets and roses garlanded,
In modest dignity of well-won fame
That joyful company right onward came :
When lo ! obscure and dismal, overhead
A banner rose, and, clad in sable vest,
A terrible spectre, on whose grisly brow
A stern insatiate fury was imprest,
Stood forth, and hoarsely spake : " Lady ! who now
" Walkest in pride of youth, in beauty rife,
" Ignorant of the bounds which limit life,
" I am that pow'r, who cruel and unkind
" Am call'd by mortals—a weak race and blind,
" Whose brief day vanishes ere night be come :
" Mine was the voice, beneath whose with'ring doom
" Greece and proud Ilium fell, and mine the blade
" Which low in dust the Roman glory laid :
" All climes and every age my sway confess ;
" Arriving ever when expected less,
" My frowns a thousand sanguine schemes destroy ;
" And now to you, when life has most of joy,
" My course I bend, ere, changing as she will,
" Fortune some bitter in your sweet distil."

Calmly that peerless Lady thus replied :
" Well know I these your utmost hate have tried ;
" O'er them you have no pow'r, little o'er me ;
" Yours is my body, but my soul is free,
" Nor grieve I for myself—but that the blow,
" To me tho' welcome, lays another low."
As one who, bent in curious wonder o'er
Some form late-found and never seen before,
Long doubtful stands, yet seems his doubt to blame,
So stood the fiend ; addressing then the Dame,
Slow he resum'd, with countenance more bland
And gentler tone, " I recollect them well
" And when beneath my poison-tooth they fell :
" But you the leader of this lovely band,

- " Who ne'er hast felt my blighting bitter sting,
 " I could compel, yet as a friend I bring
 " To you my counsel ; better will it be
 " Old age and all its many ills to flee,
 " An honour, which I am not wont to pay,
 " For you I destine, that, from life, your soul
 " Fearless and without pain shall pass away."—
 " As pleases Him, whose pleasure rules the whole,
 " Whom earth, sea, sky their Lord and Maker own :
 " To me, as unto all, His holy will be done."

Not less deep and fervent was the poet's love for his native land ; and when did such love find nobler expression than in the following glorious ode ?—

Mine Italy ! tho' words all idle be
 The mortal wounds to close,
 Which on thy lovely form so oft I see,
 At least it soothes me that my sighs are those
 From Arno, Tiber, Po,
 Where mournful now I dwell, alike which flow.
 Great God ! I thee implore,
 By the fond love, which led thee erst bewail,
 To visit this thy favour'd land once more :
 * * * * *
 Ye, to whose guiding hands the reins b. Heaven
 Of these fair lands are given,
 Can all our wrongs no pity from you gain ?
 These crowds of armed strangers whence, and why ?
 Is it that each green plain
 Their savage gore, and not our own, may dye ?
 With a vain error blind,
 Dimly you see, yet deem that you see well,
 Who love, or faith, expect in venal mind ;
 Tho' such in myriads swell
 Around, we are but girt with hostile bands.
 Hark ! the fierce deluge pours
 From distant desert strands
 To inundate our lov'd and lovely shores ;
 Who shall our cause defend,
 When thus from our own hands the deadliest blows descend ?
 Well did kind Nature for our land provide,
 When she the barrier gave
 Of the tall Alps from German hate to save ;
 But, blind, and working her own ruin still,
 Her arts Ambition plied,
 Till the sound body felt the eating ill.
 And now, in the same fold,
 Wild wolves and harmless herds so mingled throng,
 That still the weaker groan beneath the strong ;
 And they, ah ! be it told
 With shame, of those wild lawless tribes the seed,
 Whom, as our annals write,
 Marius so quell'd in fight
 (Still lives the memory of the glorious deed.)
 That, bending to the flood,
 His tir'd and thirsty bands not water drank but blood.*

* So Plutarch in his life of Marius : also Lucius Florus, "*Itaque tanto ardore pugnatum est, eaque cædes hostium fuit, ut victor Romanus de cruento flumine non plus aquæ biberet quàm sanguinis barbarorum.*"

I name not Cæsar over ruin'd plains,
 Whose good sword from *their* veins
 In crimson signs his savage conquests trac'd :
 But now, nor know I by what evil stars,
 Heav'n marks us with its hate ;
 Thanks be to you in whom the pow'r was plac'd,
 Whose causeless ceaseless jars
 Have the first fairest land on earth defac'd !
 What crime, what judgment leads you, or what fate
 To trample on distress ?
 Why all your hate upon the wretched wreak,
 The fallen why oppress,
 And the false stranger seek
 Who sheds his blood and sells his soul for gold ?
 In truth's great cause I speak,
 Neither by angry hate, nor secret scorn controll'd !

Ah ! is not this mine own old land where first
 I trode ? and this the nest
 My careless boyhood which so gentle nurst ?
 My kind good-nourner, country of my trust,
 In whose beloved breast
 All peaceful sleep my parents' mould'ring dust ?
 Let, let this thought subdue !
 To this, stirr'd, the fallen nation view
 Too long in tears, by tyranny oppress'd,
 Who, after God, in you
 Alone can hope : and if one sign speak grief,
 E'en now if mercy warms,
 Valour shall take up arms
 Against brute force : and be the combat brief ;
 The bravery of our sires
 Each true Italian heart still warms with its old fires !

Mark, mighty Lords, how swift of Time the race !
 How as life flies away,
 Death presses on its rear with giant pace !
 Now are you here, think, think on the last day :
 The doubtful pass to fate
 Who hopes, of soul must, pure and single be ;
 To gain the narrow gate
 Who seeks, must leave behind him scorn and hate,
 Blasts ever adverse to a life serene ;
 Whose time till now has been
 To others' harm, let him with mind, hand, heart,
 In some more worthy cause
 Espouse the honest part,
 And in this nobler study win applause.
 Thus peace is gain'd and joy,
 And the path open lies which leads to bliss on high.

We make no apology for this long extract. It is noble poetry ; and Captain Macgregor has done it no injustice in adding it to the treasures of English literature.

We fear that the subject is too far apart from modern sympathies ; and the book, therefore, unlikely to be popular or much read. But we commend it again most heartily to our readers, as the work of an accomplished and elegant mind, and as an honour to our Anglo-Indian literature.

